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*The Episcopal Church
in North Carolina,
1701–1959*



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*The Episcopal Church
in North Carolina,
1701–1959*

*Edited by
Lawrence Foushee London
and Sarah McCulloh Lemmon*

*The Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina
Raleigh*

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Foreword

The Episcopal Church in the Diocese of North Carolina has had a quiet yet indelible influence on the lives of lay people and ordained clergy in almost every state of this nation and in many parts of the world. In my years as a bishop, nine other members of the House of Bishops had been numbered among the clergy of the Diocese of North Carolina. The influence of the Diocese on schools, colleges and universities, and other institutions has helped many a young person and adult as well as business and professional people to find a Church home. One of the joys of my ministry in this Diocese, both as a parish priest for almost ten years and as an active bishop for twenty-three years, has been for clergy and lay people to wait anxiously to tell me how some clergyman or congregation provided for them the opportunity to know the Episcopal Church and to change the course of their lives.

God does work in many diverse and mysterious ways. In the case of the Diocese it has been largely the lay people of North Carolina, who hold high their concern for education, the family, loyalty to the community, and almost a “Benedictine sense” of opening their homes and hearts to strangers, who have brought to this Church in this place a life and a spirit that has attracted and committed the lives of so many others.

The history of the Diocese needed to be written. Because no single author could be asked to undertake this assignment, during my episcopacy a group of historians who knew North Carolina, the Diocese, and the Episcopal Church from the inside was assembled. Their inspired efforts and scholarly research and writing have now borne fruit. I hope and pray that you will find within the pages of this volume what I feel to be God at work through the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of North Carolina.

Thomas A. Fraser, Jr.
Bishop of North Carolina, Retired

Preface

Carl Jung once compared the life of civilization to that of plants. Just as the true life of a plant is in its rhizome—the deep, hidden root—so does civilization have an invisible true life. “When we think of the unending growth and decay of life and civilizations,” Jung wrote, “we cannot escape the impression of absolute nullity. Yet I have never lost a sense of something that lives and endures underneath the eternal flux.”

This history reveals the deep, true roots that have nurtured and sustained the Church in the Diocese of North Carolina for the last 258 years. At times these roots are deep indeed and sometimes, as the Creed puts it, there is more “unseen than seen.” Always, though, there is the thread, that underlying root living and enduring “underneath the eternal flux.”

These pages tell of distinguished bishops and clergymen who figure prominently in the shaping of the Diocese. They tell too of the lay women and men whose lives and ministries make up a great part of the story of the Church in this “goodly land.” These pages remind us of “the great cloud of witnesses” that surrounds us. They tell of human “ups” and “downs” of men and women like ourselves who sought with God’s grace “to represent Christ and His Church, to bear witness to him wherever they may be, and according to the gifts given them to carry on Christ’s work of reconciliation in the world, and to take their place in the life, worship and governance of the Church” (Book of Common Prayer).

Enormous forces have battered and changed the world in the years covered by this volume. In 1823, when John Stark Ravenscroft became the first Bishop of North Carolina, the United States was challenging Russia’s claim to Pacific Coast territories; Jefferson, Webster, and Clay were supporting the colonization of Liberia by free black persons; and, in December of that year, President Monroe set forth his doctrine that European nations had best not interfere with America’s hegemony in this hemisphere. The forces that were at work in

1823 continue, in one form or another, to strike the world and the Church today.

These pages also remind us of the Faith we share. Ours is a Faith that proclaims this to be God's world. Our Faith asserts that the past, present, and future have meaning and purpose, and that our Lord will come again in great glory to draw the whole creation to Himself. The world needs to hear this message, and we need to be reminded of it too. We need to have faith in the future. Certainly those whose lives are described in this book must have had their moments of doubt and uncertainty. They must have questioned the future and often despaired of their present situation. We often face those doubts today, but we can draw strength by looking back into these pages and with the eyes of history see God's hand at work. Just as it is sometimes easier to see if a boat is keeping its course by looking aft at the wake, so with history. We can see our future by looking at our past. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin observed that it is a "consolation and a source of strength to know that life has an objective, and that the objective is a summit, and that this summit, towards which all our striving must be directed, can only be attained by our drawing together, all of us, more and more closely in every sense—individually, socially, nationally, and racially."

In one of his addresses to the Diocesan Convention, the fourth Bishop of North Carolina, Theodore Benedict Lyman, referred to North Carolina as "one of the fairest portions of the earth" and stated prophetically that it "must soon attract a very large population when the inhabitants of far less favored regions learn what are the rich blessings which are our especial heritage." The writers of this history have set our "especial heritage" before us. It is my hope and my prayer that we may take our place in that history and prove ourselves worthy of it.

Robert Whitridge Estill
Ninth Bishop of North Carolina

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*The Episcopal Church
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The Anglican Church in North Carolina: The Proprietary Period

HUGH TALMAGE LEFLER

There was no permanent settlement in what is now North Carolina before the middle of the seventeenth century, and the Church of England was not formally established in this area until the early years of the eighteenth century. Yet there were individual Anglicans and probably Anglican clergymen in Sir Walter Raleigh's unsuccessful colonies at Roanoke Island. Thomas Harriot, a member of the Ralph Lane colony of 1585-86 and a distinguished mathematician and author, "has a claim to be called the first English missionary in America."¹ In his famous book, *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, Harriot wrote: "Manie times and in every towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible; that therein there was set foorth the true and onlie GOD, and His mightie workes: through Christ, with manie particularities of Miracles and chief poyntes of religion, as I was able then to utter and thought fitte for the time."²

Two of the best known incidents of John White's "Lost Colony" of 1587-90 were of a religious nature. In August 1587, Manteo, the "friendly Indian," was baptized—the first recorded Protestant baptismal service in the New World. And, on 18 August of that year, Virginia Dare was born—the first child of English parentage born in the New World—and apparently christened a few days later.³

Subsequently, the charter of 1663 granted by Charles II to the eight Lords Proprietors emphasized the religious motive for colonization by saying that these men were "excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith." This significant document contained the fundamental principles of the Church of England and declared that the Anglican Church was the only one that could receive official encouragement.⁴ The charter gave to the eight Lords Proprietors

the Patronage and Advowsons of all the Churches and Chapels which, as Christian Religion shall increase within the Country, Isles, Islets, and Limits aforesaid, shall happen hereafter to be erected; Together with license and power to Build and found Churches, Chapels, and Oratories in convenient and fit places within the said Bounds and Limits, and to cause them to be dedicated and Consecrated according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of our Kingdom of England.⁵

The charter went on to say:

AND because it may happen that some of the People and Inhabitants of the said Province cannot in their private opinions Conform to the Public Exercise of Religion according to the Liturgy, forms, and Ceremonies of the Church of England, or take or subscribe the Oaths and Articles made and established in that behalf; AND for that the same, by reason of the remote distances of those Places, Will, as We hope, be no breach of the unity and uniformity established in the Nation.⁶

The charter also granted to the Lords Proprietors

full and free License liberty and Authority, by such legal means as they shall think fit, to give and grant unto such Person and Persons inhabiting and being within the said Province, or any part thereof, Who really in their Judgment, and for Conscience sake, cannot or shall not Conform to the said Liturgy and Ceremonies, and take and Subscribe the Oaths and Articles aforesaid, or any of them, such Indulgences and Dispensations in that Behalf . . . as they shall, in their discretions, think fit and reasonable.⁷

Though the Church of England was to be established, other churches were to be tolerated, and “no person whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative opinions in Religion or his way of worship.”⁸ The Fundamental Constitutions also declared that “any Seven or more persons agreeing on any Religion shall constitute a Church or profession, to which they shall give Some name to distinguish it from others.”⁹ It was further provided that “no person above seventeen years of Age shall have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honor, who is not a member of Some church.”¹⁰ And no man could be a freeman or

hold land “that does not acknowledge God, and that God is publicly and Solemnly to be worshiped.”¹¹ These provisions were more liberal than those of England at this time, but it is noteworthy that they did not guarantee political equality for all faiths along with freedom of conscience.¹²

The fact that the Lords Proprietors never intended to divorce church and state is clearly revealed in the provisions cited above. It is also indicated by their frequent proprietary grants to the Assembly “to constitute and appoint such and so many ministers as they shall think fit,” and by their grants to “each parish” of church sites and a hundred acres for each minister.¹³

The fact that dissenters were allowed to practice their own forms of worship did not mean that there could not or would not be an Establishment, but the neglect and inaction on the part of the Anglicans, or “Church party,” played into the hands of dissenting groups, notably the Quakers. The latter became active in Albemarle County about 1672, when the first Quaker missionaries, William Edmundson and George Fox, visited the province and made a number of converts.¹⁴ The Quakers continued to increase in numbers and influence until the end of the century. Although they constituted only about one-seventh of the total population, they were strong in Pasquotank and Perquimans precincts and were better organized and more active than any other religious body.¹⁵

The existence of a large number of dissenters in the colony was only one of many problems confronting the Anglican Church in colonial North Carolina. Other problems were the difficulty in getting vestry acts passed to establish the Church on a sound footing that would be acceptable to Church leaders in England;¹⁶ the procuring and financing of ministers; the building of churches and chapels; and the development of parochial libraries.

The religious agency that played the most prominent role in trying to solve these problems was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.), chartered on 16 June 1701. The moving spirit in founding this religious society was the Reverend Thomas Bray, who “is entitled to have the credit of having originated the *first* systematic movement of the Church of England in the work of missions.”¹⁷

In 1696, Dr. Compton, the Bishop of London, appointed Bray as his ecclesiastical commissary for Maryland.¹⁸ Bray spent several years in America; he traveled extensively, and in two books published in

1698 and 1700 he gave a tabulation of the number of parishes, ministers, and libraries in all the English Continental colonies.¹⁹ He also gave an account of the “prospects of the Church” and recommended that at least forty missionaries be sent as quickly as possible. These reports had much to do with the organization of the S.P.G., which, as will be shown later, appointed almost all the Anglican missionaries who came to colonial North Carolina. In describing the province, Bray wrote: “Roanoke lyes betwixt Virginia and Carolina.²⁰ It is peopled with English, intermixt with the native Indians to a great extent; and as there will be occasion for at least two missionaries to be sent among them, so the governor, who is now going over to that colony, being a very worthy gentleman, I have promise will give the best countenance and encouragement, which shall be in his power.”²¹

Bray was not only interested in having missionaries sent to the colonies, but was also the “founder of parish libraries in this country, especially in Maryland.”²² Altogether he provided no less than 39 parochial libraries, one of which arrived in the parish of Bath soon after 1700. This library consisted of 38 folios, 19 quartos, and 109 octavo volumes. It included not only books of a religious nature, but also works on mathematics, the classics, biology, medicine, heraldry, mythology, and poetry.²³

The Reverend Daniel Brett, the first Anglican clergyman to serve in North Carolina, seems to have been sent by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), which had been founded in 1698 as a result of Bray’s influence. It is doubtful, however, whether Bray knew Brett personally, and his selection was unfortunate. Writing from “North Carolina” on 21 October 1703, Henderson Walker, deputy governor and a zealous churchman, said that “Mr. Brett for about a year and a half behaved himself in a modest manner, but after that, in a most horrid manner, broke out in such an extravagant course that I am ashamed to express his carriage, it being in so high a nature. It hath been a great trouble and grief to us who have a great veneration for the Church that the first minister who was sent to us should prove so ill as to give the dissenters so much occasion to charge us with him.”²⁴

The next Anglican missionary to write about North Carolina was the Reverend George Keith, who traveled extensively in the colonies but spent only a few days in the province because of horrible travel conditions. In a letter of 4 September 1703 to the secretary of the S.P.G., Keith stated that “in all North Carolina there is not one min-

ister since Mr. Brett is gone, of whom I need not say anything, for I suppose you have heard fully of his character.”²⁵

About six weeks later, Deputy Governor Henderson Walker wrote the Bishop of London: “we have been settled near this fifty years in this place, and I may justly say most part of twenty-one years, on my own knowledge, without priest or altar, and before that time, according to all that appears to me, much worse . . . we did, about this time two years with a great deal of care and management, get an Assembly, and we passed an act for building of churches and establishing a maintenance for a minister amongst us; and in pursuance thereto we have built one church, and there are two more a going forward.”²⁶ The act Walker referred to was the Vestry Act of 1701, the first Church law in North Carolina. This law provided for the creation of five parishes, one for each of the precincts of old Albemarle County (Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank, and Currituck), and one for Pamlico Precinct in Bath County.²⁷ Vestries of twelve members were named for each parish.²⁸ These vestries were authorized to levy a tax of not more than five shillings a poll for the building of churches, buying of glebes, and hiring of ministers. The salary of each minister was fixed at thirty pounds a year.²⁹

Immediately the Quakers voiced their opposition. After waging a vigorous campaign, the opponents of the “Church Party” returned a majority to the Assembly of 1703, determined to repeal the law. The Proprietors, however, spared them the trouble by returning the law disallowed, because the salary was not considered “a competency for a minister to live on.”³⁰

Before news of the disallowance of the Vestry Act of 1701 reached the colony, however, the churchmen had proceeded to implement the law. On 15 December 1701 the vestry of Chowan Parish, consisting of Deputy Governor Henderson Walker, Colonel Thomas Pollock, and ten others, met at the home of Thomas Gilliam where they formally organized the parish and planned the erection of a church building. The wardens were authorized to hire a workman for building a church twenty-five feet long with “Posts in the ground and held to the Collar Beams, and to find all manner of iron work viz nails and locks &c.” The cost of the structure was to “be levied by the poll upon the Tythables of the Precinct, the Church Wardens first endeavoring to raise the said money by contribution, and in case of failure to raise it by the poll as aforesaid, to agree with a Collector or Collectors to receive the same with power to destrain in case of Re-

fusal.”³¹ The vestry also authorized the wardens to provide a reader and agree with him for his compensation.

To care for the spiritual needs of those living “at an inconvenient distance,” the vestry ordered the inhabitants of the southwestern shore to build “a Chapel of Ease on their Shore at the Charge of the precinct after the aforesaid Church be built, and that they may there have a reader at their own cost and charge, and be excused from paying anything to a reader on the North Shore.”³² Either Colonel Pollock or William Duckenfield was to make terms with the reader.

The Chowan Parish Church was located about one mile south of the present town of Edenton. It was the first church building in the colony.³³ The vestrymen held numerous meetings while the church was being built. They agreed to buy “at as cheap a rate as possible . . . one fair and large book of Common Prayer, and the Book of Homilies.” They disliked the ceiling of the chapel “by reason of the Boards being defaced.” On 5 December 1702, the members of the vestry reported that the chapel had been viewed and met with their approval, and they “do receive the House and Keys from Mr. John Porter, he promising to provide as much Lime as will wash the ceiling of the Chapel, and the vestry to be at the charge of a workman to do the same.” The vestry also reported that “the cost of building the Chapel is £25; the joiner for the windows, table forms, and benches amount to £6; and clearing the ground and flooring the house are £2 10s more.” Richard Churton was employed as reader at £7 10s per year.³⁴

Shortly after the church building was completed, the first missionary sent over by the S.P.G., the Reverend John Blair, appeared in North Carolina. On 17 April 1703 Blair, who is listed in the S.P.G. records as an “itinerant missionary,” received the royal bounty of twenty pounds to defray the cost of his trip to America. Lord Weymouth, moved by reports of the destitute condition of the colonists, contributed fifty pounds to his support. The new minister landed in Virginia on 14 January 1704, and after a “tedious and troublesome journey” reached North Carolina ten days later. There he found the population “exceedingly scattered” and the people “backward in religious matters and little disposed to assist in the support of a minister of the Church of England.” After a hard struggle of several months, during which he spent nearly all of the little bounties he had received, he returned to England “enfeebled with poverty and sickness,” having found North Carolina “the most barbarous place in the Continent.”³⁵

Soon after his arrival in England, Blair wrote a lengthy report of his experiences for the benefit of the S.P.G. This narrative, better than any of the accounts of later missionaries, describes in detail the numerous problems and hardships likely to confront any Anglican missionary in North Carolina: swamps, unbridged rivers, and high prices of horses; inadequate financial support; apathy of most of the inhabitants, and open hostility of some, especially the Quakers; the lack of churches and chapels; the lack of libraries; and, above everything else, the scarcity of Anglican clergymen. Blair noted that on his arrival he was

obliged to buy a couple of horses, which cost me fourteen pounds—one of which was for a guide, because there is no possibility for a stranger to find his road in that country, for if he once goes astray (it being such a desert country) it is a great hazard if he ever finds his road again. Besides, there are mighty inconveniences in travelling there, for the roads are not only deep and difficult to be found, but there are likewise seven great rivers in that country, over which there is no passing with horses, except two of them, one of which the Quakers have settled a ferry over for their own conveniency, and nobody but themselves have the privilege of it, so that at the passing over the river I was obliged either to borrow or hire horses, which was both troublesome and chargeable insomuch that in little more than two months I was obliged to dispose of the necessaries I carried for my own use, to satisfy my creditors.³⁶

Blair said that he “was distant from any Minister 120 miles” and that he “rid one day with another, Sunday only excepted, above thirty miles per diem in the worst roads that I ever saw, and have sometimes layn whole nights in the woods.” In Pamlico there was “a pond of five miles broad and nothing to carry one over but a perry-auger,” as well as a “fifty miles desert to pass through, without any human creatures inhabiting in it.”³⁷ In regard to the religious affiliation of the population, he wrote:

For the country may be divided into four sorts of people: first the Quakers, who are the most powerful enemies to Church government, but a people very ignorant of what they profess. The second sort are a great many who have no religion, but would be Quakers, if by that they were not obliged to lead a more moral

life than they are willing to comply to. A third sort are something like Presbyterians, which sort is upheld by some idle fellows who have left their lawful employment and preach and baptize through the country, without any manner of order from any sect or pretended Church. A fourth sort, who are really zealous for the interest of the Church, are the fewest in number, but are the better sort of people, and would do very much for the settlement of the Church government there, if not opposed by these three precedent sects; and though they be all three of different pretensions yet they all concur together in one common cause to prevent anything that will be chargeable to them as they allege Church government will be, if once established by law. And another great discouragement these poor people have is a governor who does not in the least countenance them in this business, but rather discourages them.³⁸

Blair was correct in his observation that the Quakers were strongly opposed to the Vestry Act of 1701, but he was wrong in implying that the new governor, Robert Daniel, opposed the Church. In fact, Daniel was more zealous for the Establishment than any of his predecessors, with the possible exception of Henderson Walker. Daniel and some of the Anglicans in the legislature contended that the oath of allegiance prescribed in the law had nothing to do with the question of the Established Church, but the Quakers insisted that it was aimed directly at them and that they were being denied their legal rights. Daniel's action was so unpopular with Quakers and other dissenters that he was removed from office in 1705.³⁹

Thomas Cary, a Charleston merchant who succeeded Daniel, had been considered friendly to dissenters in South Carolina, but his conduct in North Carolina was more offensive to the Quakers than that of his two predecessors. Not only did Cary enforce the oath of allegiance and deprive Quakers of their seats in the Assembly, but he imposed a fine of five pounds on anyone assuming any office without taking such an oath. According to the Anglican missionary, William Gordon, "this so nettled the Quakers" that in 1707 they sent John Porter to London to protest to the Proprietors.⁴⁰

Through the influence of John Archdale and John Dawson [Danton Danson], Quaker members of the Proprietary board, Porter returned with an order to suspend all laws regarding oaths and to remove Cary from office. William Glover, president of the Council, acted as gov-

ernor for about two years, though Cary still claimed governorship. In 1708, the Cary faction, backed by Porter and the powerful Edward Mosely, gained control of the legislature. Glover, still claiming the governorship, fled to Virginia. The Cary party, in power from 1708 to 1711, declared void all laws of the Glover regime and appointed a number of Quakers to office.

The Proprietors in England were unhappy about the chaotic conditions in North Carolina, and in 1710 they appointed Edward Hyde as its governor "independent of the Governour of Carolina." Hyde arrived in North Carolina in late 1710. His first legislature, March 1711, was described by the colorful John Urmston [Urmstone], an Anglican missionary, as "a strange mixture of men of various opinions and inclinations; a few Churchmen, many Presbyterians, Independents, but most anything-arians—some out of principle, others out of hopes of power and authority in the Government to the end they might Lord it over their Neighbours, all combined to act answerable to the desire of the president and council."⁴¹ This legislature passed a law for the punishment of "seditious words or speeches" or "scurrilous libels" against the government; levied a fine of one hundred pounds on all officials who refused to qualify "according to the strictness of the laws of Great Britain now in force," provided that "all such laws made for the establishment of the Church" were in force; and nullified all laws of the second Cary administration (1708–11).⁴²

To prevent Hyde's legislation from becoming effective, the Cary forces "came to an open rebellion against Mr. Hyde." On 30 June, they attacked the governor's forces but were repulsed. Soon afterward Cary reorganized his forces for another attack, but was prevented from carrying it out when Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia sent a company of "royal marines" to Hyde's relief. Spotswood's reinforcements "so frightened the Rebellious party" that Cary and many of his supporters fled to England for trial, where he was released "for lack of evidence."⁴³

Cary's Rebellion collapsed with the flight of its leader, but almost five years of internal strife and confusion, plus a series of bad crop years, had left North Carolina so weakened, divided, and demoralized that the Tuscarora Indians and their allies were now in an excellent position to attack the white settlements. This they proceeded to do on 22 September 1711, killing hundreds of settlers and "almost depopulating a whole County," which was "totally wasted and

ruined." In January 1712 the Tuscaroras were defeated in two battles near New Bern by a South Carolina force of more than five hundred men, chiefly Indians, led by Colonel John ("Tuscarora Jack") Barnwell.⁴⁴ The Indians resumed their attacks in the summer and fall. South Carolina sent another force of more than a thousand Indians and thirty-three whites, led by Colonel James Moore, and on 25 March 1713 the Indians were decisively defeated at Fort Nohoroco on Contentnea Creek.⁴⁵

During the years of Cary's Rebellion and the Tuscarora War, the colony had made little progress. The same may be said of the Anglican Church, although the S.P.G., perhaps influenced by John Blair's insistence that more clergymen be sent to the colonies, did receive its first regular missionaries during this troubled period. And the legislature, influenced by Cary's Rebellion, also enacted two laws relating to the Establishment.

An act of 1711 declared that all laws in force in England for the establishment of the Church and for granting indulgence to Protestant dissenters were to be in effect in North Carolina.⁴⁶ Dissenters, under English law, could hold office if they took the qualifying oath. "This oath affirmed the belief in the Trinity and subscribed to the thirty-nine Articles, with reservations permitted on ecclesiastical government and infant baptism."⁴⁷

In 1715, a new vestry act was passed creating nine parishes instead of the original five; it named twelve vestrymen in each parish and prescribed their duties.⁴⁸ The 1715 act authorized the vestries "to use their best & utmost endeavor to procure an able & Godly minister qualified according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of England"; it raised the minister's salary from thirty to fifty pounds a year, and permitted the levy of "a poll tax not exceeding five shillings per Poll on all the Taxable persons in the parrish" to pay the minister's salary. It also authorized the vestries "to purchase Land for a glebe to build one church & one or more Chappels" in each parish.⁴⁹ The first paragraph of this law listed two reasons for its enactment: first, "This province of North Carolina being a member of the Kingdom of Great Britain; & the Church of England being appointed by the Charter from the Crown to be the only Established church to have Publick encouragement in it"; and second, "to express our gratitude" to the S.P.G. "for the promoting our Holy Religion by making such provisions for the building of Churches & Chappels & maintainance of the clergy as the Circumstances of the Government will admit."⁵⁰ This was the last

vestry act passed under the Proprietary government, and it remained in force until 1741. The law of 1715 was accompanied by an "Act for Liberty of Conscience," which placated the Quakers by allowing them the right of affirmation and gave all dissenters what they had demanded—legal protection.⁵¹

As has been indicated, it was difficult for North Carolina to obtain a law establishing the Church that would be acceptable to the authorities in England and, at the same time, satisfy the local inhabitants. It was even more difficult to secure an adequate number of "Godly ministers" to serve the Church. This problem was never completely solved. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701, was almost the sole source of supply from that date until 1783.⁵² In 1706 the inhabitants "near Pamplico" sent a petition to the House of Lords requesting a minister. This petition was referred to the S.P.G., which decided on 17 May that the first persons who "offered themselves" as missionaries would be sent to North Carolina.⁵³ No one volunteered for this service until 1708. Meanwhile, on Trinity Sunday of 1706, the Reverend Richard Marsden, on his way to South Carolina, administered the Holy Communion "to an orderly congregation" in Pasquotank Precinct and baptized forty-five infants and adults.⁵⁴ This Anglican congregation had been held together in a heavily Quaker parish by Charles Griffin, a young lay reader and the first recorded schoolteacher in North Carolina. Deputy Governor William Glover, writing to the Bishop of London on 25 September 1708, declared that "by his decent behavior" and "unblemished life," and "by apt discourses from house to house, according to the capacities of an ignorant people," Griffin had "not only kept those he found, but gained many to the Church in the midst of its enemies."⁵⁵

Little is known about Griffin's school but it seems to have been quite successful for three or four years. William Gordon, one of the first two regular S.P.G. missionaries in the province, said that "the Quakers themselves sent their children to his school though he had prayers twice a day at least, and obliged them to their response, and all the decencies of behaviour."⁵⁶ Griffin later settled in St. Paul's Parish where he served as clerk of the vestry and lay reader at a salary of twenty pounds a year.⁵⁷ He soon organized a school in Chowan, where Gordon supplied him with books before leaving the colony.⁵⁸ In April 1709, the Reverend James Adams, who had taken over the Griffin school in Pasquotank, wrote the S.P.G. praising Griffin's

work.⁵⁹ Six months later, however, Adams informed the Society: "I wrote to you formerly of one Mr. Griffin, who behaved himself very remarkably in the office of a reader and school master: he has fallen into the sin of fornication and joined with the Quaker's interest, which has proven [a] great stumbling block to many of our persuasion."⁶⁰ This is the last recorded statement about Griffin's career in North Carolina.⁶¹

In 1708 the secretary of the S.P.G. was authorized to inform the memorialists of the Pamlico area that the Society was sending to the province two clergymen with salaries of sixty pounds each. Moreover, he was instructed to tell the memorialists that "they [the members of the Society] do expect that the gentlemen of the country should do what they can for them, and particularly desire to know how much the said clergymen may probably expect from the inhabitants of the said Pasquotank."⁶² The following April the Reverends James Adams and William Gordon arrived in North Carolina. At the time there were four precincts or parishes in Albemarle—Chowan, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Currituck—and three in Pamlico—Beaufort, Hyde, and Craven. Mr. Adams took charge of Pasquotank and Currituck, and Mr. Gordon of Chowan and Perquimans.⁶³

The inhabitants of Chowan Precinct, Gordon wrote, had received little education: "Few could read, and fewer write, even of the justices of the peace and vestryman, yet they seemed serious and well-disposed to receive instruction." Their church was small and "very sorrily put together, and looked after." He prevailed upon them to build another, "which they went about when I came away."⁶⁴ Despite the fact that this large and sparsely settled precinct lay on both sides of the Sound and was cut by many rivers and creeks, Gordon visited all parts of his parish and baptized almost one hundred children. He distributed a number of books and religious tracts and settled a schoolmaster there. One of his greatest problems was "an obstinate aversion to god-fathers and god-mothers; neither sense nor reason could prevail with them." He said that he overcame this opposition by converting one or two of the most influential men, who prevailed upon the others: "all were convinced and followed their example."⁶⁵

Perquimans was not as large as Chowan Precinct but the roads were worse. Its small church, as yet incomplete, was being built "more carefully and at greater expense" than the one in Chowan. There was no library nor were there books of any sort. The Quakers were "very numerous, extremely ignorant, insufferably proud and ambitious,

and consequently ungovernable.”⁶⁶ In both his precincts, Gordon found the water brackish; the food “salt pork, and sometimes beef”; the bread “of Indian corn, which they were forced for want of mills to eat, and in this they were so careless and uncleanly, that there was but little difference between the corn in the horse-manger and the bread on their tables.” In fact, Gordon declared, the whole country was “overrun with sloth and poverty.”⁶⁷

The hardships that Gordon encountered weakened his missionary ardor, and within a few months he returned to England. The vestry of St. Paul’s Parish, Chowan Precinct, writing to the Bishop of London on 24 August 1708, expressed regret at his departure, describing him as a man “whose prudent and pious example is well worthy of imitation, suitable to and adorning his profession.”⁶⁸

Although Pasquotank was the most compactly settled of any of the Albemarle precincts and had a congregation of Anglicans, it had no church when the Reverend James Adams arrived.⁶⁹ According to his report, there were 1,332 inhabitants, 900 of whom “professed to be members of the Church of England.” There were also 210 Quakers, “a few Presbyterians, about eleven who professed no religion at all.” There were 211 blacks, a few of whom had received some religious instruction, but who had not been baptized because their masters believed that a Christian slave was by law free.⁷⁰ Adams found Currituck also without a church. The precinct had 539 white inhabitants and 97 blacks. He found only 1 Quaker in the whole precinct, 5 or 6 people with no religion at all, and the remainder of the population “communicants of the Church of England.”⁷¹

When Adams arrived, the government was in the hands of “such persons as were promoters of God’s service and good order,” but soon the Quakers “did in a most tumultuous manner stirr up the ignorant and irreligious, who are by much the greater number in this colony, by bold lies against both the government and us; and we are now ruled by such as are generally friends only to drunkenness, irreligious and profane insomuch that in many places where before I met with all encouragement and civility I find nothing but reproaches, threatenings, and ill usage, and many, who then seemed zealous and forward, are now turned quite back.”⁷² He said that the situation had grown worse since Mr. Gordon’s departure, and that “the most sacred parts of religion” were being “impiously profaned and ridiculed.” For example, “we had a communion lately, and the looser sort at their drunken revelling spared not to give about their bread and drink in

the words of administration to bring into contempt that most holy sacrament, and in derision of those few persons who then received it; and yet such flagrant crimes, notwithstanding of my complaint to our magistrates, go unpunished and unregarded.”⁷³

The financial support Adams received from his congregations was insufficient to pay for his “diet and lodging.” He had a very laborious mission, the places where he preached “being some of them sixty, others seventy miles distant.” Yet in the province he baptized 247 white children and 8 adults, and administered the Lord’s Supper three times.⁷⁴ Writing from Currituck in 1710, Adams said: “I have struggled for two years with a lawless and barbarous people, in general, and endured more, I believe, than any of the Society’s missionaries has done before me.”⁷⁵ After suffering “a world of misery and trouble, both in body and mind,” he decided to request a transfer. When they learned of his plans, the vestries of both Pasquotank and Currituck wrote letters to the S.P.G. praising Adams’s “exemplary character and kindly disposition” and expressing sincere regret that he intended to leave. Before he could embark, he became ill and died in North Carolina on 3 October 1710.⁷⁶

North Carolina was now left without an Anglican clergyman. According to Hawks, “it had been better so to have remained than to have borne the infliction of the next man who was appointed.”⁷⁷ This was the Reverend John Urmston [Urmstone], who was sent by the S.P.G. in 1711 and who served both Chowan and Pasquotank parishes for a decade. Urmston, one of the most colorful and controversial of all the Anglican missionaries, has usually been described as quarrelsome, selfish, and covetous. His letters to the Society, which are both numerous and interesting, indicate that he was hard working but much disappointed and embittered by the people’s lack of response. On one occasion Governor Charles Eden commended Urmston to the Society as “really an honest painstaking Gentleman & worthy of your care, but unable with the utmost endeavours, to serve a half of Albemarle County.” Yet some years later, Eden called him “that rum-soaked missionary.”⁷⁸

Almost every letter Urmston wrote to the Society is filled with complaints of his unparalleled sufferings and solemn assurances of his and his family’s impending starvation.⁷⁹ Once he wrote: “I’ve not enough to keep me with bread six months, no beef, butter nor cheese, no fat to butter our Hominy, nor make soap, no tallow to

make me a few candles. So yet we shall have a tedious winter, long dark nights, hungry bellies and dirty linen.”⁸⁰ Six times in ten years, he assured the S.P.G. that he expected to be laid in the tomb from sheer want of food.⁸¹ And yet this man, thus eternally starving, managed to buy three hundred acres of land, three cows and calves, five sheep, and “fowls of all sorts.” He also purchased two black slaves and a canoe “in order to serve my cure.” His English maidservant turned out to be “a notorious whore and thief” who robbed him and ran away—the fourth servant he had lost while in the colony. To add to his other misfortunes, he “was most abominably cheated with a Negroe who died within ten days after I bought him.”⁸²

On 31 December 1719, Urmston informed the Society: “I am more miserable than ever, and harder put to it to subsist myself and poor family than I used to be.”⁸³ He wanted to return to England but “was being detained in this wretched country.” In April 1720 he was indicted for drunkenness and profanity in Chowan County and was fined by Chief Justice Christopher Gale.⁸⁴ He had been forced to borrow thirty pounds and local officials were threatening to seize his house and goods. This prompted him to launch an attack on Gale and on the Lords Proprietors themselves. He declared that they “ought to be ashamed of their famous country,” that “there is not the like [of] it under the Sun,” and that he “would rather be Currate of Bear Garden than Bishop of North Carolina.”⁸⁵ He described the province as “a nest of the most notorious profligates upon earth” and a “hell of a hole,” concluding that “this lawless people will allow of no power or authority in either Church or state save what is derived from them.”⁸⁶ In 1721, Urmston returned to England, thankful to get away from “such an obscure corner of the world, inhabited by the dregs and gleanings of all other English colonies.”⁸⁷ The S.P.G. records contain the following entry regarding his ultimate fate: “Afterwards fell into disrepute, employed in Maryland, burned to death in 1732 in North Carolina.”⁸⁸

Not long after Mr. Urmston’s arrival in 1711, the Society sent the Reverend Giles Rainsford to the colony. After “a 12 weeks passage” from England to Virginia, Rainsford reached North Carolina in June 1712. He and Urmston agreed that he would serve the west shore of the Chowan River and Urmston would serve the north shore at the lower end, including all of “Paspentanck.”⁸⁹ At his first service, Rainsford noted that many who were present were “perfect strangers to the

method and worship of our Church.”⁹⁰ He was much interested in the conversion of the Indians and even proposed to instruct the son of an Indian chief.⁹¹

Rainsford got off to a good start, despite the disturbed conditions of the colony during the Tuscarora War and the vicious reports circulated about him by Urmston.⁹² But Rainsford’s health was poor. In 1714 he moved to Virginia, having written to the Society: “I am ashamed to tell you of my fare, for the whole year is one continued Lent—fish being the constant attendant of the table.”⁹³ He also said that for a large part of the time “he was forced to sleep in an old tobacco barn.”⁹⁴

For two years after Rainsford’s departure, Urmston was the only missionary of the Church of England in the province. And even if he “visited all the corners of the colony, however obscure or inaccessible,” as he claimed, Urmston was unable to serve the vast field. Apparently he administered the Lord’s Supper only twice in a five-year period.⁹⁵

Governor Eden, an ardent churchman, was thoroughly dissatisfied with Urmston and felt that the province needed more missionaries. Writing to the S.P.G. on 10 May 1716, he said: “These poor people of North Carolina are not so black as they have been painted, but on the contrary are as willing as any of his Majesty’s Subjects on the Continent to contribute to the utmost to the subsisting of Ministers that are Gentlemen of good lives and affable behaviour & conversation.”⁹⁶ At Eden’s request, the Society instructed the Bishop of London’s commissary at Charleston, the Reverend Gideon Johnston, to send one of the missionaries in South Carolina to the Albemarle area. Accordingly, the Reverend Ebenezer Taylor, who had offered to come to North Carolina if Johnston would advance him a half-year’s salary, went to Chowan Precinct.⁹⁷ There he labored for a year, giving considerable attention to the instruction of blacks and Indians, until he was stopped by popular prejudice. He then moved to Perquimans.

Taylor’s mission in North Carolina was ineffective and ended tragically. “Aged and infirm,” he reportedly lived on voluntary contributions and did not receive the legal provision for the clergy. The “irreligion of the people” distressed him, and he was unable to prevail on his congregation to attend the Lord’s Supper. While on a missionary journey from Bath to the Core Sound settlement in February 1720, he was exposed to severe weather in an open boat for ten days and nights and apparently perished from the cold. But it was sus-

pected that he was murdered by his crew, none of whom perished, as his watch and £290 had been taken.⁹⁸

When Urmston left the province in May 1721, North Carolina was again without an Anglican clergyman. Governor Eden wrote that Urmston's "desertion" had left "nine parishes consisting of upwards of 2500 white souls entirely destitute of any assistance in religious affairs." Again Eden asked the Society for a missionary. The S.P.G. sent Reverend Thomas Newnam, who arrived on 10 April 1722. Newnam preached, by turns, at six or seven different places anywhere from 12 to 150 miles apart.⁹⁹ He found the people "willing to hear but ignorant." There was only a scattering of Quakers and he did not fear their influence. Although the Indians were numerous and quiet, he despaired of converting them.¹⁰⁰ The natural consequence of Newnam's extensive travel and work was frequent illness and finally death, after about half a year's labor. He had so endeared himself to the people that the Assembly voted his widow a gratuity of forty pounds, and the S.P.G. showed its appreciation by giving her his whole year's salary of sixty pounds.¹⁰¹

By this time North Carolina had become an extremely unattractive station among the English clergymen who had offered themselves as missionaries to the colonies.¹⁰² It was not until Sir Richard Everard was made governor in 1725 that another clergyman was employed by the S.P.G. The new missionary, the Reverend John Blacknell [Blacknal, Blacknall], probably arrived with the governor. Blacknell did not send the Society reports of his work, and three years later it did not know where he was located.¹⁰³ He remained in North Carolina only a short time and about his only act of which there is a record was his violation of the law by uniting in marriage a white man and a mulatto woman. He was brought before Chief Justice Christopher Gale, after having informed against himself, and claimed one-half of the fifty-pound penalty allowed by law to the informer.¹⁰⁴ Yet Governor Everard wrote the Society that Blacknell was "a very good preacher, a Gentleman perfectly sober, beloved by all but Mr. Burrington's party." The governor added that Blacknell "has made about 160 Christians since he has been here."¹⁰⁵ As this comment implies, Blacknell sided with Governor Everard in his feuds with George Burrington, his predecessor in office.

About this time, the Reverend Thomas Bailey appeared in North Carolina. Bailey had not been sent by the S.P.G. but had come at the invitation of the vestry of Bertie Precinct and perhaps at the sugges-

tion of Burrington, who thought that Everard would not let Bailey preach "and thus furnish more fuel to the fires of party strife." Bailey had not been in the province long before he sent the Society a "Remonstrance Against Mr. Richard Everard."¹⁰⁶ Shortly thereafter, in a letter of 25 January 1725(6) to the Bishop of London, the governor presented his side of the story:

We have one Thos. Bailey who calls himself, a Missionary, he formerly was in Philadelphia, and turned out there for a scandalous drunken Man. came into Virginia & turned there likewise out for his Vile actions, then came into my Province where if he could get Credit or money would be continually drunk & breaking windows or be fighting, this Bailey lately came into Edenton, where I reside & for 2 days kept himself much disordered in liquor, on the next day being on a Saturday, he spoke to my son, to desire him to procure my leave for him to preach which I positively denied him, at which he was very uneasy & by the instigation of Burrington the late Governor he came to me on sunday about 12 o'clock & demanded the key of the Court house, which I also refused, on which he told me, if the Court house door was not opened for him, it shall be broke open & immediately went to the Door & broke it open, in this Court house are kept all records & journals of the assemblies, on which the chief justice bound him over to Court. Mr. Burrington is his bail.¹⁰⁷

Bailey wrote the Society that he "read Divine Service & gave the people a Sermon." The next morning he was arrested and would have been jailed had it not been for "Mr. Burrington's compassion & love to the clergy."¹⁰⁸

After these troubles Bailey left Edenton and went to Bath. The vestrymen at Bath, where he served almost three years, were impressed by his good conduct, zeal, and industry. They asked the S.P.G. to enroll him as a missionary, but this was not done.¹⁰⁹ He later served the Hyde Precinct.

Bailey was the last missionary in North Carolina during the Proprietary period, which ended in 1729 with the purchase of seven of the eight Proprietary shares by the Crown.¹¹⁰ At the time there were nine parishes in the colony without a single clergyman. Governor Everard, however, did not seem discouraged by the prospects. In a letter to the Society, he described the inhabitants as "a people per-

fectly well affected to the Church, and very desirous of giving encouragement to ministers of a courteous and affable behavior, to reside among them, could they have the good fortune to be supplied with such.”¹¹¹ Up to this time, the colony had not had this good fortune. The story of the Church, like that of the colony itself, had been one of slow growth, confusion, and disorder.



Ruins of St. Philip's Church, Brunswick County, built during the 1740s and burned during the Revolutionary War. North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.



St. Thomas's Church, Bath, built in 1734. This church is the oldest Episcopal church building in North Carolina.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.



St. Paul's Church, Edenton. Construction began in 1737 but was not completed until 1774 when glass was finally installed in the windows.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.



St. James's Church, Wilmington, built before the Revolutionary War, served the bustling seaport of Wilmington.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

The Anglican Church in North Carolina: The Royal Period

HUGH TALMAGE LEFLER

With the change of North Carolina from a Proprietary to a royal colony in 1729, the Crown sought to strengthen the Church and to "put the Establishment on a sound footing."¹ Accordingly, Governor George Burrington was instructed, in 1731, to get laws enacted that would give adequate support to the Church, to "permit a liberty of conscience to all persons (except Papists)," to "take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served," and that "no schoolmaster be henceforth permitted to come from this Kingdom and to keep school in that our said Province without the license of the Lord Bishop of London."² The governor tried vainly to get legislation to this effect. His successor, Gabriel Johnston, who had received similar instructions, also met with little success. He reported to the legislative session of 1739 that only at Bath and Edenton were church services held regularly, that the state of religion was "really scandalous," and that there was "a deplorable and almost total want of divine worship throughout the province," a condition he urged the Assembly to remedy "without loss of time."³

Prodded to action by the governor, the Assembly of 1741 passed a vestry act that was a sharp departure from earlier laws. It provided that the vestry, instead of being named by the Assembly, should be elected by the freeholders of each parish every two years. Each vestryman was also required to take the following oath: "I, A. B., do declare, that I will not oppose the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is by law established." If he refused the oath, he would be fined three pounds unless he was a known dissenter. The law also gave the vestry power to suspend immoral clergymen and to "distress on property" to collect delinquent taxes.⁴ This law was disallowed by the king in Council because it gave the sole right of "presentation," or selection of the rector, to the vestries—a power "incompatible with the rights of the Crown and ecclesiastical jurisdiction."⁵

Another vestry act was passed in 1754, due largely to the urging of Governor Arthur Dobbs. Given the territorial expansion and rapid growth of population in the colony, the number of parishes was increased from twelve to twenty-four; freeholders were to be fined twenty shillings for failure to vote for vestrymen; the rector's salary was to be increased from fifty to eighty pounds; the vestry was authorized to purchase glebes and build churches; and a collector of parish taxes was to be appointed by the vestries to collect all parish levies. The power to select the rector was left with the vestry, but, if this body did not choose one within twelve months, the governor was to appoint the rector.⁶

The Bishop of London had steadily objected to the vestries' claim of the right to choose rectors, and he had repeatedly advised the Board of Trade to recommend to the king and Privy Council the disallowance of all such laws.⁷ Accordingly, the 1754 law met the same fate as the earlier vestry acts, and for the same reasons. According to Stephen B. Weeks, a leading authority on this subject: "This was the beginning of a triangular fight between Dissenters, democratic Churchmen, and supporters of the rights of the Crown. The ecclesiastical history of the next ten years is of interest chiefly because of the stubborn resistance to the enforcement of church laws by the Dissenters, the stubborn determination of the Churchmen to have an establishment with the right of presentation and the steady opposition of the Crown to both parties."⁸ Within the next decade five other Church laws were passed, two in 1758, two in 1760, and one in 1762; but all were disallowed on the ground that the right of presentation by vestries was "incompatible with the right of the Crown and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction."⁹

The 1762 law increased the salary of ministers to £133 6s. 8d., plus marriage and burial fees. The law expressly stated "that the sole right of Presentation of a Minister to every Parish within the Province, shall be and remain in the several Vestries thereof." Each clergyman was required to have a license from the Bishop of London. In addition, the governor was given the power to suspend offending ministers.¹⁰ Finally, in 1765, Governor Dobbs got a vestry act passed that was approved by the king, the Privy Council, and the Bishop of London. This law was similar to the 1762 act, except there was no reference to the method for "presentation."¹¹ At this time, according to Dobbs, there were only six Anglican clergymen in North Carolina, only "four of which are pious and perform their duty," and he hoped

that the new law would improve the state of organized religion.¹² Later in 1765, William Tryon, who had become governor following the death of Dobbs, wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) that “no British colony on this continent stands in more, or so much need of regular moral clergymen, as this does.” He said that the Church of England “have the majority of all other sects,” and that, if enough exemplary and orthodox clergymen were sent into the country, “the larger number of every sect would come over to the established religion.”¹³

Tryon pointed out the desperate need of the colony for clergymen. “There is at present 32 parishes in the province, and as five are already provided, twenty-seven clergymen are only required, a number so small, that it will be scarce sufficient to perform the marriage and burial services, offices at present performed without the greatest order or decency, by the Magistrates of the Peace. Governor Dobbs was interred by a gentleman of this order, no clergyman living within one hundred miles of Brunswick.”¹⁴ The governor further reported that there were only five church buildings in the whole province:

At Brunswick, only outside walls built and roofed.

Wilmington, walls only.

New Bern, in good repair.

Bath, wanting considerable repairs.

Edenton, wanting as much.

He expected the churches at Wilmington and Brunswick to be completed within a year. Tryon said that “Chapels are established in every county which is served by a Reader where no clergy can be procured.”¹⁵

Tryon, a zealous churchman, overestimated the strength of his own Church and minimized the power and zeal of the “dissenting sects,” although the Church achieved its greatest growth and expansion while he was in office. During the six years of his governorship (1765–71), the number of Anglican clergymen rose from six to eighteen serving that many parishes, although this still left eleven parishes without ministers.¹⁶ The vestry act passed in 1764 for five years was renewed in 1768 for another five, and in 1774, during Josiah Martin’s governorship, for ten years, “the longest existence that ever was allowed to any Vestry Act in this province.”¹⁷ Commenting on this renewal, the Reverend James Reed, S.P.G. missionary at New Bern, wrote: “I sincerely wish the period had been shorter, or indefinite for

there is the greatest probability that in ten years the dissenting interest will be strong enough to carry everything in the Assembly, and that the Vestry Act will then receive its quietus.”¹⁸ But the vestry act, and with it the Established Church, was not to receive its “quietus” from the dissenting interests in the Assembly. “Both went down along with other monarchical institutions, before the revolutionary movement of 1776,” for, when the convention of that year came to adopt a constitution for the newly independent state, churchmen joined with dissenters in inserting a section prohibiting the “establishment of any one religious Church or Denomination in this State in Preference to any other.”¹⁹

Dobbs and Tryon were the only royal governors of North Carolina who showed much zeal for the promotion of religion. The last royal governor, Martin, gave the Church only halfhearted support. The number of parishes, communicants, and clergymen increased considerably in the decade before the Revolution, but the Church was never as strong or popular in North Carolina as it was in Virginia or South Carolina. There were many reasons for this. The Reverend George MacLaren Brydon, late historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia, maintained that the people “were in a leaderless and chaotic state” because of “the lack of vestry laws with authority to collect taxes.” The first part of this statement may be correct, but the second part is far from true. “The laws existed, but not the will to enforce them or obey them.”²⁰ Persons with no religious affiliation and non-Anglicans, or “dissenters,” who constituted the bulk of the population, resented the Church’s support by public taxes as well as its control of education and other special privileges, particularly the law that permitted only Anglican clergymen to perform the marriage ceremony. Among the causes of the Church’s unpopularity were its forms, doctrines, and ritual; its aristocratic outlook and “lack of interest in the common people”; its lack of emphasis on preaching; and its lack of emotional appeal.²¹

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the Anglican Church in North Carolina—and in all of the English colonies—was the lack of a resident bishop in America. The word “episcopacy” refers to bishops, and an Episcopal organization without a bishop to confirm members by the “laying on of hands,” to ordain ministers, and to discipline the clergy was an “anomaly which handicapped the Church in many ways.” The Bishop of London, who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction of all the colonies, had a commissary in Maryland, Virginia, and South

Carolina to “supervise the affairs of the Church,” but this official could not ordain clergymen or exercise certain other powers of the bishop. And the Church in North Carolina never had a commissary. As Bishop Cheshire wrote, “The Church in North Carolina was helpless, blind, and paralyzed.”²² It is obvious that the lack of a resident bishop retarded the development of a native clergy, because prospective ministers—usually poor young men—had to go to England for ordination. At least six native North Carolinians made the arduous journey to London in order to be ordained.²³

The Church in the colony never had enough ministers, churches and chapels, or financial support. North Carolina had fewer clergymen than any English colony of comparable size and population—only forty-six during the whole colonial era, thirty-three of whom were supplied by the S.P.G.²⁴ North Carolina was one of the least desirable assignments, for, of more than seven hundred clergymen licensed by the Bishop of London for colonial service, only forty-four were assigned to North Carolina and not all of these appointees came. Some of those who did arrive soon asked to be transferred elsewhere.²⁵

It was not easy for the S.P.G. to procure missionaries for any of the colonies, and the steps to be taken in England by the individual missionaries presented considerable difficulties. The prospective missionary had to obtain testimonials and an interview with the Society and, if he succeeded in this, he still had to preach before a committee before receiving final approval. Only a small proportion of candidates reached this goal. To many, poverty was an insuperable barrier. They often lacked money for the journey to London and to defray their expenses there, “while their affairs went slowly forward with a procrastination that must have been heartbreaking to the prospective missionary, however necessary in the interest of society.”²⁶ This was particularly true of candidates from the colonies. A number of young men from America were eager to become missionaries, despite the hardships involved in the long hazardous voyage to England to obtain ordination.

A good example of this was the experience of Edward Jones, who left North Carolina in 1769 to seek Holy Orders. Writing from London to Governor Tryon on 25 March, he said:

After a more tedious confinement on Sea than I expected, I arrived at Liverpool (for the Want of a Ship bound to any other

Port of England) where I was taken ill, & lay two months in the most dangerous situation, of the Dysentery, so that my Board together with the Doctor's Bill exhausted me of that little I expected to live upon during the time I shou'd be obliged to tarry in London, Which the Revd. George Micklejohn informed me would not exceed two months at longest: so soon as I was capable of walking about I left Liverpool to come here on foot, but being unaccustomed to walk far at a time, my feet bled and were extremely sore so that I could not walk more than 10 miles per day and being without money, I sold my cloathes for less than quarter value to travel upon, and for the 4 last Days of my Journey, I lived upon a penny a day.²⁷

Once in London, Jones found to his dismay that the recommendations he carried from Governor Tryon to the Bishop of London were of little use, for the bishop declared that, were he to ordain Jones on those papers alone, he would become liable for his maintenance. Jones's letter continued:

What to do in this deplorable situation I could not tell; here I was far from my native country, destitute of friends, relations, money and employment to support me; the Devil that great Foe to Men and who is unwearied in his attempt to ruin their precious, immortal Souls was not neglectful of making use of this opportunity, and I am greatly apprehensive would have accomplished his End, by causing me to be guilty of that fearful crying sin, Suicide, had I not luckily heard of Miss Tryon and of Captain Collett who immediately relieved me in that despondent despicable and indigent situation . . . I have sold all in North Carolina and assigned my place there, as my motive to enter into Ecclesiastical Orders was not worldly Lucre . . . I have ventured my Life, come into a strange country and suffered almost beyond conception.²⁸

Later in the year, Jones was ordained by the Bishop of London and returned to take charge of St. Stephen's Parish in Johnston County, North Carolina.

With a bishop's license in his pocket and with a parish anxiously awaiting him across the Atlantic, a missionary still faced many problems. He might be a single man, but more than likely he was married and had children. After he had at last transported himself to Ports-

mouth or Plymouth, weeks might pass before a ship was found ready to sail for America. Many more weeks (ten in one case) might have to be endured with diminishing resources waiting for favorable winds; the money—probably twenty to fifty pounds—allowed for traveling costs “vanished into the pockets of lodging-keepers or of the hosts of indifferent inns.”²⁹ Often when at last the “tedious passage” was begun—a voyage sometimes lasting as long as three months—the missionary was left to face the New World in a penniless condition. It is remarkable that the S.P.G. was able to procure the services of as many missionaries as it did.

When the royal era in North Carolina began in 1729, there was not one Anglican minister in the province; indeed, until then the Cape Fear area did not even have an organized parish. In the previous year, the Reverend John Lapierre [La Pierre], a Huguenot who had been ordained by the Bishop of London in 1708 and who had served at least three different parishes in South Carolina during the next two decades, moved into the Lower Cape Fear region. For the first year he was supported “by an allowance from some people at Cape Fear,” and later by a parish levy “without success.”³⁰ Writing to the Bishop of London from “New Brunswick in Cape Fear alias” on 9 October 1733, Lapierre said that the inhabitants of that area “had sent for him” and that he had performed divine service “where it had never been.” He declared that in his third year promises to pay his salary “fell short of near £100.” He served his last six months without any compensation and was supplanted by another South Carolina clergyman, the Reverend Richard Marsden, “a man whose whole study was to undermine me.” Lapierre warned the bishop “that any clergyman that has a mind to come thither . . . will find a lawless place, a scattered people, no glebe, no parsonage to receive him, without which Governor Burrington told them that no minister should ever be sent to them from the Society nor from your Lordship.”³¹

Marsden, who replaced Lapierre, had been discharged from St. Philip’s in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1707. Twenty years later he showed up in Virginia without license of the Bishop of London and was given Lynnhaven Parish in Princess Anne County. He “ran away” from Virginia “above £400 in debt” and went to the Cape Fear area, where he falsely told the inhabitants he had been commissioned by the Bishop of London and the S.P.G. as “inspector of the clergy in these parts”—in other words as “Commissary.”³² The Society refused to recognize him, doubtless because it felt that he had taken improper

advantage of Lapierre. It finally gave him an appointment in 1738 but cancelled it "before he was established a missionary under the Society's seal."³³

Yet Marsden worked hard in the discharge of his pastoral duties. Writing to the Bishop of London on 7 July 1735, he declared that "far from acting for worldly advantage, he had gone through more fatigue and labor in the discharge of his office than any three missionaries, and had been actuated by the most unselfish motives." He said that he was well known throughout Cape Fear and had baptized "about thirteen hundred men, women, and children, besides some Negro slaves and never received the least compensation."³⁴ Two years later he did receive a 500-acre land grant in Bertie County. For some years he was also a "public merchant and traffikant."³⁵ He died in 1741.

In 1732, the Reverend Beville [Bevil] Granville, whom Lord Baltimore had persuaded to leave England for Maryland, landed in North Carolina where he "accidentally met Mr. Burrington." The governor persuaded him "to stay in this Province, there being so great occasion for Ministers" that he had baptized "near 1000 children and persons in a very short time after my coming in."³⁶ Granville remained at Edenton for about a year and indicated his willingness "to fix in a country where the clergy is so much wanted and where so few care to settle."³⁷ Despite Governor Burrington's letter to the Society describing Granville as "incessant and indefatigable in his endeavours," the S.P.G. did not give Granville this appointment, and he left the province—probably headed for Maryland.

The first missionary appointed by the S.P.G. for the royal province of North Carolina was sent as an "itinerant."³⁸ This missionary, the Reverend John Boyd, was also recommended by Governor Burrington.³⁹ Educated at the University of Glasgow, Boyd had practiced medicine in Virginia for seven years and had lived in North Carolina a short time before sailing for England in 1732 to present his application for appointment as a missionary. It was accepted, and he was ordained by the Bishop of London and assigned to North Carolina.⁴⁰

Boyd agreed to serve the vestry of North West Parish of Bertie in Albemarle County for ten months during the year, reserving the other two months for visiting other parts of the province. This parish was 100 miles long and 50 miles broad. Boyd preached in seven different places and rode on horseback as much as 260 miles in a month. The vestry had agreed to pay him "£400 a year of their currency,"

which he said passed at the rate of “10 to 1 sterling.” Five years after his appointment, he complained that he had not yet received 50 pounds.⁴¹

When Boyd began his mission he found “a Laodecean luke warmth,” but he did much to convert the inhabitants to “a better way of thinking.”⁴² During the first three years, he reported that he had baptized a thousand infants and thirty adults. The last time he had administered the Lord’s Supper he had twenty communicants, in contrast with four the first time. He wrote that he had baptized some “former Quakers” and had brought many “misled Anabaptists” back to the fold.⁴³ Boyd continued to serve the province until his death on 19 May 1738.⁴⁴

When Boyd died, Governor Gabriel Johnston recommended the Reverend John Garzia, a clergyman in Virginia, as his successor.⁴⁵ Apparently Garzia had been serving the North Carolina area for some years. With the completion of St. Thomas’s Church at Bath—“the oldest standing church in North Carolina,” the wardens and vestry of the church petitioned the S.P.G. to appoint Garzia as their minister. The vestry’s letter of 10 October 1734 stated: “We are now building at our own proper costs a Small Church (being the only one in the whole province) but, we fear, that our abilities will be far short of completing and ordaining the same as becomes the temple of God.”⁴⁶

Because of the parish’s poverty, Garzia was compelled to apply to the Society for support as a regular missionary. Governor Johnston felt that the people of St. Thomas’s had induced Garzia to leave Virginia and settle among them by fair promises, and then “had shown their willingness to let him starve” with his wife and three children “by not paying his little Sallery for two years and a half past. . . . His indefatigable care in going from parish to parish preaching the Word of God and baptizing deserved the consideration of the society.”⁴⁷ In 1739 the S.P.G. appointed Garzia to the Chowan Precinct and the area “northwest of the Neuse River,” requesting that the people contribute to his support and grant him free passage over rivers within his mission.⁴⁸ As a result of this request, the legislature passed a law granting free passage to all missionaries over all rivers within their missions, the ferrymen to be reimbursed at public expense.

Garzia’s report of his mission was discouraging. In it there were two thousand “heathen and infidels.” Immorality had become widespread, and adultery, incest, and blasphemy had taken deep root among the people. He declared that he was oppressed “by an invet-

erate and obstinate parish whose members sought to hinder the Word of God." They not only refused to attend worship themselves but also tried to prevent others from attending. They also refused to pay his small salary of £37 10s. a year. Since his appointment, his only compensation had come from the S.P.G.⁴⁹ Yet Garzia continued to labor in his mission. Occasionally he was able to supplement his income from the S.P.G. by performing extra duties; once he was paid £20 for preaching a sermon before the Assembly.⁵⁰ His industry is indicated by the fact that in 1742 he baptized 623 children, 9 adults, and 3 blacks.⁵¹ This poor, frustrated missionary died on 29 November 1744 "from a fall from a horse while visiting the sick."⁵²

One of the most industrious missionaries of the Church in North Carolina was James Moir. He served for a quarter-century—longer than any other S.P.G. missionary in the province. Before his appointment in 1740, he had lived for six years in South Carolina; on the recommendation of the commissary and clergy of that province, he was ordained minister.⁵³ Moir arrived in North Carolina as an "itinerant missionary," but he soon settled in New Hanover County. In 1741, this county was divided into two parishes, St. James's on the north side of the Cape Fear River and St. Philip's on the south side. Moir proposed to settle at St. James's Parish but the vestry refused to pay him the fifty pounds sterling per annum he requested. When the St. Philip's vestry offered him sixty pounds, he agreed to serve the south side of Cape Fear.⁵⁴

Moir's parish covered some 150 miles of coastline and its inhabitants were widely dispersed. Sometimes he baptized as many as one hundred people in a day. Yet he received very little consideration from the parishioners; he was "treated with no generosity" by the vestry, and his salary was frequently paid in rice. He wrote the Society: "It is now four years since I came to settle in this province, and though I have undergone many hardships in traveling . . . yet they don't discover the least inclination to find a convenient house for me, nor pasture for my horse, which are a very uncertain possession here, as being apt to stray, when not stolen."⁵⁵ In 1745 Moir was lodging in the garret of a little house; the lower story served as a chapel on Sundays and a schoolroom during the week. His slave cooked for himself in the open air whereas Moir was obliged, so he declared, to shift from place to place for a dinner or supper. He frequently dined in taverns or public houses of entertainment, which he thought "the very worst upon the face of the earth in more Respects than one. And

what is still more provoking, they wonder that being thus situated, I do not fancy myself in Paradise sometimes.”⁵⁶

At Easter 1747, Moir removed to Edgecombe Parish more than a hundred miles to the northwest.⁵⁷ Here he was much happier than he had been in New Hanover. A year and a half later he reported that his salary had been paid promptly, that his parishioners had promised to purchase a glebe for him, and that he had been given more time to “officiate in remote places” than his former vestry had permitted. Moir remained in Edgecombe longer than he had planned because “a great number in the country had turn’d Baptists for want of a clergyman.” On 22 November 1748, he informed the Society that “the people seem much inclined to encourage missionaries and often complain of being pester’d with sermons of Baptist teachers, whom I always found to be as grossly ignorant as those they pretend to teach.”⁵⁸ The following May he reported that the church in Edgecombe was almost completed and that, “upon his agreeing not to leave them,” his parishioners had laid a tax for building two new chapels.⁵⁹

About 1750, however, Moir did move from Edgecombe to Northampton County, perhaps because his salary was being paid in the rapidly depreciating paper currency.⁶⁰ In Northampton, he officiated at the church and at three chapels. Sometimes he preached as many as three or four funeral sermons a week. In October 1764, he reported that during the preceding six months he had baptized 207 white children and 50 black infants.⁶¹ During his twenty-five-year ministry in North Carolina, he claimed to have baptized a total of 4,409 persons—a larger number than any Anglican missionary in the province except Clement Hall.⁶²

In November 1765, Moir resigned from the Northampton parish, giving ill health as his reason. But in his letter of resignation he said that the sheriff had withheld his salary for two and a half years and that he still had not been paid, although the vestry had sued the sheriff.⁶³ Moir then went north and lived for about a year in New England where his health improved. In 1766, he came as far south as Suffolk, Virginia; from there he wrote the Society that he had not been paid and that his “constitution is so crazy that I despair of being in a condition to officiate in such large parishes.”⁶⁴ He planned to return to England, but died in February 1767 before he could make the trip.⁶⁵

On 29 March 1764, Governor Dobbs had written the secretary of the S.P.G. that there were only six clergymen in the province, “4 of which perform their duty diligently in the towns of Edenton, Bath,

New Bern and Halifax,” but “the other two Mr. Moir and Mr. Miller, by all I can hear, do not behave as clergymen ought.”⁶⁶ Dobbs said that Moir

has no parish, performs very little casual service; he has been endeavoring to procure a certificate of his good behavior, but I am informed with very bad success from any men of rank or character, he lives upon a plantation penuriously and inhospitably; and lays out his salary as missionary in England to retire and to live upon when he loses his support as missionary; his character as I am informed is to stir up and make divisions in the neighborhood instead of Promoting Peace and love; having observed that he made a return to the Society of great numbers of negroes and others baptized by him, I enquired into it and was informed by Gentlemen in his neighborhood that they never heard of any number baptized by him.⁶⁷

Dobbs’s appraisal of Moir may have been unfair, but his criticism of the Reverend William Miller was well founded. Writing to the Society on 29 March 1764, Dobbs said “as to the other, Miller, who I had the misfortune to recommend to be ordained upon my first coming over [1754], upon a petition of many inhabitants of Rowan County; he has since changed from Parish to Parish under strong suspicion of living irregularly.”⁶⁸ If Miller served the Rowan County Parish, the records fail to show it. They do indicate, however, that he was settled in St. Gabriel’s Parish in Duplin County as early as 1763 and was still there in April 1767. He held this post “by presentation” of the governor.⁶⁹

Miller was in constant trouble with his parishioners and with the vestry. On 24 December 1763, the governor and his council heard a complaint from the “inhabitants” of St. Gabriel’s Parish “on Account of the notorious immorality of his behavior,” and Miller was ordered to appear before the governor and Council at its next meeting in February 1764.⁷⁰ Again on 18 November 1766, the Council heard a complaint “by several of the inhabitants” of St. Patrick’s Parish in Dobbs County “setting forth Several Acts of Immorality and ill behaviour” of Miller and praying that he “may not be inducted for that Parish.” After examining the evidence, the Council found the charges against the missionary “not sufficiently supported and of a trifling nature,” and it recommended Miller to the vestry of the parish “for a further tryal of twelve months.”⁷¹ The last reference to Miller in the S.P.G. records, a report of Governor Tryon on 20 April 1767, indicates that

he was serving St. Patrick's Parish, Dobbs County, but was "not yet established."⁷²

Perhaps the most successful Anglican missionary in North Carolina, and certainly the best known to later Church historians, was the Reverend Clement Hall. He was not a native of the province, as some earlier writers have said, but was born in England, perhaps in Coventry.⁷³ About 1731 he settled in Perquimans County, and in October of that year he bought a plantation for forty pounds from James Perishoe on the northeast side of Perquimans River.⁷⁴ On 1 March 1739, Governor Johnston appointed Hall a justice of the peace for Perquimans County.⁷⁵

Along with caring for his plantation and performing his duties as a member of the County Court, Hall served as a lay reader for congregations that had no minister.⁷⁶ In 1742 he married Frances Foster, the daughter of a prominent planter and officeholder. On 12 August 1743, a number of prominent citizens wrote the S.P.G. asking that Hall be appointed "itinerant missionary" for the colony.⁷⁷ After deciding to apply for the appointment, Hall obtained letters of recommendation from the attorney general, the sheriffs, and the clergy of the province. Before the year was out, he went to London where he was received by a committee of the Society which recommended him to the Bishop of London.⁷⁸ On 14 January 1744, Hall was appointed a missionary "to the four northern counties" of North Carolina. His salary was set at thirty pounds per annum and he was given a small library for the use of his parish. He also received a warrant for twenty pounds to pay his passage to the province.⁷⁹ "After a tedious passage of 14 weeks," Hall arrived in Virginia on 23 November. Six days later he was in Edenton, North Carolina, ready to begin a mission that would last until 1759.⁸⁰

In his first letter to the S.P.G., Hall reported that he "found neither church nor glebe in that part of the country nor larger salaries than about £37:10s which was provided by law." Nevertheless, the Chowan vestry agreed to pay him forty-five pounds a year if he would settle at Edenton. Because there was no church, he would have to officiate in the courthouse until a "place of worship" was completed. Every third Sunday he was to preach at a place about forty miles away. At least twice a year Hall traveled through his "vast mission territory."⁸¹ He journeyed as far west as Granville County and on several occasions served congregations in Virginia. One of his regular

preaching stations was Sarum (in present Gates County), where there was a school for Indian children.⁸²

Before the end of the first year of his mission, Hall informed the S.P.G. that he had baptized 780 children and 36 adults, "one of which was brought up in Quakerism, and ten out of the number were Negro slaves."⁸³ On another occasion, he said he had "journey'd thro' my North Mission, preach'd 16 sermons within three weeks and baptized about 347 persons." On 19 May 1752, Hall wrote the Society about a journey through the "North Mission," where he had preached to congregations so large that they "were sometimes obliged to assemble under the Shady Trees because the houses would not contain them." He summarized his labors as follows:

I have thro' God's gracious assistance and blessing in about 7 or 8 years, though frequently visited with sickness, been enabled to perform (for aught I know) as great ministerial duties as any clergyman in North America: viz. to journey 14,000 miles, preach about 675 sermons, baptize about 5783 white children, 243 black children, 57 white adults, and about 112 black adults—in all 6195 persons, sometimes administering the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to two or three hundred communicants in one journey besides churching of women, visiting the sick, etc.⁸⁴

In September and October 1753, Hall traveled 536 miles in 35 days and officiated in 23 congregations. There was the usual record of baptisms and visitations. Writing about Hall, Bishop Cheshire said, "Where other missionaries could find only misery and discouragement, profane people and contentious vestrymen, he found happiness and hope, some measure of response to his goodness."⁸⁵

In his letter of 19 May 1752, Hall told the Society that his health had been impaired as a result of his arduous labors.⁸⁶ Three years later, on 5 June 1755, he asked that he be relieved as "itinerant missionary" and appointed "parochial minister for St. Paul's Chowan—an extensive parrish, including the whole county, besides Edenton, containing several chapels." He said that his health was so poor that he could not last otherwise. He had traveled two thousand miles in the preceding year. The Society, appreciating his service, approved his request.⁸⁷

Hall, however, did not curtail his work very much. On 10 March 1756, he wrote the S.P.G. that in May of the preceding year he had

preached throughout the “northern parts of the colony,” and in September and October “in the southern parts.”⁸⁸ He had “performed all the duties of his mission,” though he had been ill for ten days. On 30 December 1756, his house burned and he lost nearly all his books, sermons, records, clothes, “and necessities to the value of £300 and upwards.” The Society, hearing of Hall’s misfortune, voted him a grant of £30 and a new library.⁸⁹ After several years of declining health, this faithful missionary died in January 1759. The account of his executors in 1761 showed that more than £407 had been paid out and £413 received. Thus, Hall’s family received about £6 sterling.⁹⁰

Shortly before his death, Hall estimated that he had baptized at least 10,000 persons in the fifteen years of his ministry.⁹¹ During this time the work on St. Paul’s Church also progressed, though “the first Divine Worship” was not held there until April 1760—more than a year after the beloved missionary’s death.⁹²

For more than two centuries Church historians have praised the missionary work of Clement Hall in North Carolina. To students of North Carolina history, however, the best known fact about this remarkable man was the publication of his little book, *A Collection of Many Christian Experiences, Sentences, and Several Places of Scripture Improved*.⁹³ Published by James Davis at New Bern in 1753, it was the first nonlegal book printed in North Carolina. As William S. Powell has aptly said, “Hall is entitled to further recognition as the colony’s first citizen to have a book published at home.”⁹⁴

Another missionary who served the S.P.G. long and effectively in North Carolina was the Reverend Alexander Stewart. A native of Ireland, reputedly a graduate of Dublin College, and a relative of Governor Arthur Dobbs, Stewart was licensed by the Bishop of London on 8 June 1753 to serve as a missionary in North Carolina “where the Governor shall place him.”⁹⁵ In 1754 he arrived with Governor Dobbs, whom he served as chaplain. Stewart had expected to be sent to the New Bern Parish, but, finding it occupied on his arrival, he went to St. Thomas’s at Bath instead.⁹⁶

Stewart told the Society that there were about 2,000 people in his parish, of whom 1,700 were members of the Church of England. But, he added, only 235 were actual communicants.⁹⁷ In 1760, Beaufort County and St. Thomas’s Parish were divided, the “upper part” being named Pitt County and St. Michael’s Parish, while the “lower part” retained its old name.⁹⁸ Stewart remained at Bath until 1766, though its population was now cut in half. Stewart considered it “the

most difficult parish in this Government” because it was cut by the Pamlico River “which is from 4 to 7 miles wide and very difficult to pass.” He said he was “frequently in an open boat for six hours together and wet most of the time.”⁹⁹ But such obstacles did not keep him from carrying on his ministry at Bath, and from offering to visit vacant parishes in Pitt, Tyrrell, and Hyde counties as well.¹⁰⁰ On 6 October 1762, Stewart informed the Society that his parish was well attached to the Church of England, “the Parishioners have not only finished their Church in the best manner they are able, but have now likewise a neat glebe house (the first ever built in this Province) with other outhouses almost finished, on a Glebe of 300 acres of good land contiguous to the Church.”¹⁰¹ In November 1763, he reported that he was “living in the first Glebe House ever finished in this Province.”¹⁰²

Like some other Anglican missionaries of this era, Stewart was disturbed by the large number of Anabaptists who had recently entered the province—persons who “have run into so many errors and have so bewildered and I may almost say bewitched the minds of people that scarcely will they listen to anything that can be said in defense of the church we belong to.”¹⁰³ To “confute their errors,” Stewart wrote a small tract “in defense of the Baptism of our church” and distributed four hundred copies of it “thro this province” at his own expense. He thought that this had “check’d their proceedings” temporarily, but not for good. He declared that “such a spirit of rash judging and censoriousness, such a notion of inspirations, impulses, visions, and of their sect being the peculiar elect of God is gone out among them that till time convinces them to the contrary it is impossible that any abstracted reasons will.”¹⁰⁴

Stewart was the most successful of all the missionaries in converting the Indians of North Carolina. In Hyde County he held services for some of the remaining members of the Mattamuskeet, Hatteras, and Roanoke tribes. On one visit he baptized seven Indians, on another fifteen, and on a third trip, twenty-one.¹⁰⁵ At the expense of Dr. Bray’s associates who had made Stewart “superintendent of their schools in the colony,” he “fixed a school mistress” among them “to teach Indian and Negro children to read and to work.”¹⁰⁶ He also supplied them with books.

Stewart wrote the Society that he had lost his wife “from ye Flu which has raged with uncommon violence . . . & been more mortal than ever I knew any other distemper . . . my Constitution tho’ young & florid when I first arrived is now much shatter’d.”¹⁰⁷ By

1765 his own health had deteriorated and he planned to go to Boston for a few months to try to recuperate.¹⁰⁸ But he kept at his work, and in November reported that he had baptized 166 persons and had administered the Sacrament to 162 communicants.¹⁰⁹ By the end of the year his rheumatism was so bad that he had lost the use of his limbs. He intended to return to England, but he changed his mind, chiefly because of the lack of money, and remained in the province "attending his duties with the aid of crutches." Throughout his illness, the vestry had not paid him "one penny salary."¹¹⁰

In 1767 Stewart was transferred to Beaufort Parish. He wrote few letters to the S.P.G. from this time until his death in 1771. His health remained poor, and, to add to his other woes, a severe hurricane in December 1769 caused him a loss of "houses and stores" in New Bern and at his plantation of "upwards of £600 North Carolina currency."¹¹¹ On 2 July 1771, the Reverend James Reed wrote the S.P.G. that "Mr. Stewart died at Bath last spring and has left his widow and four children, and his affairs in great confusion."¹¹² Perhaps this was true, but Stewart was probably the only Anglican missionary in the province who owned both stores (supplies) and a plantation.

On 5 July 1753, only three weeks after Stewart was appointed missionary, the Reverend John McDowell was licensed by the Bishop of London and subsequently assigned to North Carolina. He served St. James's Parish in New Hanover County from January 1754 to May 1757, and St. Philip's, Brunswick, from May 1757 until his death in November 1763.¹¹³ Among McDowell's parishioners at St. Philip's were Governor Dobbs, the president and several members of the Council, and Colonel William Dry, the collector. Yet, in 1762, he had only fifteen actual communicants, two of whom were blacks.¹¹⁴

McDowell "whose personal history is a story in itself," found his parish duties very difficult, especially those at Brunswick.¹¹⁵ He said that his salary of £100 in North Carolina currency "would not amount to more than £30 in England as everything was three or four times dearer" in the colony.¹¹⁶ Had it not been for his wife's fortune, he declared, he could not have remained in North Carolina. In fact, he had been obliged to sell a slave in order to subsist.¹¹⁷ The crushing blow came when the St. Philip's vestry reduced his salary to £10 in provincial currency and increased his duties.¹¹⁸

On 17 April 1760, he wrote the Society:

It is impossible to give any adequate idea of all the fatigues, hardships, sickness, etc., I have gone through since I have been here

... our Chapels, or rather Peoples' Houses, where we are obliged to attend, are more than 30, some of them 40 miles distant from the Center of the Parish. And often we have to ride 15 or 20 miles without seeing a house to flee to for shelter from a Thunder Shower which are very Severe and very frequent here in Summer, and other inclemencies of the Weather which often shifts from one extreme to another, and which is the reason people are so unhealthy here.¹¹⁹

The vestry finally restored his salary to the original £100 figure. On the recommendation of Governor Dobbs and the vestry, he was also getting £50 sterling a year from the S.P.G. Nevertheless, he asked the vestry to increase his allowance and reduce his duties.¹²⁰ When the vestry refused to do so, McDowell threatened to return to England, declaring that "he could live happier there on a little farm, than to be Governor here."¹²¹ But instead of returning to England, he decided to "take a ride into South Carolina and do what good I can there."¹²² In Charleston, he was offered a parish by Governor William Bull, but he said that he would not move without the Society's approval. After eight days in South Carolina, he returned to Brunswick. Just about this time the roof of the "new Church" there was struck by lightning and the "prodigious and immoderate quantity of rain falling on it, made it all tumble down; and there it lies just as it fell." He described "the Chapel" as a "most miserable old house, only 24 feet by 16, and ev'ry shower of Rain or blast of wind blows quite thro' it."¹²³

McDowell's troubles continued. In July 1761, he wrote the S.P.G. that he had been compelled to sell three more of his slaves and now he had only three left for himself and his young child.¹²⁴ He had received a salary increase, however, when the General Assembly raised the compensation from £100 proclamation money to £100 sterling. According to McDowell, this amounted to an increase of £13 6s. 8d. a year. He also received, until "this woeful sickness obliged me to desist," £20 annually from Governor Dobbs for officiating as "Chaplain in his family."¹²⁵ By March 1763, McDowell had become an invalid, "scarcely able to leave his room." He was so tormented with pain that he could not lie in bed, but was "obliged to sit almost the half of the night."¹²⁶ As he neared the end of his mission—and his life—he wrote: "Alas, my dear helpless Babe, all my concern is for him. God only know what will become of me, or how long I may be alive, for my heart is almost broken."¹²⁷ He hoped to return to England as soon as he received the Society's permission.¹²⁸ After lin-

gering on through the summer and fall, he died at Brunswick in November.¹²⁹

Although not appointed a missionary by the S.P.G. until 1757, the Reverend James Reed came to North Carolina in 1753. Shortly before his arrival, the vestry of Christ Church at New Bern had agreed to pay a minister an annual salary of £133 6s. 8d., as well as provide "a good Glebe House, Kitchen, and other necessary Houses, on a lot . . . well and sufficiently paied in."¹³⁰ The minister was to "perform divine service" at the parish church "all Sundays in the year" except three, when he would serve the three chapels in the parish. Reed was chosen and promptly accepted this post. The following year the General Assembly passed a law confirming the agreement between him and the vestry.¹³¹ Despite this law, Reed did not receive the promised compensation. On 27 December 1762, he stated that, "were it not for the benevolence of the Society," missionaries in North Carolina "could not subsist with the least decency."¹³²

Governor Tryon declared Reed to be a man "of great worth."¹³³ His parishioners agreed that he had given great satisfaction "by a regular and exemplary life and a faithful discharge of his duties," and that he had "diligently attended one Parish Church and eight Chapels" at great distances from New Bern.¹³⁴ From time to time he was called on to perform divine service before the Assembly, and in 1757 and 1760 he served as its chaplain. In the latter capacity he was required to meet the house daily at nine AM to conduct divine service, for which he received a fee of ten pounds a session.¹³⁵

Reed, like other missionaries in the province, complained about travel difficulties, inadequate compensation, and religious apathy of many of the people, but his reports to the S.P.G. were less gloomy than those of many clergymen. He was pleased that "a neat wooden chapel" was built on Newport River, where a regular congregation attended divine service performed by a layman every Sabbath.¹³⁶ And he joyfully reported that his congregations were "greatly crowded" and the number of communicants "had steadily increased."¹³⁷

On the other hand, Reed was concerned about the large number of people who belonged to "no Christian society." He was even more disturbed by the "dissenters." Of the chief dissenting seats, he said, "the Anabaptist[s] are obstinate, illiterate and grossly ignorant; the Methodist[s], ignorant, censorious, and uncharitable; the Quakers rigid, but the Presbyterians are pretty moderate except here and there a bigot or Calvinist."¹³⁸ He stated that there were not more than nine

or ten “papists” in the whole county, but he estimated the number of “Infidels and Heathen at about 1,000.” Apparently the Methodists gave him the greatest concern. On June 1761, he wrote the Society: “The Methodists of late have given me a good deal of trouble, along the boarders of my parish by preaching up the inexpediency of Human Learning and the practice of moral virtue and the great expediency of Dreams, Visions and immediate Revelation.”¹³⁹ Six months later, he thought the “fervor of the Methodists” was “very much abated”:

These strolling teachers were first imported here from New England from whence we have received the greatest part of the dissenters, that are settled amongst us and their Principal study and endeavour is to render both the ministers and Liturgy of the church of England as odious as possible that themselves and their doctrines may meet with a better reception. In defeating their schemes and subverting their pernicious doctrines, I have found meek instruction to be very effectual.¹⁴⁰

He asked the Society to send him “a few suitable tracts” which he declared would be of great service in preventing “the poor ignorant people from being deluded.”¹⁴¹

Reed was also disturbed by the 1771 act of the Assembly giving Presbyterian ministers the power to perform marriage ceremonies. The Presbyterians had long demanded this “right.” Apparently Governor Tryon, zealous churchman that he was, agreed to this legislation, coming at the height of the Regulation movement, because he feared that his refusal to approve it might result in further violence. Reed thought that Tryon had agreed to the law “to keep the Dissenters in as good humor as possible, at such a critical juncture.”¹⁴² At the same time, Reed hoped that the law would be disallowed by the Crown, maintaining that, “Should this Act receive the Royal assent, it would be a fatal stroke to the church of England.”¹⁴³

Education interested Reed more than most of the missionaries in colonial North Carolina. In 1762 he preached a sermon to the Assembly “Recommending the Establishing Public Schools for the Education of Youth.” The Assembly, favorably impressed, ordered that the sermon be “printed and distributed in the several Counties within this province.”¹⁴⁴

In 1764 Reed and a Mr. Tomlinson set about building a school in New Bern. Tomlinson, who had “kept a school” in Cumberland

County, England, was to be the schoolmaster. In June, Reed reported that he had raised two hundred pounds with which to construct the building.¹⁴⁵ In the same year the Assembly appointed him a trustee of the school.¹⁴⁶ When finished, the building was "a large and decent Edifice for such a Young Country—forty-five feet in length and thirty in breadth." Reed donated his personal funds "that the floor might be laid and the chimney built."¹⁴⁷ After the school opened, it was supported by a tax on imported spirituous liquors, by legislative appropriations, and by "Ground Rent" of certain Church lands.¹⁴⁸ Both boys and girls attended and this, in itself, created problems of discipline.

Tomlinson, with his "assistant," a Mr. Parrot from London, operated the school effectively for a year or more. But when the master "corrected and turned out of school . . . for very disobedient and stubborn Behaviour" the children of two of the trustees, the latter demanded Tomlinson's dismissal. This was accomplished in 1772 without giving him notice and without paying his salary.¹⁴⁹ His removal was strongly opposed by Governor Martin, who urged the Bishop of London to recommend repeal of the law empowering the trustees to dismiss a schoolmaster without the governor's consent.¹⁵⁰ Apparently no action was taken on Martin's recommendation.

Reed displayed his humanitarian instincts in his strong opposition to a provision of the Vestry Act of 1764 that empowered the vestries to build workhouses and authorized the keepers of these houses "to inflict corporal punishment on such poor under their care as shall behave refractorily." He protested to the S.P.G. about the "cruel aspects" of this law; he also talked to Governor Martin about it, but the governor seemed "at a loss" as to "what to do."¹⁵¹ Nothing was done.

When the American Revolution began in April 1775, Reed let it be known that he was in sympathy with the "Mother Country." On 20 July, which was designated by the Continental Congress as a day of "fasting and prayer," he refused to perform divine service in his church as directed, saying that to do so would "render himself obnoxious to the ministry."¹⁵² He was, therefore, suspended from his parochial charge. After remaining in retirement for "two or three months," he was permitted in November to resume his duties as minister.¹⁵³

Despite his loyalist sympathies and the fact that his name was "advertised in the Gazette," Reed remained at New Bern. His death in 1777 has been attributed to the ill treatment he received from the

patriots, but this is unlikely.¹⁵⁴ His health had been poor for years, and his personal physician had advised him to leave “the low marshy parts of the country,” which must “necessarily subject to bilious disorders,” and to go to the western parts of the province “where the lands are high and intersected with pure purling streams, a pure air, untainted by the nauseous exhalations from swamps, marshes, or stagnated waters.”¹⁵⁵ Reed ignored this advice.

The Reverend Clement Hall was succeeded at St. Paul’s, Edenton, by the Reverend Daniel Earl [Earle]. At the time of his appointment by the S.P.G., Earl had, so he wrote, “an invitation to a very Lucrative and agreeable Parish in South Carolina as well as one to be Master of the Grammar School in the College of William and Mary in Virginia to which he annexed a Parochial Cure.”¹⁵⁶ He decided, however, to accept the Society’s appointment and go “where the Harvest was truly great but the Labourers few.”¹⁵⁷

In addition to serving his own parish, Earl also visited neighboring parishes that were “destitute of ministers.” Between 1760 and 1775, he reported that he had baptized 1,323 persons, most of whom were in parishes other than his own.¹⁵⁸ In 1763, he informed the S.P.G. that there were many “sectaries”—especially “those of the Quaker and Anabaptist kind”—in the parishes he had visited, but not as many as there had been a few years before.¹⁵⁹ At Earl’s request, the Society sent him some tracts that would be effective in “confuting their doctrines.”¹⁶⁰ But, as late as 1775, he reported that the neighboring parishes were “much distracted by Sectaries of the Anabaptist kind.”¹⁶¹

“Parson” Earl was greatly disturbed by the “very ruinous condition” of the church building. Yet the people were unable or unwilling to repair it. In 1771 he wrote the Society that “neither minister nor congregation can stand the inclemency of the weather in it without risking their health.”¹⁶²

As early as 5 May 1760, Earl deplored the lack of schools in North Carolina, and he was convinced that the “depressed and mean circumstances of the inhabitants render them incapable of educating their youth.” Accordingly, he proposed to establish a school himself if the S.P.G. would help finance it. There is no record of the Society’s approval.¹⁶³ However, the parson, assisted by his daughter, Nancy, opened and operated for some years a private school at his home on the Chowan River, near Edenton. This school was held in high esteem at the time.¹⁶⁴ In addition to the classics, Earl taught the people better methods of cultivating and processing flax, and to weave tow-

els and tablecloths.¹⁶⁵ He was a versatile teacher, for he also instructed the men in shad and herring fishing, thereby acquiring the nickname of the “herring-catching Parson.”¹⁶⁶ It is said that, during the troubled time of the Revolution, he arrived one morning at St. Paul’s to find the following verse attached to the church door:

A half-built church,
A broken-down steeple,
A herring-catching parson,
And a damn set of people.¹⁶⁷

Earl had a prolonged and bitter controversy with the Reverend Charles Edward Taylor, an S.P.G. missionary at St. George’s Parish, Northampton County. Taylor lodged many complaints against his fellow clergyman: Earl had refused to let Taylor preach at St. Paul’s; he had charged thirty shillings for administering the Sacrament to a woman who was at the point of death, and he had charged fifteen shillings for baptizing a sick child.¹⁶⁸ There may have been some truth in these allegations, though the vestry of St. Paul’s declared that Earl had “by his useful doctrine and exemplary life gained the universal esteem and applause of his Parishioners.”¹⁶⁹ But Earl’s health was not good and he probably was quite irritable. In March 1775, the S.P.G. gave him permission to move to one of the northern colonies in the interest of his health. The next month, however, the shooting war began, and, because of the “unsettled time” and the difficulties of travel, Earl decided to remain in North Carolina.¹⁷⁰

One of the numerous controversial missionaries in the colony was the Reverend John Barnett. He was licensed by the Bishop of London on 26 May 1765, arrived in North Carolina on 26 October, and “took up his residence in the home of Governor Tryon” at Brunswick. The following January, Tryon informed the S.P.G. that Barnett’s conduct was “a credit both to his function and to the mission.”¹⁷¹ Yet the Bishop of London noted in his own records that Barnett was a “Bad man.”¹⁷²

At first Barnett served both St. James’s Parish at Wilmington and St. Philip’s at Brunswick. This posed a problem for the new missionary, because the Assembly—on the recommendation of Governor Tryon—had passed a law prohibiting a minister from receiving “the benefit of a parish” if he served two parishes in different counties. As Brunswick and Wilmington were in different counties, Barnett,

at Tryon's suggestion, chose Brunswick—an area “sixty miles by thirty.”¹⁷³

When Barnett began his mission at Brunswick, the church had not been completed though “steady progress was being made on the edifice.” By the summer of 1768, construction was sufficient to permit services in the church. On 11 June Barnett wrote the Society that he, assisted by the Reverend John Wills of Wilmington, “had dedicated the Church on Whit-Tuesday.”¹⁷⁴

Barnett worked hard in his mission. By his own account, during one year “he rode nearly 1,400 miles within his parish.” He also made occasional trips to neighboring parishes to preach and baptize the inhabitants. Nine times each year he preached at the “Boundary House,” located on the line between the two Carolinas. During his ministry at Brunswick he said he baptized 243 persons.¹⁷⁵ But Barnett faced a serious problem concerning his induction. A recent law “for the better encouragement of the clergy” increased missionaries’ salaries to £133 a year (about £70 sterling); however, the law also provided that the Crown should have the right to induct clergymen. Barnett’s parishioners objected strongly to the latter provision, and Governor Tryon proposed to induct Barnett himself. Barnett declined Tryon’s offer, declaring that his stay would “be made unhappy under such circumstances.” Although the people desired him to remain under the “old arrangement of annual reelection” and were even willing to increase his salary,¹⁷⁶ Barnett did not care to stay under these terms. At his request, the Society sent him to Northampton County where he served St. George’s Parish from December 1768 to 1770 or 1771. He then held a post in St. Thomas’s Parish in Orange County, Virginia until 1774.¹⁷⁷

More S.P.G. missionaries were assigned to North Carolina in 1766 than in any other year—a total of six. In this group were Andrew Morton, James Cosgreve, George Micklejohn, Charles Cupples, Samuel Fiske, and James Stuart. The Reverend Andrew Morton, who had been an “itinerant missionary” for the S.P.G. in New Jersey from 1759 to 1765, remained in the province only about one year.¹⁷⁸ On his way to Brunswick in June to wait on Governor Tryon, Morton stopped at New Bern for a few days to visit “Parson” Reed.¹⁷⁹ He then proceeded to Brunswick, expecting to go from there to Mecklenburg County to begin his mission. At Brunswick he was told that Mecklenburg was filled with dissenters, particularly “Covenanters, Seceders, Anabaptists, and New Lights,” and that the people elected

"most rigid dissenters" to their vestries. Having no desire to "embroil himself" with an "infatuated" people, he asked Governor Tryon to recommend him to the inhabitants of Northampton County. Both the governor and the parishioners responded favorably, and within a short time Morton was inducted into St. George's Parish by Governor Tryon.¹⁸⁰

Morton was diligent in the performance of his duties. In January 1767, he reported to the Society that during the past five months he had baptized 121 white children, 38 black children, 3 white adults, and 8 black adults. On the previous Christmas Day, he had administered the Sacraments to 20 communicants.¹⁸¹ His health began to fail, however, and he said that he would have left the province had it not been for the encouragement of Governor Tryon, whom he called the "Nursing Father of the Church in this province."¹⁸² In September, Morton wrote the S.P.G. that "the ague and fever and nervous disorders" had so impaired his health that he did not believe he could survive another autumn in the North Carolina climate. He therefore had accepted a parish in Caroline County, Virginia. He said he left North Carolina with great reluctance, and he offered his last half-year's salary to the Society "as my mite towards carrying on their benevolent design of propagating the Gospel."¹⁸³ Governor Tryon declared that Morton's conduct in Northampton county "was exemplary and his departure much lamented by his parishioners."¹⁸⁴

The records contain little about the Reverend James Cosgreve. He was licensed by the Bishop of London on 25 February 1766 and arrived in North Carolina during the summer.¹⁸⁵ He applied to Governor Tryon for a recommendation, but, "as his credentials were not so satisfactory" as Tryon wished, the governor "declined complying with the request." Shortly thereafter Cosgreve "produced letters of ordination" and the governor sent him to Pitt County "for three months probation," with the prospect of a permanent assignment if his conduct was acceptable to the parish.¹⁸⁶ In a report by Governor Tryon to the S.P.G., dated 29 April 1767, which lists the names and location of all Anglican ministers in the province, Cosgreve's name appears, but with no parish or county assigned and the remark "not yet established."¹⁸⁷ In another report by Tryon in 1767 listing all the counties, parishes, and number of taxables, there is the entry: "Pitt, St. Michael 1775—Small County—willing to make Provisions for a Minister."¹⁸⁸

Much more is known about the Reverend George Micklejohn. Be-

fore coming to America, Micklejohn, who had received his education at St. Andrew's, Scotland, was minister of an Anglican congregation at Athol, England. But because his congregation was poor and unable to give him adequate support, he applied to the S.P.G. for an appointment abroad. The appointment was granted, and he was licensed by the Bishop of London in 1766.¹⁸⁹

Micklejohn arrived in North Carolina about July of that year. Before locating him permanently, Governor Tryon sent him "into the back settlements" to gain experience and become adjusted to the new country. Tryon, who told the Bishop of London that "men of plain character and exemplary lives are best adapted for the manners of the people of this country," said that he had "had great expectations for Mr. Micklejohn."¹⁹⁰ The new missionary first went to Rowan County but within a short time was permanently established by presentation from the governor at St. Matthew's Parish in Orange County.¹⁹¹

Micklejohn soon became involved in the political controversies of the period. Located in Orange County, the heart of the Regulator movement (1766-71), he was a staunch supporter of Governor Tryon. In Spring 1768 he assumed the role of mediator and sought to arrange an interview between the Regulators and county officials. When the Regulators turned to violence, he supported the constituted authorities. On 25 September, at official request, he preached a sermon at Hillsborough before Governor Tryon "and the troops raised to quell the late INSURRECTION."¹⁹² Tryon described it as "a discourse that gave great satisfaction as it was well adapted to the situation of public affairs." The sermon was printed at the colonial government's expense for distribution throughout the province, and the governor sent a copy to the S.P.G.¹⁹³

The Reverend Charles Cupples was licensed by the Bishop of London on 11 June 1766 and began his ministry at St. John's Parish, Bute County, the following December. Governor Tryon assigned him "to this parish for 3 months, but the Vestry thought the time too short," and prevailed upon him "to stay the whole year." He then "was inducted into the parish by a commission" from Tryon, "he having first had a petition from the principal inhabitants of it for that purpose."¹⁹⁴

Cupples officiated at five different places. He reported to the S.P.G. that, from 1 January 1767 to 9 April 1768, he had "administered the Sacrament four times to about 60 communicants at each place." During this period he had "baptized 382 children, 51 of which were negro children, the engagements for some were made by their Master and

Mistresses, and others had God fathers and God mothers of their own color as having been formerly baptized.”¹⁹⁵ From January 1770 to 25 April 1771, Cupples baptized 448 children, 65 of whom were blacks, and administered the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper to about 70 communicants.¹⁹⁶ He found “a few Dissenters” in his mission, chiefly “Ranting Anabaptists,” but “they have of late mightily decreased, and generally attend the public worships in the church.” He was “fully persuaded, that if we could have a bishop here in America to inspect the Clergy and carry on the discipline of the churches towards the offenders, Dissention would soon, by the blessing of God be at an end.”¹⁹⁷ Cupples frequently visited other parishes. In the summer of 1769 he visited Rowan County where he, according to the Reverend Theodorus S. Drage, a fellow missionary, baptized many of the inhabitants.¹⁹⁸

During the Regulator movement, Cupples was unable to collect his salary. In April 1771, he informed the S.P.G. that he had drawn on it for three years’ salary, noting that, as a result of the “disturbance” of the country, it had become impossible to collect “either public, parish or County taxes.” He promised to restore this advanced salary “if the Country should become settled again.” The missionary continued: “The people of this country have a religious turn of mind, attend duly on religious worship, but if in my discourses to them, I mention that a true Christian ought to live in a due subordination and in supporting the Government they will return that they love the Government will stand up for it with all their lives and properties, but that the Sheriffs, Clerks of Courts, and Registers have been Exactors, and unless they make up to them the money which they say they have unjustly taken they will pay no more taxes for anything.”¹⁹⁹

Apparently Cupples’s work as an S.P.G. missionary ended in 1768 although he remained in North Carolina.

The Reverend Samuel Fiske was licensed by the Bishop of London on 31 August 1766. Though not listed as a missionary in the S.P.G. *Classified Digest*, he came to North Carolina early in 1767 and was “established by letters of presentation from the Governor” at St. John’s Parish in Pasquotank County.²⁰⁰ Governor Tryon listed this as a “West Parish,” containing only 433 white taxables.²⁰¹ Fiske served St. John’s for several years, perhaps until early 1771. His letters reveal little about his missionary activities or the spiritual life of his parish. About the only thing they contain is his complaint about the “ill

usage he had received from the Parishioners and withholding his salary from him.”²⁰²

When Fiske wrote Tryon about this problem, the governor advised him “to sue the Church Wardens and Vestrys for his salary.” According to Tryon, Fiske’s parish was “full of Quakers and Anabaptists, the first no friend, the latter an avowed enemy to the mother church.”²⁰³ Meeting with the Council at New Bern on 28 January 1771, Tryon declared that the governor and Council could not give the aggrieved missionary any relief, “but that he must bring his action at Law for the Salary due to him against the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Parish and if Vestrymen are not chosen, or if chosen refuse to qualify, it is further the opinion of this Board that the Attorney General be directed to pursue all Legal steps in order to compel the election and Qualification of Vestrymen agreeable to Law.”²⁰⁴ The records do not show that Fiske took this legal action or that he ever received his salary.

The records reveal little about the Reverend James Stuart, who obtained his appointment as missionary through the influence of the Lord Bishop of Carlisle.²⁰⁵ Though the *s.p.g. Classified Digest* dates his mission in North Carolina “1767–8” (there is a question mark as to his exact station), he was in North Carolina as early as June 1766 and for some time officiated at St. Thomas’s Parish, Beaufort County. Soon after arriving in the province, he had a severe attack of rheumatism, and, to get relief, went to the “little town of Portsmouth Inlet a few days for the bathing in the salt water.” By July he had recovered sufficiently to “do my duty tho it had often been upon Crutches.” He reported to the Society on 7 October that, “since I have been able to go abroad,” he had baptized in St. Thomas’s Parish some 96 white and 17 black children “and in Pitt County in one day 124 white and black children.”²⁰⁶ Yet the vestry of his parish had “been so ungenerous that for the whole time of my sickness they should not allow me One Penny Salary.” But he did not want to “make use of the disagreeable remedy the suing [*sic*] my parishioners.”²⁰⁷

The Reverend John Cramp was licensed by the Bishop of London on 21 September 1767, although he did not arrive in North Carolina until the following summer. Governor Tryon had a favorable opinion of Cramp’s “moral character,” but was “apprehensive he will not stay long in this province, his corpulency and gouty habit of body seem

to discourage him from accepting of any parish.”²⁰⁸ When the Reverend John Barnett left St. Philip’s Parish at Brunswick to go to Northampton County, Cramp succeeded him and was formally inducted by the governor in May 1769. Tryon recommended Cramp to the S.P.G. and requested that he be granted an allowance of fifty pounds a year. In fact, Cramp accepted the appointment on condition that he receive this stipend. He served at Brunswick until 1770, but little is known of his work there.

Of the four missionaries licensed for North Carolina in 1768—Hobart Briggs, Francis Johnston, Henry John Burges, and James McCartney, only the latter began his mission that year. McCartney, a native of Ireland, had been an assistant in Tomlinson’s school at New Bern where he was highly regarded as a teacher.²⁰⁹ When the school was discontinued, McCartney went to England to apply for Holy Orders with the intention of returning to North Carolina as a missionary. With letters of recommendation from Governor Tryon, “Parson” Reed, and the speaker of the North Carolina House of Commons,²¹⁰ his application was received favorably and he returned to New Bern as a missionary in November 1768. After an illness of several weeks, he visited “six extensive parishes” but, although several would have welcomed his ministry, he “found none of them would suit so weakly a constitution” as his. In June 1769, on the advice of Governor Tryon, he went to Granville County where he “was cordially received by the people.”²¹¹

McCartney found his new mission filled with Presbyterians and Baptists, the former having a settled minister among them. He described the Baptists as “great bigots,” but he assured the S.P.G. that he would “take every precedent method I am capable of to abolish Dissention and make converts to the Church.” Within four months after his arrival, he reported that he “had preached 49 sermons, baptized 768 whites and 27 blacks.” And, during his first three months in Granville County, he reported the baptism of 221 whites and 79 blacks.²¹²

During the War of the Regulation, McCartney served as chaplain “to the Army of Governor Tryon.” On Sunday, 12 May 1771, he preached a sermon to the troops from the text “If you have no sword sell your garment and buy one.”²¹³

When the Society discontinued McCartney’s salary in 1771, forty-five of the leading citizens of the province—including Richard Caswell, Cornelius Harnett, Joseph Hewes, and Abner Nash—

presented a petition to Governor Tryon requesting him to use his influence in securing a continuation of the s.p.g. bounty for McCartney.²¹⁴ About this time, Tryon left North Carolina for New York, but Tryon's successor, Josiah Martin, wrote the Society in June 1772 urging that McCartney's salary be continued.²¹⁵ Apparently no action was taken on his request.

The Reverend Hobart Briggs was inducted into St. Gabriel's Parish in Duplin County by Governor Tryon early in 1769. The local vestry "paid little regard" to the governor's recommendation and Tryon doubted whether Briggs's "residence will be made agreeable to him."²¹⁶ His fears proved to be groundless. After Briggs had been in Duplin seven months, he wrote the s.p.g. that his parishioners "behave with great attention and devotion during Divine Service," but that many of the people "who can read" are so poor that they "cannot purchase *Common Prayer Books*." Accordingly, he requested the Society to send them some. The parish was so extensive that Briggs had to preach at "eight different places." During the first seven months of his mission, he "christened one hundred and thirty in all," married sixteen couples, and conducted ten funerals.²¹⁷ After the s.p.g. discontinued his salary in 1770, Governor Martin interceded in his behalf, recommending that Briggs's salary be continued for one year.²¹⁸ Martin's efforts came to nothing.

The Reverend Francis Johnston was licensed by the Bishop of London on 29 September 1768. The exact date of his arrival in North Carolina is not known. In a report of 22 July 1770 to the Society, Governor Tryon stated that he had "presented Johnston to Society Parish, Bertie County, as he is a sensible and prudent young Man, I have favorable expectations from his Ministry."²¹⁹ The records throw no light on the length or nature of his ministry.

In 1769 five s.p.g. missionaries were assigned to North Carolina: John Wills, Edward Jones, Peter Blinn, Henry John Burges, and Theodorus Swaine Drage. All but Drage had been residents of North Carolina for some time before their appointment by the Society.²²⁰

The Reverend John Wills had arrived in Wilmington in the early summer of 1766 to take over the cure of St. James's Parish where, according to Governor Tryon, he had "given general satisfaction to all." As late as 30 April 1767, he was "not yet established" as a missionary, and Tryon asked the Bishop of London for permission to give Wills letters of presentation.²²¹ Declaring that the establishment of a minister "dependent upon the caprice of a vestry was too uncer-

tain for a man of merit," the governor expressed the fear that, if the letters of presentation were not forthcoming, Wills would return home.²²² The governor's request was denied and, after several months, Wills left for England. He planned to return to St. James's Parish if he could gain the Bishop of London's patronage and the s.p.g.'s encouragement. Governor Tryon again interceded in Wills's behalf, requesting that he be given the mission of the Reverend James Moir who was now deceased. On the strength of Tryon's assurance of aid from the Society, Wills returned to Wilmington and resumed his charge at St. James's Parish.²²³ Meanwhile, the governor was authorized to grant him "Letters of Presentation and Induction."

In February 1770, Tryon informed the vestry of St. James's of his intention of "establishing" Wills and asked if there were any objections to him.²²⁴ The vestry replied that it was "very well satisfied to employ Mr. Wills in the parish as usual as he is a gentleman worthy of his sacred Function," but that it could not agree to his induction "because no power of presentation or induction is lodged in the Crown" by any North Carolina law.²²⁵ Despite the vestry's objection, the governor granted Wills "Letters of Presentation and Induction" for the parish, stating that he had a "full right to do so" which was his "unbounded duty to perform."²²⁶ Tryon also secured for Wills a stipend of thirty pounds a year from the s.p.g.²²⁷ The missionary remained at St. James's Parish until 1777, when he returned to England and settled in the parish of Oldesleeve in Somerset County.²²⁸

In 1769, the s.p.g. sent the Reverend Edward Jones to St. Stephen's Parish in Johnston County and the Reverend Henry John Burges to St. Mary's Parish in Edgecombe County. The latter was the son of the Reverend Thomas Burges, for many years the highly respected rector of Edgecombe Parish in Halifax County.²²⁹ The elder Burges was "settled by Act of Assembly" in 1764;²³⁰ he received no aid from the Society, and his name does not appear in the s.p.g. list of missionaries. The good reputation of Thomas Burges probably influenced Governor Tryon to recommend his son for ordination. Edward Jones served only about a year in Johnston County and Henry Burges only about two years in Edgecombe County.²³¹

One of the Reverend Alexander Stewart's parishioners at St. Thomas's, Bath, was Peter Blinn, who assisted Stewart by reading prayers in the church during Stewart's "absence at the Chapels."²³² In addition to his church duties, Blinn was a justice of the peace and represented the borough of Bath in the General Assembly of 1766—

68.²³³ In 1766 the General Assembly appointed him commissioner for the Port of Bath. In this capacity, it was his duty to see that the channel was staked out and kept clear, and to erect beacons where needed. He also had charge of the licensing of pilots.²³⁴ Although he did not “have the happiness of a collegiate Education,” he was a man of worth and influence in the community.²³⁵ In 1769 Blinn applied for letters of ordination as a minister of the Church of England. He obtained recommendations from Mr. Stewart and Governor Tryon, and in July he went to England.²³⁶ After being ordained, Blinn returned to North Carolina where he served for two years as a missionary of the Society, “stations not stated.”²³⁷

The fifth Anglican clergyman to begin his mission in North Carolina in 1769 was the Reverend Theodorus Swaine Drage. This versatile and colorful Englishman had been in America for almost a decade before entering the ministry. For several years he was in business in Philadelphia. He was also a partner of the famous Indian trader, George Croghan, at a store in Bedford, Pennsylvania. In 1763 Drage entered into partnership with John Hughes of Philadelphia; that June—at the time of Pontiac’s Conspiracy—their firm “furnished liquors, teams, and other supplies” for the armed forces of Colonel Bouquet during his campaign against the Indians. When Pittsburg was relieved, Drage opened a store there. He was still in business with Hughes as late as April 1764. Drage was a friend of the famous Philadelphia merchant, Samuel Wharton. He also knew Benjamin Franklin, because Franklin was one of six persons who gave testimonials for Drage at the time of his ordination in June 1769.²³⁸

Drage arrived in North Carolina near the end of October and reached New Bern ten days later. On 12 November, Governor Tryon informed the vestry of St. Luke’s Parish in Salisbury that he was sending the new missionary to officiate there “for several months, at the expiration of which time, if he was satisfactory in his sacred calling, and his situation prove agreeable to him, I propose to give him letters of Presentation and Induction to your parish agreeable to the petition of sundry of the Inhabitants of your County delivered to me when I was in Salisbury.”²³⁹ Later, the vestry of St. Luke’s assured Tryon that Mr. Drage “doth daily give us infinite satisfaction in his sacred calling” and requested that “he be given Letters of Presentation and Induction.” The request was soon granted. Drage thus became the first clergyman of the Church of England to settle in Rowan County.²⁴⁰

At first, Drage claimed that two-thirds of the inhabitants of his

parish were members of the Church of England, but this was far from true. Most of the other people were what he called "Irish Dissenters," meaning Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. He complained of their practice of having justices of the peace and their own itinerant preachers perform marriage ceremonies, "bidding me defiance and paying no Marriage fees."²⁴¹ According to Drage, they also told the Separate Baptists that their congregations were as legal as those of the Church of England, and that they were not obliged to contribute to the Church's support. In February 1771 he wrote the Society:

The place where I reside is named Salisbury in the Parish of St. Luke in the County of Rowan, Three hundred miles distant from the Seat of Government, and near Four hundred from the Sea, a Fine air, temperate climate, and a fertile country—I found the people of the Church of England disheartened, and dispersed like sheep, but have collected them into about forty congregations, or have as many preaching places where I meet them, consisting, upon a moderate calculation, of Seven thousand souls, men, women, and children or 900 families, inhabiting a county one hundred and eighty miles in length and one hundred and twenty in breadth.²⁴²

Despite the many handicaps, Drage worked hard at his mission. He told the S.P.G. that he had succeeded in having a chapel erected in the "Jersey Settlement," and that during his first year at St. Luke's he had baptized 802 persons.²⁴³ Not long after Drage made this report, the dissenters gained control of the vestry and the missionary's problems became more acute. But he remained in Salisbury until early 1773, depending largely on a few fees and bounties from the S.P.G. for his support. He wrote Governor Martin that the clerk of court encouraged people who obtained marriage licenses to have the rites performed by magistrates in preference to him; the clerk of court also concealed the number of licenses granted in order to deprive him of the fees to which the parish minister was entitled.²⁴⁴

Drage's unhappy experiences in Rowan probably influenced Martin to recommend to the General Assembly on 2 February 1773 the passage of a law excluding Presbyterians from membership in all vestries. This law, however, was not passed. In the same month the dissenters on the vestry at St. Luke's withheld Drage's salary, thereby forcing him to leave the parish and leaving Rowan without an Anglican clergyman until after the Revolution.²⁴⁵ About this time Drage

was invited to Camden, South Carolina, and probably arrived there in late February 1773. He died in October or November 1774, leaving an estate of "2 trunks of books," valued at fifty pounds, and "1 box of sundry loose papers, manuscripts, etc.," valued at five pounds.²⁴⁶

No S.P.G. missionary was assigned to North Carolina in 1770 and only one, the Reverend Charles Edward Taylor, in 1771.²⁴⁷ The new missionary arrived in the province on 3 May "after a tedious passage of 11 weeks and 2 days." When he found Governor Tryon had gone "to suppress a set of Rebels . . . in the western part of the Province," Taylor settled himself in St. George's Parish, Northampton County, which had been left vacant by the resignation of the Reverend John Barnett.²⁴⁸ Taylor agreed with the vestry to serve the parish until Easter 1772, after which time, if acceptable to both parties, he would be inducted.²⁴⁹

Taylor entered the missionary work with enthusiasm, though there was no glebe and very few books. He observed that his parishioners were fond of attending religious services and that his congregations were usually crowded. But he had to serve four churches and travel "upwards of 130 miles per week." He reported that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been administered in his parish only twice in the past seven years, and that he planned to administer the Sacrament at least twice a year in each of his four churches. During his first month in the parish he baptized sixty-six white infants, nineteen black infants, and eighteen black adults.²⁵⁰ After a trial of ten months, the vestry unanimously agreed to recommend him to the governor for induction, which made Taylor "extremely happy." But he was not happy about the large number of Baptists in the parish. These "Sec-taries," he declared, "were a very ignorant set of people yet notwithstanding that they busy themselves with the most mysterious parts of Scripture and believe they are absolutely bound to understand them."²⁵¹ The Baptist preachers were "surprisingly ignorant, and pretend to Illumination and assurances, they are so obstinately and wilfully ignorant themselves and teach their fellows to be so too, that they will hearken to no reason whatever, but are obstinately bent to follow their own absurd Notions."²⁵² The one who bothered Taylor most was the Reverend Devereux Jarratt, who traveled about wherever he saw fit "laying aside the service of the church and making use of extempore prayers and discourses, preaching up free grace, faith without works and other doctrines, very detrimental to a great many weak but well disposed people." According to Taylor, the Baptists

“had great influence over the weak part of the world, by persuading them that they possess a more extraordinary share of divine grace and favor than the rest of mankind accompanied by extraordinary influence of the holy spirit and pretend to a familiar intercourse with the Son of God.”²⁵³

As mentioned earlier, Taylor also had trouble with one of his fellow missionaries, Daniel Earl, who, Taylor said, was circulating “a palpable falsehood about him.” Earl was accused of claiming that he had examined Taylor prior to the latter’s journey to England for ordination, and that he had “found [him] incapable.”²⁵⁴ It is difficult to tell which one of the missionaries was telling the truth, but such controversies were not new and did not help the cause of the Church.

Despite these difficulties, Taylor continued to serve his mission effectively. On 17 May 1774, he informed the S.P.G. that the number of communicants had greatly increased, and that “two more churches were lately finished and two others enlarged.”²⁵⁵

No S.P.G. missionaries were assigned to North Carolina in 1772. In 1773, however, Nicholas Christian and Nathaniel Blount were licensed by the Bishop of London and both began their mission in the province that year.²⁵⁶ Christian arrived in North Carolina on 15 December and settled at St. Philip’s Parish in Brunswick. He also performed divine service “at the Norwest, at Lockwood’s Folly, at the Boundary between North and South province and at a place called Waccamaw.” At Waccamaw, “common prayer had never before been read nor the Gospel preached.” The people, therefore, were “rather ignorant, but very desirous of being instructed.” Christian found the roads “exceeding bad especially to Waccamaw, there being upwards of twelve swamps to cross which are so deep that Horses are frequently up to the saddle in crossing there.” He found more than thirty families in a “remote, wild place” on the Waccamaw River “near the green swamp entirely out of the way of all Society.” The whole parish was very poor, “especially for the Minister, the Surplice fees being so trifling and no laws to empower the vestry to levy the usual taxes which goes very hard with a young person just setting out in life and little of his own to support him in these troublous times.” Christian also complained that horses, which were indispensable to his work, were “so monstrous extravagant in this province.” Despite these and other difficulties, he worked hard and effectively the short time he was in the parish. From the time of his arrival to 27 July 1774—the date of his last report to the Society—he baptized “about

50 white children and 1 adult 70 years old, married 4 couples, buried 8 corpses, had at Whitsuntide 14 communicants and at Easter about 18"; and on each Sunday he "examined" the youths and lectured them on the Church Catechism, which he found were "very agreeable and pleasing" to many in the congregation.²⁵⁷

The Reverend Nathaniel Blount was born in Beaufort County, North Carolina, and educated in the town of Bath. Licensed by the Bishop of London on 21 September 1773, he returned to the province five weeks later and began his mission at Trinity Church, Chocowinity.²⁵⁸ The S.P.G. records indicate that he served for only a year as a missionary of the Society.²⁵⁹ During the Revolution Blount was a Whig.

The only missionary assigned to North Carolina in 1774 was the Reverend Hezekiah Ford,²⁶⁰ who was licensed by the Bishop of London on 29 September. Ford apparently served St. Jude's Parish, Surry County, for a short time.

The last missionary to be appointed to North Carolina was the Reverend Charles Pettigrew,²⁶¹ who was born in Pennsylvania on 20 March 1744. About 1760 he moved with his family to Granville County, North Carolina, where young Charles completed his formal education at the Grassy Creek School conducted by the Reverend Henry Pattillo, a Presbyterian clergyman. In 1768 Pettigrew's father, James, moved to South Carolina, but the son remained in North Carolina.²⁶² Two years before his father's departure, Pettigrew was employed by Philemon Hawkins and Mrs. Priscilla Mason to open a school near the courthouse of Bute County,²⁶³ where he taught from 1766 to 1773. Among his pupils were John and Nathaniel Macon and Joseph and Benjamin Hawkins.

While teaching at Bute, Pettigrew began his connection with Edenton when he opened an account with William Parkes Company of that town. Among his purchases were twenty-three volumes of classical literature, several religious works; four "blank sermon books," and two gallons of rum.²⁶⁴ In 1773 he was appointed master of the "Public School in Edenton" by Governor Josiah Martin.²⁶⁵ The Edenton Academy, or public school, had been established by an act of Parliament in 1770. The master was required to be a churchman, recommended by a majority of the trustees, and licensed by the governor.²⁶⁶ Apparently the first of these provisions was not enforced, because Pettigrew was not yet a member of the Church of England. Frequently the duties of the teacher of the academy and the minister

or reader at St. Paul's Church were united. This was true in the case of "Master" Pettigrew, who became a lay reader in the church. About this time he began the study that was required of candidates for ordination as minister of the Church of England. During the winter of 1774-75, he went to England where he was ordained, licensed by the Bishop of London on 1 March 1775, and assigned to St. Paul's, Edenton.²⁶⁷

Pettigrew arrived in Edenton on 20 May. The Reverend Daniel Earl was the incumbent at St. Paul's, but the parish was so extensive that Earl was able to preach at Edenton only "once in three weeks." Its inhabitants, therefore, "prevailed on" Pettigrew to spend one-third of his time at Edenton.²⁶⁸ He gave the rest of his time to Barkley Parish, Perquimans County, a very extensive parish that contained five chapels at which Pettigrew preached.²⁶⁹ The new missionary wrote: "It abounds with Quakers who will neither hear nor contribute to the support of Ministers of any other persuasion." His congregations chose to pay him "by voluntary contributions" rather than to "extort" anything from the Quakers. On 13 April 1776, Pettigrew reported to the S. P. G. that he had baptized 120 children and "six grown persons" and had administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to 18 communicants.²⁷⁰

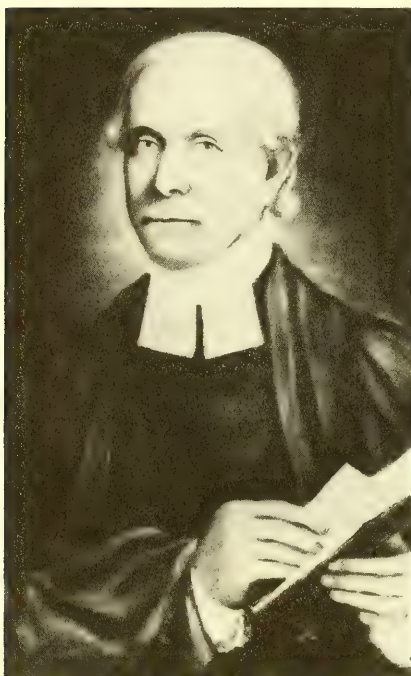
Pettigrew remained in North Carolina throughout the Revolution. After the war, Pettigrew was one of the most highly esteemed ministers of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina. The full story of his later career is told in Chapter III below.



*St. John's Church, Williamsboro, built in 1757. This is the oldest Episcopal frame church in North Carolina.
Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.*



*Restored interior of St. John's Church, Williamsboro, showing the original box pews and raised colonial pulpit.
Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.*



Charles "Parson" Pettigrew, first bishop-elect of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.



Pettigrew's Chapel, constructed around 1802, which composes the center section of St. David's Church, Scuppernon.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

III

*The Decline of the Church,
1776–1816*

SARAH MCCULLOH LEMMON

Independence brought a revolution to the church as an institution. The decision was made by the citizens to separate church and state. Delegates from Orange County went to the constitutional convention at Halifax with such instructions as to “insist upon a free and unrestrained exercise of religion to every individual agreeable to that mode which each man shall choose for himself,” to abolish all required financial support, and to permit marriages to be solemnized by all clergy, but to exclude Catholics from office holding.¹ The instructions of the Mecklenburg delegation were similar, with the additional exclusion of atheists and Unitarians from office holding and the repeal of the vestry laws.²

Following the sentiments of the citizens, the constitution of 1776 contained three articles that related to the separation of church and state. Article 31 provided that no active clergyman might be a member of the Assembly or the Council. Article 32 limited office holding to persons who did not deny “the Being of God, or the Truth of the Protestant Religion.” Article 34 stated that no one church should ever be established, nor any person compelled to attend church services or pay for a glebe, church, or minister unless he voluntarily agreed to do so.³ Several ordinances affecting the Church were approved at the same time. Ministers of all denominations were granted the right to solemnize marriages. Protection in property rights was provided for the former Established Church by granting that all glebes, churches, lands, and so forth “heretofore purchased . . . shall be and remain forever to the Use and Occupancy of that religious Society, Church, Sect, Denomination” which possessed them. All arrears in salaries or other claims due the clergy up to 18 December 1776 were validated and were to be paid.⁴ Even though the Church was now disestablished, it was not the intention of the makers of the constitution that the Anglican faith should become the target of economic reprisal, but

only that all other faiths should now be placed on an equal footing with it.

Although the structure of parishes and vestries had been left intact, chiefly so that they might serve as Overseers of the Poor or in a capacity similar to that of today's county commissioners, this too was abolished by law in 1778. A few vestries continued to function until 1808—such as St. Gabriel's Parish in Duplin County, where the churchwardens served as civil officers bearing no necessary relationship to the former Established Church.⁵ The vestry of St. Paul's, Edenton, likewise cared for the poor and collected taxes for this purpose. For instance, the vestry minutes note that a sixpence tax was levied on 28 June and 29 September 1778 for the care of the poor. By 29 June 1779, however, St. Paul's vestry had almost ceased to function, for on that date a resolution was adopted that "any member of this Committee who shall be absent two succeeding meetings without sufficient cause shown shall be expunged from this Committee."⁶ The entire vestry must have been "expunged," as this is the last entry for many years. The same situation existed in St. George's Parish, Northampton County, whose minutes reveal that after 1778 all vestry duties and moneys were spent on public welfare cases and orphans. Taxes were levied by the vestry, collected by the sheriff, and accounted for to the Court of Overseers.⁷

Between 1774 and 1776, as the colonies moved toward independence, clergymen—like all citizens—had to reach decisions on their political alignment. Although many would doubtless have preferred to remain uncommitted to either loyalty to England or independence, the formation of local Committees of Safety forced them to choose. Daniel Earl, the rector at Edenton, wrote of the clergyman's plight in 1775:

The situation of the clergy in this part of the world is at present truly critical, on account [*sic*] of the difficulty of comporting themselves in such a manner as to give no umbrage to the Inhabitants. Some of them have been suspended, deprived of their Salaries, and, in the American manner proscribed by the Committees, and thereby rendered incapable of getting any settlement in any part of the united Colonies, and all this on account of charges against them of opposing the general cause of America, and how far they are to blame I am not able to determine, but verily believe that if the most learned and eloquent Divine in England was

to endeavor to dissuade the Americans from their present Resolutions he could make no impression upon them, but contrary-wise rather inflame them, so tenacious are they of the measures they have adopted.

As for my own part I have as yet kept clear of any censure among my parishioners, and I never introduce any Topic into the Pulpit except exhortations and prayers for peace, good order and a speedy reconciliation with Great Britain.⁸

A convenient event that could be used by the patriots to divide the sheep from the goats was the proclamation by the Continental Congress setting aside 20 July 1775 as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer “to deprecate the Calamities that threaten the British Empire in America,” as Earl described it. A deputation from the New Bern Committee of Safety called on the Reverend James Reed to officiate at the service, which he refused to do, “alleging that he should thereby incur the displeasure of Government, upon which the committee desired that the Vestry should suspend him and that the churchwardens should not pay his Salary, which I hear,” said Earl, “was immediately complied with.”⁹ The New Bern Committee adopted the following resolution:

The Committee taking into consideration the unaccountable behavior and conduct of *Mr. Reed*, in deserting his congregation yesterday, when almost all ranks and denominations of Christians among us were assembled at the Church by order of the Continental Congress, to humiliate ourselves before *God*, by fasting and prayer, to avert from us his heavy judgments now hanging over us; have

Resolved that the Vestry of this Parish be earnestly requested to suspend the said *James Reed* from his ministerial function in the said parish and that they immediately direct their churchwardens to stop payment of the said *Mr. Reed's* salary as minister of the said parish.¹⁰

In February of the following year, however, Reed was allowed to resume the holding of services.¹¹ It is said that the boys of New Bern would beat drums at the church door and shout “off with his head” during divine service when Reed offered the usual prayers for the king.¹²

The Reverend John Wills, at Wilmington, resigned in 1775 but stayed quietly in the vicinity and performed marriages when asked to do so.¹³ In December 1776 he presented a petition of some sort to the Provincial Congress,¹⁴ perhaps asking to be allowed to take the oath that he would support the new government. No action was recorded, and Wills vanished from sight. The Reverend Francis Johnston, on the other hand, preferred to leave North Carolina. On 22 September 1777, the Reverend James Buchanan, also a loyalist, wrote to Governor Caswell: "Enclosed is three certificates from the Clerk of our County Court, certifying that the Revd. Mr. Francis Johnston, Mr. Robert Lenox, and myself, have given bond and security, to depart the State in sixty days from the date, having refused to take the oath prescribed by the State." He requested passes for the West Indies.¹⁵

"Parson" Micklejohn at first remained a Tory. While serving as chaplain for the loyalists at Moores Creek Bridge, he was captured and paroled to Perquimans County. When he failed to go, he was ordered to be forcibly removed by the commanding officer of the Second Regiment of Orange County. In November 1778, however, he petitioned the Provincial Congress to be allowed to take the oath. His request was granted, and Micklejohn was "discharged."¹⁶ By 1779 he had moved to Granville County and was appointed by the Assembly to the board of trustees of Granville Hall,¹⁷ apparently indicating that all had been forgiven. At times he preached at Nut Bush Chapel, later known as St. John's Church at Williamsboro.

Daniel Earl's sympathies are controversial. In 1774 he presided over a meeting at Edenton which, though pleading allegiance to the king, declared British taxes and the Boston Port Bill to be unjust and urged nonimportation by way of retaliation.¹⁸ Yet a year later he informed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) that he had not taken sides, and he continued to receive his salary from the Society until 1783. Because his church vestry pledged loyalty to the Provincial Congress on 17 June 1776¹⁹, and because there is no record of any family quarrels when his daughter married the patriot Charles Johnson,²⁰ it would appear that Mr. Earl was more successful than most in keeping on good terms with everyone.

Conflicting evidence also exists on Charles Pettigrew. Although he preached to the state senate in 1777, the house twice refused to approve a bill to remunerate him for the sermon.²¹ This was usually a sign of political distrust. He too continued to receive his salary from the S.P.G. for several years, and in 1780, when drafted by the state

into military service, he sent a substitute. It was thought by his friends that his father-in-law, Colonel John Blount, was instrumental in having him drafted to test his loyalty.²² If so, he must have been sadly disappointed. Yet Pettigrew's own flock apparently held nothing against him, for in 1778 he was elected to preach alternate Sundays at St. Paul's in Edenton, and in 1781 to preach every Sunday.²³

Three clergymen are frequently mentioned in the *Colonial and State Records* as having aided the patriots in one way or another. Charles Edward Taylor, who served Bridges Creek Chapel and St. John's Chapel in St. George's Parish, was at one time chairman of the Safety Committee of Northampton County. At one meeting of the committee, one Anthony Warwick was condemned for carrying powder clandestinely from Virginia to Hillsborough, for which he was voted "an object to be held in the utmost detestation by all lovers of American freedom." For a time Taylor also read evening services for the Provincial Congress.²⁴ However, he must have retired by 1778, for on 2 June the wardens of his parish "ordered that the revd Chas Edward Taylor deliver the surplusies Callace & Salver to the County Wardens," and that his back salary be paid in full.²⁵ After that date his name vanishes from the vestry minutes.

Charles Cupples was chosen chaplain to the senate in 1779 and again in 1780. A resolution to pay him \$20,000 (a sum representing an astounding degree of inflation) in 1781 was defeated²⁶—probably, at this late date, because of economy rather than because his patriotism was in doubt. Nathaniel Blount, a native of Beaufort County, North Carolina, like Charles Pettigrew, was ordained just before the Revolution. He preached at Chocowinity, where Blount's Chapel (later known as Trinity Chapel) was erected, at St. Thomas's in Bath, and in the town of Washington. Blount held services in 1775 at the request of the Committee of Safety of Pitt County, and in 1778 for the Assembly at New Bern. He was asked by the Assembly to "deliver a discourse suitable" to a day of national humiliation, fasting, and prayer. Nevertheless, the people's dislike for the legal establishment of the Church was unmistakably shown in 1775 when even the patriotic Blount was asked by the Committee of Safety to resign his twenty-year contract with the parish. The committee felt that the contract had "much Divided the United plans of this county."²⁷

Two clergymen saw military service. Hezekiah Ford was chaplain to the Fifth Regiment of the North Carolina Continental Line. Commissioned on 20 April 1777, he seems to have served about five

months.²⁸ Adam Boyd, a Wilmington newspaper editor and former Pennsylvanian, who served as chaplain to the same regiment from 1777 to 1780, did not take Holy Orders until 1788. Ordained a deacon in that year by Bishop Samuel Seabury, he was probably a Presbyterian licentiate during the Revolution. After returning to Wilmington at the end of his service, he tried to relieve the suffering of American war prisoners at Charleston.²⁹

The last colonial clergyman to be accounted for, Thomas Burges [Burgess], died in 1779 and was buried, says tradition, in Conoconara churchyard.³⁰

The loss of support from the s.p.g. was a severe financial blow to the Church in North Carolina, for local support had never been strong. During the Revolution the salary of Charles Pettigrew was paid in produce, and once in a barrel of herring.³¹ As early as 1774, Charles E. Taylor informed the s.p.g. that no money had been collected for the clergy in the past year, and in 1775 Daniel Earl complained that he had received no colonial pay for three years.³² The St. George's Parish records show that, although the vestry nominally paid its rector's salary, money was still due his estate in 1787 at which time the bill was finally settled. And as late as 1791-92, one Charles Sandres credited Charles Pettigrew with £2 toward his salary from the bill owed Sandres for coffee, linen, and thread.³³ In 1783 Pettigrew's salary had been reduced to £48 10s., which was insufficient for a family of four.³⁴ This stirred in him a desire to leave for a better situation. He was therefore receptive to an invitation to go, in 1784, to Lynnhaven Parish, Princess Anne, Virginia, where a rectory and a salary of £150 would be provided. A formal invitation was issued which Pettigrew accepted, intending first to take a voyage to the West Indies for his health before moving to Virginia. The Lynnhaven parishioners, not caring to wait indefinitely, called the Reverend James Simpson, who promptly accepted. Pettigrew was extremely upset, but there is no record of his having made any further efforts to leave North Carolina.³⁵ Most clergymen had to support themselves by farming, teaching school, or practicing medicine. Adam Boyd was a printer in Wilmington, the most unusual occupation of those known. If any clergyman needed a defense for these secular activities he could always say, as did the Reverend Dr. James L. Wilson to Pettigrew in 1792, that even St. Paul had continued to make tents.³⁶

Church property as well as the clergy suffered from the ravages of

war and social upheaval. In spite of the protection to its property secured by laws of the General Assembly, the Church gradually lost its glebes and even its church buildings. A typical transaction disposing of glebe lands was recorded by John D. Hawkins in a letter to Charles Manly: "Many years ago there was an old Glebe Church on Grassy Creek in Granville in great decay and rendered useless. A man said he would give \$200 for it. The lawyers were consulted at Granville about it & among them was Judge Cameron, and all were of opinion it did not escheat but belonged to the *Church*, I however took the responsibility of selling it as the Atty. of the University and subscribed \$100 to the repairs of the church at Wmsboro and the other to the building a Presbyterian Church in the same neighborhood and this I stated myself personally at the next annual meeting of the Board and was approved by the members present."³⁷

In 1787 the glebe in New Bern was given to the academy there. The same year the glebe lands in Granville were authorized to be sold and the money used.³⁸ These actions were taken by special act of the legislature, which in 1776 had guaranteed the lands to the Church. The lands in Tyrrell County were also expropriated, but Representative William S. Chesson and the Reverend Charles Pettigrew put up a noble fight in 1784 to have them restored. According to the plan of these two gentlemen, the proceeds from the lands would be used to restore houses of worship in that county.³⁹ However, their plea to the legislature went unheeded.

A local tempest arose in 1800 over the discussion of these glebe lands in Tyrrell County following a vestry meeting at which Mr. Pettigrew had spoken his mind. According to him, the lands should be sold and the money used to repair churches. One man present, Amariah Biggs, recalled that he had heard Pettigrew say that he would keep any such money for himself. A furious correspondence developed, so much so that had it not involved a clergyman one would have expected a duel to follow. When Biggs retorted at one point that Pettigrew sounded more like "a roaring Loian then a Lamb of god," Pettigrew wrote on the back of the letter, "A masterpiece of scholarship from Belshazzar Biggs, The stupidest puppy that ever disgraced a pen." Pettigrew went to the trouble of collecting affidavits from all present at the disputed occasion to back up his assertions. The letters finally ceased, but three years later, when Pettigrew saw Biggs in church, he wrote a letter asking if he wished an "accommo-

dation of our differences.”⁴⁰ The reply, if any, has not been preserved, and there is some indication that Pettigrew did not send the letter after all.

The church buildings themselves suffered both from the inroads of war and from the lack of care as the congregations dwindled. The fate of St. James’s Church, Wilmington, which was occupied by the British, was described as follows: “The enclosure of the graveyard was removed and burnt, while the church itself was stripped of its pews and furniture, and converted into a hospital for the sick, then into a blockhouse for defence against the Americans, and finally into a riding-school for Tarleton’s dragoons.”⁴¹ Old Kehukee Church, later Trinity Parish in Halifax County, was falling into ruins by 1795. Conoconara on the Tar River in Edgecombe County was not used by Episcopalians after the war and fell into ruins about 1810.⁴² Francis Asbury has given testimony regarding the decline of church buildings and their congregations. In 1780 he wrote that Nut Bush Chapel in Granville County was “a little log house about twenty-five feet long and twenty wide,” and that “here I found a broken society.” At Hillsborough in 1783 he was also much depressed: “I walked to the church; it was once an elegant building, and still makes a good appearance at a distance, but within it is in ruins.”⁴³ The Anglican church at Beaufort, which Asbury visited in 1785, was “a quaint, old-fashioned affair”; after the Revolution it was used by preachers of different denominations and also as a schoolhouse.⁴⁴ In 1784 the Assembly decided to repair the church in Hillsborough with the consent of such Episcopalians as could be found, and to open it to all Christians every Sunday. In the event of a dispute as to whose turn it was to use the church, the Episcopalians were to be given preference; if they did not wish to use it, the commissioners were to decide.⁴⁵ The following year this same church was put to secular use when the Science Hall Academy met there.⁴⁶

The only chapel in Tyrrell County, according to Charles Pettigrew, “is more like a Deadfall than a Chapel, and is indeed dangerous for a congregation to be in.”⁴⁷ It was reported that the Bible and Book of Common Prayer from the church in Edgecombe County (probably Conoconara Chapel), were sold by order of the county court and the money given to the Wardens of the Poor.⁴⁸ Tradition says that a church was built on the Tar River between 1790 and 1800, but perhaps abandoned by 1805. Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire thought the Tarboro Conventions were held in this church. An edifice that was

torn down in 1856 may have been this building.⁴⁹ The war, the declining congregations, and the scarcity of clergy all contributed to the decay of small chapels in particular and even of larger churches in such towns as Wilmington, Hillsborough, and Edenton.

After the war there was a distinct decline in the number and interest of the Episcopal clergy. The Reverend Charles Cupples died in 1785 after serving in Granville County.⁵⁰ Thomas Burges died in 1779. Adam Boyd moved in 1790 to Augusta, Georgia, and finally went west where he died in 1803 in Natchez, Mississippi.⁵¹ Charles E. Taylor died between 1781 and 1787 at which time his estate is mentioned in the vestry minutes, and Daniel Earl is reported to have died in 1790.⁵² "Parson" Micklejohn remained in Granville County until 1808, when he moved to Mecklenburg County, Virginia, where he died in 1811.⁵³ However, the degree of his orthodoxy even before his departure seems open to question. In 1788 the Presbyterian minister Henry Pattillo wrote to his former pupil Charles Pettigrew: "Our Episcopalians are getting Mr. Mickeljohn to N[ut] B[ush] once in the month. I heard him last night. He is an artist at avoiding Jesus Christ both name and substance. The first thoroughly deistical sermon I ever heard."⁵⁴

By 1789 even Pettigrew seems not to have had much enthusiasm or energy for the cause. He wrote to Pattillo: "I preach chiefly at home to a few attentive hearers, with almost no exertion. When I used to preach to great crowds I generally incurred a fever. If I do little good, I am content to receive nothing for it. However I sometimes find myself very happy in a kind of unstudied paternal address, & seeing the correspondent sensations excited in my hearers. They are generally good morallists & good neighbors."⁵⁵

Nathaniel Blount continued to preach in Washington and at Chowinity, where he had built a chapel. Because there was no edifice in Washington, he preached in private homes, in a schoolhouse, or in the open.⁵⁶ A traveler to the state, one William Attmore, wrote in 1797 that he had attended a funeral conducted by "Parson" Blount at the home of the deceased. According to Attmore, "[Blount] was standing with a Tea Table before him, to hold his Books, and an Arm Chair for him to sit down if he chose it—He went thro' a long service from the Liturgy of the Church of England Prayers, Creeds, Psalms, &c, and afterwards preach'd a very excellent Funeral Sermon."⁵⁷

The great Methodist leader Francis Asbury introduced Blount and Pettigrew to each other, as Pettigrew reveals in a letter to Asbury in

1784: "I should be glad of a personal acquaintance with the Rev. Mr. Blount from the Character *I* have also had of him, but he seems to be too remote for an interview, & I have allways laboured under perhaps a culpable backwardness with regard to introducing myself—yet on your Reasonable hint, I think of writing to him, that I may learn how he stands affected to Religion, as the Clergy, it must be owned, are not allways the most pious men;—nor even friends to vital, & experimental godliness."⁵⁸ The two men became friends and remained so until Pettigrew's death.

John Alexander was a clergyman about whom little is known. Coming to North Carolina from the south in 1767, he preached in Hertford County at Wiccacon and Outlaw's chapels.⁵⁹ He was still alive in 1795, as demonstrated by his will of that date; but he evidently had not engaged in religious activities since the Revolution, as there are no references to him by Pettigrew, Blount, or others active in Church affairs.

New clergymen were rare and seldom stayed long in the state. The Reverend Hatch Dent came briefly from Maryland to Rowan County with a congregation. In 1795 Robert Johnston Miller wrote to Pettigrew: "those who have [met him] assure me that *he* is generally esteemed as a man of piety and learning, which to us in our present situation is, I hope, no small acquisition."⁶⁰ In 1799 Dent was again back in Maryland.⁶¹ Pettigrew heard of a Reverend Stephen Johnston in Northampton County, but he is listed in the *Journals of the General Convention* as having a parish in Virginia. He probably merely crossed the state line on occasion to hold services. Then there was "Parson" McDougall [McDougald] about whom there is an air of mystery. McDougall was proposed for chaplain to the North Carolina Assembly when it met in Tarboro in 1787 but was not elected.⁶² In the census of 1790, he was living in western Halifax County and the following year he is recorded as having sold a piece of land there.⁶³ Tom Iredell wrote to his brother James in 1791 from Edenton that "Parson" McDougall was reported to have married a Mrs. Ferguson.⁶⁴ In 1789 Pettigrew had requested his assistance with a Convention to be held at Tarboro, but his name is not listed with any of the signatures of those attending. However, he was named to the Committee on the State of the Church by the 1790 Tarboro Convention, along with all other Episcopal clergy in the state. Apparently McDougall was accepted by those who knew him or knew of him at this time. The doubt is raised by the fact that his name is not on the list of those

ordained by the Bishops of London prior to 1776 nor on any list of clergy ordained by American bishops. It is not known by what authority he called himself "parson." In 1830 Robert Johnston Miller wrote his remembrance of the alleged parson as follows: "[He] proved to be an imposter which had a very pernicious influence on the minds of many who were friendly to the cause of the Church in that opulent section of the state. He was then living in Halifax and had charge of the two congregations that had formerly been under the care of the Rev. Messrs Burges and Taylor."⁶⁵ It is probable that the mystery of Parson McDougall may never be solved.

In 1793 an active clergyman named Joseph Gurley went from Virginia to Murfreesboro, where he advertised in the *Edenton State Gazette* of 2 March that he had opened a school to teach "Writing, Arithmetic, Surveying & Mensuration, Latin and Greek." He attended the remaining Tarboro Conventions, but, according to a note in the Pettigrew Papers, he died about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Another new clergyman was the Reverend Dr. Leoc. [Leonard?] Cutting, from Pennsylvania, who appeared in New Bern in 1788. William Attmore refers in his diary to hearing sermons by Dr. Cutting, one on the text "My Commands are not Grievous," which was "a tolerable Discourse." In New Bern, Attmore notes, "There is a small church with a square tower, Cupola and Bell & it is the only place of Worship in the Town."⁶⁶ Cutting experienced financial and other business difficulties in his parish work, as he wrote Pettigrew in 1790: "How it may be in other Parishes or Congregations in this State, I know not; but here we have no Church-wardens, vestrymen, nor any officer to take any charge or care of the Church. Whatever meetings therefore we may hold in the Church will be spontaneous, unbacked by proper authority."⁶⁷ The state of North Carolina had improved the situation, whether or not Cutting was aware of it at the time of his letter. In 1789 the Assembly had passed an act to authorize the churchwardens in New Bern to receive moneys to build a church and support a minister.⁶⁸ Undoubtedly discouraged, Cutting did not remain long, for in 1792 he was in New York serving as secretary of the House of Bishops at the General Convention,⁶⁹ and there is no further mention of his presence in North Carolina.

Three new clergymen arrived and stayed in North Carolina, adding their strength to that of Pettigrew and Blount and holding together as best they could the weakened Church. One of these was Dr. James L. Wilson. Ordained in 1789 by Bishop White at the General Conven-

tion of that year,⁷⁰ he practiced medicine and preached near Halifax. When Pettigrew apparently chastised him for trying to be both physician and clergyman, he replied that he had to eat and that St. Paul had continued to make tents. As he healed the body, he hoped to be a “means in Gods hand” to save souls as well.⁷¹ In 1795 Wilson advertised in *The North Carolina Journal* of Halifax that he was opening a Latin school near “Conoconary Church.” It is said that he preached a funeral sermon near Scotland Neck in 1801, and he seems to have died a few years later.⁷²

Dr. Solomon Halling, who was also a physician, succeeded the Reverend Dr. Cutting in New Bern. A resident of Philadelphia after serving as an army surgeon during the Revolution,⁷³ Halling was in New Bern at least by 1789, when William Attmore recorded in his diary: “Intended to go to Church but there was none today, and staid at home all day—In the afternoon Colonel Wm Stewart called to see me, afterwards Doctor Osborne of Washington with whom came Doctor Halling who was introduced to me.”⁷⁴ That same year Attmore heard Halling pronounce a “Eulogium on General Caswell” in the church at New Bern. It appears that he was taking a great interest in the congregation and perhaps even then was a lay reader. Recommended by the clergy of North Carolina, he was ordained by Bishop Madison of Virginia in 1792. In addition to practicing medicine, Halling was the principal of a school in New Bern. In 1795 he accepted a call to St. James’s Church, Wilmington, where he also became the first principal of Wilmington Academy. In 1811 he was called to Prince George Winyah Parish in Georgetown, South Carolina, where he remained until his death in 1813.⁷⁵ Admirable as this physician obviously was, he was not a well-grounded churchman. In 1807 Andrew Fowler, a clergyman from New York, described in a letter to Bishop John Henry Hobart of that diocese a visit he had had with Halling on his way to South Carolina:

After I left New York, the first place I went to, was Wilmington in the State of North Carolina. At this place, I met with a clergyman by the name of Halling, who is one of the most pleasant and agreeable men in the world;—He is a person of an excellent character, and universally beloved—As I could not meet with a passage directly after my arrival, I was obliged to stay at Wilmington about five weeks, in which time I had great opportunity of conversing with Mr. Halling upon the state of the church,

which he tells me is very deplorable—I find that the idea of episcopacy is but little esteemed among either the clergy or people—They think it is no matter what religion a man is of, provided he be an honest man—Mr. Halling seems to be of this opinion, and it was many days before I could prevail on him, to relinquish so destructive [*sic*] an idea. . . . As I was invited to dine out every day . . . it gave me great opportunity of advocating the church, and my friend Halling told me that I had been of great service to him among his people, as well as to himself—I find that nothing is wanting to make the church flourish in that State but half a dozen good clergymen and a few small tracts on episcopacy, baptism, the Lord's supper, &c.⁷⁶

Shortly after this Bishop Hobart sent a supply of pamphlets and books to Fowler, from which he forwarded some of the pamphlets to Halling and indicated he would do the same with the books after he had read them.

The third of these three new clergymen who labored so hard in North Carolina was a devout and determined man, Robert Johnston Miller. Born in Dundee, Scotland, in 1758, Miller was brought up in the Scottish Episcopal Church. At age fifteen he joined an older brother in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and later served in the Continental Army. After the Revolution he migrated to Virginia where he became associated with the Methodists. In April 1785, as a local preacher, he went with Dr. Thomas Coke to the first North Carolina Methodist Conference at Green Hill's plantation near Louisburg, and remained to preach on the Tar River Circuit in Franklin County until the end of the year.⁷⁷ He withdrew from the Methodist society when it separated from Anglicanism. He moved to Whitehaven in Lincoln County, where he became pastor to an Episcopal congregation and also taught school. A large number of people in the vicinity were German Lutherans, so that the Episcopalians had become accustomed to depending on the Lutheran pastor for the Sacraments. Liking Miller, the little flock urged him to accept Lutheran ordination, as there was no Episcopal bishop in North Carolina at the time to perform this function. To this Miller acceded in 1794, but he made reservations to his ordination, stating that he regarded himself as an Episcopalian and, if the opportunity ever came, he would apply for ordination in that Church. This he eventually did in 1821.⁷⁸

The dearth of clergy in North Carolina was equaled by apathetic

congregations and a general lessening of religious interest. It would be difficult to judge as to which was cause and which effect. In 1785 the legislature found it necessary to pass a law levying a fine of five pounds on any person trying to obstruct the ways leading to a house of public worship.⁷⁹ In Edgecombe County around 1793, there appeared to be only two or three communicants, one of whom was a former Presbyterian.⁸⁰ The will of the Reverend John Alexander, dated 4 April 1795, wailed: "The manly, mas[c]uline voice of Orthodoxy is no longer heard in our land. Far, therefore, from my grave be the senseless Rant of whining Fanaticism, her hated and successful Rival. Cant and Grimace dishonor the dead, as well as disgrace the living.—Let the Monitor within, who never deceives, alone pronounce my Funeral Oration; while some friendly hand deposits my poor remains close by the ashes of beloved Daughter Elizabeth, with whom I trust to share a happy Eternity."⁸¹

Jeremiah Norman, an itinerant Methodist preacher and singing-school teacher, remarked many times how few religious people there were in eastern North Carolina. In 1796 he wrote: "He seemed a stranger to all kinds & degrees of the worship of God in the Christian form." After viewing the ruins of the old church at Brunswick, he wrote: "I drew near & viewed the walls of the old church, burnt some years past. It seems to be the remains of an elligant building, but the lofty eddifce is now ruined. God neglected, as well as his House burnt. Lord have mercy on the people in this place. Turn thier [*sic*] hearts & save their souls." In an encounter with a man who "had taken too much Spirituous Liquor" and who claimed to be a relative of Charles Pettigrew, Norman "perceived him to be a practical Deist & very nigh an Atheist."⁸²

Two Methodist itinerant preachers described Pettigrew and the Episcopalians at Edenton during the 1780s. Francis Asbury wrote in his journal in 1783: "I preached in Edenton to a gay, inattentive people; I was much pleased with Mr. Pettigrew; I heard him preach, and received the lord's supper at his hands."⁸³ Dr. Thomas Coke was less kind: "I went to Edenton, a most wicked place. Here Mr. Pettigrew preaches. The people in general seemed to prefer the court-house, which is an elegant place, so I went there accordingly, and preached to a large congregation . . . there seemed nothing but wickedness and dissipation in the tavern at which I put up . . . I suppose Mr. Pettigrew does as much good in Edenton as a little chicken."⁸⁴ Two sermon topics used by Pettigrew might suggest the

nature of his congregations: "Why men despise Christianity,"⁸⁵ and "Fear the Lord and depart from Evil."⁸⁶

The general decline of interest in the Episcopal Church contributed to the opportunities for other denominations—chiefly the Baptist and the Methodist—to harvest the fields, amidst a great deal of bitterness. The Baptists were generally disliked because they refused to accept baptism by other denominations. Pettigrew engaged in a long, acrimonious theological argument through the newspapers on the subject of baptism, signing himself Philanthropus and addressing the letters to the Baptist Kehukee Association.⁸⁷ In 1792 one Thomas Harmon, a Baptist, asked the vestry of St. Paul's in Edenton for permission to use its church. Indignantly the vestry addressed itself to Pettigrew: "as far as we have anything to say, we do in the most absolute manner reject Mr. Harmons proposal *for the use of this church for himself & the other ministers of his persuasion*. We are in hopes that while you live amongst us, we shall be at no loss for a clergiman of our own way of thinking, and should we be unfortunate enough to be deprived of your Ministry, we still indulge a hope, that we shall always be able to procure an Orthodox Minister to fill the Episcopal Chair." Pettigrew thereupon informed Mr. Harmon that the vestry had denied his request.⁸⁸ In his will, dated 1806, Pettigrew left White Chapel, which he had built, to the Church, the door of which was always to be open to "ministers of every Denomination who can cordially communicate with the members of said Church." But he expressly excluded all who denied infant baptism.⁸⁹

A Presbyterian clergyman, B. H. Rice, writing from Halifax in 1811 to the Reverend Mr. McPheeters in Raleigh, remarked: "the fact is that the Methodists Baptists and the Devil have taken this whole country so that there is no room for a Presbyterian."⁹⁰ Various reports abound of the Baptists trying to occupy the small rural chapels. In the case of St. John's Chapel in Hertford County, the Baptists argued that, because the chapel had been erected in prerevolutionary times by tax money, and no Episcopal services were being held there, the Baptists as the majority had the right to use it. When the senior warden denied their request to use St. John's, the junior warden offered them the use of his home, "Mulberry Grove."⁹¹ Outlaw's Chapel at "Wild Catt Gutt," about six miles south of Powellsville, erected in 1770, was taken over by the Baptists and renamed Holly Grove Baptist Church.⁹² A newspaper notice of 1831 is cited as evidence that the Baptists took over Quankey Chapel, eight miles northwest of Hali-

fax, soon after the Revolution;⁹³ although this may be correct, it is not primary evidence. A nineteenth-century Episcopalian, Richard H. Smith, in a newspaper reply to a Baptist clergyman who was deploring the “tyranny” that had built the colonial churches, stated: “the reader may be surprised to learn that both the Colonial Chapels in Halifax County, Conoconara and Kehukee—were taken possession of by the Baptists after the Revolution and appropriated to their own use. So that if there are any remains of these Chapels still in existence they constitute a ‘mouldering monument’ of a second ecclesiastical ‘tyranny,’ which had the merit of not ever possessing the appearance of a legal right.”⁹⁴ The charge concerning Kehukee Chapel would appear to be unjust, however, for the chapel by that name built by the Anglicans is not the same as Kehukee Baptist Church but rather is a few hundred yards east of it.⁹⁵

Although it was usually the Baptists who caused the squabbles, sometimes it was the Presbyterians. One Philip Bruce, a Methodist, wrote to Charles Pettigrew in 1784: “These six months past I have been riding among the mountains; and have the pleasure to inform you that religion gains ground in these back parts, but not so fast as I would like to see it, the greatest difficulty that seems to stand in the way, is the want of the Ordinances [ordination of clergy], by reason of which our people are obliged to go to the Presbyterians, who sometimes refuse to Baptise their children. Indeed there are numbers of Families unbaptised in these parts.”⁹⁶ Because the Methodists were at first only a society within the Anglicans, it may not be surprising to find that Whitakers Chapel, east of Enfield, was used by Anglicans until about 1776 “when the congregation joined the Methodists.”⁹⁷ In 1783 and 1784, Pettigrew carried on an extensive correspondence with Methodists in his vicinity, such as Caleb B. Peddicord, Henry Metcalf, and Edward Dromgoole. He sympathized with their efforts, attended some Quarterly Meetings, and at least once referred to riding a circuit.

It may be that the more enthusiastic and devout young Anglicans were drawn off into the more active Methodist movement because there was at that time still no method of ordination except by going to England. After the Methodists separated from the Anglicans they made inroads on the membership of the older Church. A typical illustration follows. About 1789 the itinerant preacher Thomas Ware, on the Caswell Circuit, visited a “pleasant settlement” of Episcopalians “who had long been without a minister.” They asked him to

preach and to baptize their children. Soon many persons drifted into the home where Ware was staying, to whom he also preached, and he finally spent the night. Before midnight one woman experienced a conversion, amid much commotion, and all were so excited that he stayed for six weeks. By the end, "we had a society in this place of eighty members, mostly heads of families."⁹⁸ The Methodists, like the Episcopalians, did not much love the Baptists. Francis Asbury wrote in 1785: "At Wicacon the glory is departed. A few Baptist women stood at a distance and wept, whilst I administered the sacrament: they dared not come to the table, lest they should be discovered by their own people."⁹⁹

It would appear from the foregoing evidence, then, that after the Revolution there was a decline in the number of clergymen and in their clerical interest, and that a declining interest in religion was fairly general although the zeal of the more evangelical sects gathered many into their folds at the expense of the former Anglicans. This was a weak foundation on which to attempt to build the structure of an episcopacy in North Carolina, and it is not surprising that the first efforts to do so ended in failure.

Before examining the attempt to organize the Diocese of North Carolina in the 1790s, it will be necessary to consider the state of the Church in the United States. The strongest centers of Anglicanism were in Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. Beginning with a meeting at Chestertown, Maryland, in 1780, steps were taken to draw together all the Episcopal churches in the various states and to adopt a constitution providing for their liturgy and government. The first General Convention was held in New York in 1784, but neither North Carolina nor New England sent delegates. At Philadelphia in the following year the revised liturgy and the new constitution were adopted.¹⁰⁰

The next problem was to secure bishops for the United States within the line of apostolic succession. The English Church was restricted in consecrating bishops for America, for the latter could of course not give allegiance to the Crown. Thus Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, chosen by the Church in that state, went to Scotland where he was consecrated by the nonjuring bishops. Meanwhile, John Adams, then minister to England, had learned that the bishops of Denmark were willing to assist the American Church. In 1786, however, Parliament passed a law granting to the English bishops permission to consecrate Americans without requiring the oath of

allegiance to the Crown. The following year the Reverends William White of Pennsylvania and Samuel Provoost of New York were consecrated bishops in Lambeth Palace, London, England. In 1789 James Madison, president of William and Mary College, was elected Bishop of Virginia and was consecrated in England the following year. Also in 1789 the New England churches ratified the constitution of the Episcopal Church in the United States and Bishop Seabury was formally included with the others.¹⁰¹ As soon as there were three bishops, the episcopate was self-perpetuating, so that by 1790 the American Church was clearly independent. The first bishop to be consecrated by American bishops was the Reverend Claggett of Maryland.¹⁰²

It may be noted that the two Carolinas and Georgia had taken no part in these events. Bishop White soon set out to locate stray congregations and clergy. One action that he took was to ask Governor Johnston of North Carolina to have the clergy consult on Church interests. The governor passed the letter on to Charles Pettigrew, who immediately contacted the clergymen of whom he knew.

In a letter of 9 November 1789 to the Reverend Mr. McDougall in Perquimans, Pettigrew wrote that Bishop White desired the clergy to meet "in order to consult on such measures as may be conducive to the declining interest of their Church." He therefore proposed a meeting at Tarboro on 2 May 1790. Continuing, he lamented: "The smallness of our number has I doubt not been a subject of sensible regret to each individual of my Brethren who must also have seen the increasing number of our opponents, who are endeavoring by the most indefatigable exertions to weaken our hands, & to seduce the members of our Church to their sundry communions." He asked McDougall to contact the Reverend George Micklejohn and Marcus George of the Warrenton Academy. Pettigrew stated that he himself had invited Dr. Cutting at New Bern, Nathaniel Blount on the Tar River, and Mr. Wilson of Martin.¹⁰³

Although McDougall made no reply, Cutting accepted the invitation with enthusiasm. He told Pettigrew that his letter was the first he had received from any clergyman since his arrival (ca. 1785) in North Carolina, and it was most welcome. Cutting recommended that a layman accompany each clergyman to the proposed meeting. Noting that he had received letters from the national committee of correspondence as well as a private letter from Bishop White urging North Carolina to join the General Convention, Cutting, in a post-

script, concluded: "I shall certainly on my own account write to Bishop White and diligently enquire whether there are any of our Episcopal brethren to the Southward of Newbern."¹⁰⁴

The first Convention, if it can be called that, duly met in Tarboro on 5 June 1790, with four persons present: Charles Pettigrew and James L. Wilson for the clergy, and Dr. John Leigh and William Clements, two laymen of Tarboro. Clements, a former Presbyterian, was especially active in the succeeding events: he served three times as secretary and was chosen in 1794 as the lay delegate to the General Convention, although he did not attend. The enthusiastic Dr. Cutting was not present, and it may be that he had already returned to Philadelphia. The Convention in Tarboro voted to accept the constitution as adopted in 1789 for the Episcopal Church in the United States; appointed a committee consisting of Pettigrew, Wilson, and Leigh to reply to Bishop White; and decided to call another meeting for the following November, also in Tarboro. Each county would be asked to send one delegate, who should be a member of the clergy, if there was one, or a layman.¹⁰⁵

The address to the General Convention was duly drawn up, first expressing regret that the letter from Bishop White was received too late to send a delegate to the 1789 General Convention. North Carolina approved of all that had been done at that time, and voted to "cheerfully subscribe and accede to the union." Continuing in a less cheerful vein, the address observed: "The state of our Church in this Commonwealth is truly deplorable from the paucity of its clergy and the multiplicity of opposing sectarians who are using every possible exertion to seduce its members to their different communions. This grievance, however, we hope will be reduced in time by the energy of its faithful labourers."¹⁰⁶ In a personal letter to the bishop, Pettigrew explained the probable reasons for the insignificant attendance at the Tarboro meeting: "The Clergy of this State find it necessary to engage in the business of farming, for the support of their families, as contribution has ever been found so precarious a dependence; and this is perhaps the most busy season of the year, which I did not consider when I made the appointment. This is perhaps a principal reason why our Convention has been so small."¹⁰⁷

The November 1790 meeting was held as scheduled. Micklejohn presided, and a John Norwood was secretary. No list of those present has been found. However, business was attended to, with a Standing Committee named for the state and an annual meeting established.

Appointed to attend the 1792 General Convention in New York were Micklejohn, Pettigrew, and Wilson for the clergy; and John Leigh, William McKenzie of Martin County, and Joseph Leech of New Bern for the laity. Named to the Standing Committee were Micklejohn, Cutting, Blount, Pettigrew, McDougald, and Wilson for the clergy; and Jonathan Kitterell of Granville County, Leigh of Tarboro, Henry Hill of Franklin, William McKenzie of Martin, James Mills of Warren, Dr. Dickinson of Edenton, Colonel Long of Halifax, and Colonel Leech of New Bern for the laity. These names do not necessarily represent those present, for it is presumed that neither Cutting nor McDougall, for instance, were there. The Standing Committee recommended Dr. Solomon Halling of New Bern for Holy Orders (he was ordained the following year by Bishop Madison of Virginia), and the Convention concluded by resolving to hold its next meeting in October 1791.¹⁰⁸

In due time Bishop White received the letter and the Resolves adopted by the 5 June 1790 convention, as he wrote to Pettigrew in August 1791, a year later. In the letter, he stated that “as our Communion generally throughout the Country seems recovering from a condition in which the War had left us, we hope, that this is, in some measure, the case with you.”¹⁰⁹ Pettigrew replied on 12 March 1792:

I had determined to be at our next *Episcopal Convention*, which was to meet in October, 1791, and not far off when I received your letter: I therefore, deferred answering it, in hopes that would furnish some new communication, which might render my letter more acceptable.

But being seized with a tertian ague, two or three days before I was to have set out, I found it out of my power to give my attendance, as the distance was about a hundred miles. I soon after wrote to one of my brethren, to know what was done on that occasion, that I might transmit to you the particulars. But his letter having fallen into the hands of some careless person, I received it but a few days ago. It informs me, that there did not convene members sufficient to proceed to business.

He expressed the hope that the North Carolina delegates would go to New York in August 1792, but “the Distance is great, & the Journey must be attended with both fatigue & expense.” Money was hard to come by, and the clergy were “indigent.” Pettigrew himself wanted

to attend but had a conflict with a meeting in Hillsborough of the board of trustees of the new University of North Carolina: "Our Church in this State is indeed at a very low Ebb, & could I see how my attendance at Convention should be promotive of its interest in any degree, I am sure no consideration of a temporal nature should preponderate." Pettigrew concluded by again complaining of the "indefatigable industry of the Methodists & Anabaptists" in seducing Episcopalians because of the latter's lack of clergy.¹¹⁰ Perhaps he felt the new university was more in need than the Church; perhaps he had only known a Church in decay and could not envision one vibrant and vital; perhaps the distance to New York seemed greater during August. At any rate, he chose to attend the trustees' meeting instead.

Although the resolutions of the Tarboro Convention were laid before the 1792 General Convention, no action was taken except to "preserve" them, because no North Carolina delegates were present. The Reverend James L. Wilson had sailed for New York but was delayed by contrary winds, arriving a few days after the Convention had adjourned. Upon his plea, however, this fact was recorded by the secretary in the *Journals*. It is likewise this Convention at which Dr. Cutting was the secretary to the House of Bishops, after which he had no further connection with North Carolina.¹¹¹

Wilson and Halling did not give up hope, however. On 28 October 1793 Halling wrote Pettigrew that plans were under way for the next Tarboro Convention. He had placed an advertisement in the New Bern paper and sent one to Fayetteville and one to Halifax. And he had talked personally with Nathaniel Blount, who promised to come "if his own and the health of his family permit." Nevertheless, Halling concluded on a note of desperate urgency: "The situation of the Protestant episcopal church in this State is truly deplorable—and there is so little sense of religion among the people generally, who profess themselves of this communion,—that at times, I despair of our success. . . . If [we] had as much zeal as the separatists there would be some hope."¹¹²

When the meeting assembled on 21 November, only six persons were present: Wilson and Halling, together with the Reverend Joseph Gurley of Murfreesboro, newly arrived in the state, for the clergy; Leigh and Clements of Tarboro, the old faithfuls, and F. Green of New Bern for the laity. The meeting was devoted to planning one more effort, with a better publicity campaign to secure improved attendance.¹¹³ Halling was particularly sorry that Pettigrew was ill and

could not be there. In December he wrote to Pettigrew to express his sympathy and to urge him to make every effort to strengthen the Church. After describing his own attempts to make the people of Craven County understand the necessity for organization, he continued: "May our merciful God restore you to perfect health and prolong your life to be useful in this dark land. I believe it will be the general wish that you should be elected to the Episcopacy of North Carolina. My exertion shall not be spared on the occasion and you must not refuse. Consider it a call from Heaven and reflect on your former vows. Excuse me if I speak freely, my whole soul is engaged in this important business. May God in mercy for our country preserve you to overlook and bless his flock. This is the ardent wish and prayer of my dear and Rev. Sir your unworthy brother in our Lord Jesus."¹¹⁴

In his reply to Halling's letter, Pettigrew said he was distressed by the "coldness" and "inattention" of Episcopalians. The Church certainly needed a head, he confessed, "to *ordain*, to *censure*, to *suspend* or *degrade*" with the "concurrence of his brethren, the Clergy, met in convocation." This statement might indicate that a need had arisen for such action. In the same letter, Pettigrew remarked that someone had told him the Church was thriving in the eastern states. He attacked the "anabaptists" as the worst enemies of the Church in the South. His health, he continued, was so poor that he despaired of ever being a "useful minister of Jesus," and he concluded by declaring that he was unfit to be a bishop.¹¹⁵

Wilson aided Halling by sending out a circular letter asking churchmen to meet at their local church or courthouse as soon as possible, to elect a vestry, to secure a neighboring clergyman to preach "as often as convenient for the distance he may reside at from you," to choose lay readers, and to collect the members "many of whom it is to be lamented, wander as sheep without a Shepherd."¹¹⁶ As a result of this effort, sixteen delegates attended the Tarboro Convention of May 1794, although some of them trickled in after the business had started. Charles Pettigrew presided and William Clements was once again secretary. Others present were Halling, Wilson, Nathaniel Blount, Joseph Gurley, and the Lutheran, Robert Johnston Miller, for the clergy; and John Leigh, Isaac Guion, Robert Whyte, Benjamin Woods, Joseph Perkins, Leonard Desseaux, William Grimes, Robert Godley, and James Adams for the laity.

The two items of business were to adopt a constitution for the Dio-

cese of North Carolina and to elect a bishop. A constitution was accordingly adopted, the preamble to which stated the purpose of the Church at that time:

WHEREAS, There are numbers of good people in this State who have been educated in the faith of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and many other religious and well-disposed persons who appear to be desirous to worship God according to the forms used in said Church; We, the Clergy and lay deputies in Convention met, have thought it advisable to frame a Constitution for the future government of said Church; and humbly pray at the throne of Heavenly Grace that our endeavors may prove effectual to the promotion of virtue and true religion.

Having disposed of this matter, the Convention then elected Charles Pettigrew to serve as bishop of the diocese. The testimonial of election stated:

We therefore do hereby recommend to be consecrated to the office of a bishop, the said Reverend Charles Pettigrew, whom from his morality, religious principles, piety of life, from his general reputation in a clerical character, from the personal knowledge we have of him, and from his sufficiency in good learning, and soundness in the faith, we are induced to believe worthy of being consecrated to that important office.

Halling, Wilson, and Clements were chosen to attend the 1795 General Convention, where it was expected that Pettigrew would be consecrated. The Convention then adjourned, planning to meet again the following October.¹¹⁷

The recommendation for consecration and presumably other important papers were forwarded to Bishop White, who informed Pettigrew on 6 July 1795 that he would present his election certificate to the General Convention in Philadelphia that September. Although he made no promises as to the possible actions of the Convention, because the certificate was slightly irregular, White wrote: "we may presume on their entertaining an inclination to do whatever is in their power for the increasing of the respectability, and the providing for the further increase of our Church." He reassured Pettigrew that no examination would be required of him, concluding with the hope that he would see him in the fall.¹¹⁸ This hope was not to be realized, however, for the bishop-elect did not reach Philadelphia. Pettigrew

explained in a letter of 6 September that on his way to Norfolk to take ship he received word of yellow fever there. He turned back, doubting if the packet to Baltimore would sail. The land journey, he pointed out, would have been practically impossible to make, as it would have required traveling five hundred miles at the "sickliest" season of the year. He promised, however, to bend every effort to have vestries chosen throughout the state.¹¹⁹ As it turned out, none of the North Carolina delegates were able to attend the General Convention in 1795.

The next year in which Pettigrew could have been consecrated was 1798. Nathaniel Blount and Solomon Halling both urged him to do so, the latter noting in a letter that some of his parishioners wished to be confirmed. Robert Whyte wrote the bishop-elect that all hoped he would be consecrated.¹²⁰ Blount finally wrote a scorching letter to Pettigrew in 1798 for having done nothing since his election. Blount stressed that he had opposed the election of a bishop in 1794 as being premature, and that time had proven he was right. "Nothing that we did then, has that I know of been of any consequence at all," he lamented.¹²¹ At this point Pettigrew was notified that the General Convention of 1798 was postponed because of yellow fever in Philadelphia. Apparently he had no intention of attending, for there is no mention of any plans to do so in his correspondence. Nor had there been a Diocesan Convention since 1794. It was as if every ounce of strength had gone into that one effort, yet, as Blount said, with little results. Pettigrew's failure to apply for consecration at the 1799 General Convention brought him another letter from Blount suggesting that perhaps he should have called a Diocesan Convention and offered his resignation. Yielding to pessimism, Blount thought a quorum might not have been obtained; but then, again, a ballot by mail could have been held. In spite of his critical attitude and good common sense, Blount did not wish to appear to push too hard, for he then hedged by saying Pettigrew was the best judge and perhaps had done the right thing.¹²² At any rate, for the rest of his life Pettigrew remained bishop-elect and the first effort to organize the Diocese was effectually dead.

A slow but steady deterioration in the strength of the Church was further apparent after 1794. This decline was not peculiar to North Carolina, but rather it could be observed throughout the southern states. The real strength of the Church still lay in Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, whereas Bishop Claggett of Maryland and

Bishop Madison of Virginia, though undoubtedly gentle and devout, had little organizational ability and less gift for leadership. In order to arouse greater interest on the part of the southern dioceses, Bishop White decided to hold the 1808 General Convention in Baltimore; but the delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia failed to attend.¹²³ The strongest personality among the early bishops was that of Samuel Seabury, who unfortunately died early; not until Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York was consecrated in 1811 was a man of equal strength placed in a position of leadership in the Church. His missionary zeal encouraged a few young men from New York to come to the Carolinas and Georgia to revive the Church. Their efforts finally bore fruit.

Meanwhile, in the years following his election as bishop, Pettigrew corresponded with other clergymen in the state, urging the organization of vestries, and preached in the chapels in his territory. But he made no effort to visit other parishes or even to keep in touch with Bishop White, who wrote in his memoirs: "Why nothing was done afterward, for the carrying of the design into effect, is not known, unless it be the decease of the reverend person in question, which must have happened not long after."¹²⁴ Pettigrew's inactivity certainly lent color to this supposition. The contrast with the activity of the itinerant Methodist clergy and the Presbyterians is astonishing. Francis Asbury, a man no younger than Pettigrew and from all accounts in no better health, traveled hundreds of miles every year, swimming rivers on his horse in icy weather, to reach every state in the union; whereas Pettigrew did not even travel to New Bern, Wilmington, or Washington, North Carolina. Perhaps Pettigrew's personal humility was too great for him to assume real leadership, or possibly he recognized his own limitations, for he wrote to Bishop White in 1795 in what seems to be his final communication with that gentleman: "I most sincerely wish that some Episcopal clergyman of eminence, would come into our State. I would very cheerfully resign my appointment in his favor. We are but few, & the vacancies numerous."¹²⁵ He seemed defeated before he began, as suggested in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Mary Verner of Pendleton District in South Carolina: "I have preached this 6 years past without gratuity or reward, nor shall I ever ask anything. I wish I could do some good; but I find mankind have greatly degenerated in the last 20 years. . . . But this being too cold a religion, the Baptists and methodists undertook to animate them. This they did by what I call the *grimace of preaching*." Such

preachers worked them up by “fire & brimstone,” by which the people were “warmed, but not instructed.” When the fire cooled off, their religion had fled.¹²⁶

Yet Pettigrew may have done all that his nature would let him do for the Church. Not only did he preach “without gratuity or reward,” but he built chapels with funds from his own pocket. Pettigrew’s Chapel (later St. David’s) at Scuppernong, North Carolina, was one of these, while another was twelve miles away. He preached twice a month at each, and allowed them to be open to other clergy who permitted open communion with the Episcopal Church. He told Nathaniel Blount in 1804 that people attended church more often now that they had these two comfortable chapels.¹²⁷ Pettigrew’s Chapel was left to the Church by his will. He wrote many hymns and religious poems, and his sermons were reasonably literary and lucid. Jeremiah Norman related that, in 1797, “I rested myself and went to the chapel to hear Mr. Petegrew Bishop of the old Episcopal Church he used elegance & sublimity of language. The text was, God is Love.”¹²⁸ A sermon entitled, “On the profanation of the name of God,” was evidently popular, at least with Pettigrew, for he noted on it each place in which he used it, such as Edenton, Skinner’s Chapel, and Phelps’s Chapel.¹²⁹

He encouraged Charles Moore of Mount Tirzah, Person County, to organize a vestry, get supplies, and obtain lay readers.¹³⁰ This Moore proceeded to do. The wardens, Colonel Robert Dickins and General Stephen Moore, wrote to Bishop White in Philadelphia to ask for assistance in securing a clergyman. The letter was presented to both the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies at the 1795 General Convention. It was agreed there that “the Presidents of the two houses be desired to send such an answer to the same, as in their judgments shall be proper” to the effect that the Convention could do nothing to help.¹³¹ Apparently this reply was either not written or lost on the way, as Charles Moore reported to Pettigrew that no reply had been received. In the same letter, Moore lamented that “the few of us that are in this & the neighboring counties are almost a *sheep* without a Shepherd and many who formerly were of that Church from a motive of piety have been drawn aside to other Denominations, not having an opportunity of worshiping God in the way they had been brought up.” He concluded by suggesting the names of men who might become active if they were to receive a

letter from Pettigrew, including four prominent men in Greenville.¹³² No letters from Pettigrew to any of these men have been found.

Pettigrew corresponded with Dr. Solomon Halling about the election of a vestry at St. James's in Wilmington in 1796, after Halling had moved there from New Bern. Pettigrew had recommended that the elections take place on the regular election day, as had been true in the time of the Establishment. That this was poor judgment is evident by Halling's protest that his congregation wanted to choose the vestry on Easter Monday as was its custom, because too much liquor was drunk on election day and members of other churches would also vote. Halling further suggested that rotation of the clergy might have a good effect by affording some novelty—in his opinion, this was the reason Methodism and Anabaptism grew so rapidly.¹³³

In New Bern, which Halling had left, Thomas Pitt Irving, a deacon, served as minister until 1813. Pettigrew attempted to initiate a correspondence with him, as he explained to his friend Nathaniel Blount: "I made an advance a few years ago towards a correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Ervin [*sic*] at Newbern, immediately on his entering into Holy Orders; but he made me no return, and I troubled him no further."¹³⁴ Irving was ordained deacon in 1796 by Bishop White. After teaching school and preaching in Christ Church, New Bern, for seventeen years, he moved to Hagerstown, Maryland, where he served as principal of the academy there until his death in 1818.¹³⁵

Pettigrew once recommended Frederick Beasley of Edenton to the diaconate. Beasley, who had attended the College of New Jersey from 1793 to 1797 and had become a friend of John Henry Hobart while both were students, remained in the North. When Blount told Pettigrew in 1802 that Beasley "probably found better prospects in New York,"¹³⁶ he was quite correct. Although the young man served churches in New Jersey, New York and Baltimore, finally becoming provost of the University of Pennsylvania, he never served in North Carolina.¹³⁷

The most active clergyman in the state was Robert Johnston Miller, the Lutheran who considered himself an Episcopalian. He reported to Pettigrew as his "Bishop" that from Easter 1794 to Easter 1795 he had baptized eighty-five infants and nine adults. He expressed his willingness to go to the next General Convention if Pettigrew did not,¹³⁸ but his offer was not taken up. Around 1806 Lewis Beard of

Rowan County brought some Catechisms from Charleston, South Carolina, to Miller's congregation, and the Episcopalians received them with delight.¹³⁹

Nathaniel Blount continued to write to Pettigrew, although these letters contained less and less discussion of Church affairs and more of world events such as the news of Napoleon and the revolt in Haiti. In 1804 Blount recorded his recent activities, saying that he had preached at two places in his own neighborhood, three others in Beaufort County, five in Craven County, one in Hyde, and one in Pitt, besides performing "a great number of funerals,"¹⁴⁰ which indicates a busy life. Distantly connected with Pettigrew through Pettigrew's first wife, Mary Blount, he maintained a frank correspondence which illuminates the history of this period to 1807, and which reveals a keen mind that was never given full scope for its abilities.

In 1807 Bishop-elect Pettigrew died at his plantation forty miles from Edenton. His remains were carried from there to Edenton by boat. The burial service of the Episcopal Church was read in St. Paul's Church by the Reverend Dr. Freeman, a Presbyterian clergyman, as Blount was apparently unavailable and neither Halling nor Miller could have arrived in time. Interred first at Mulberry Hill, seven miles from Edenton, Pettigrew's remains were moved in 1831 to Bonarva, his son's plantation.¹⁴¹ The death of his friend and correspondent has limited our knowledge of Nathaniel Blount's later activities, although he did not die until 1816. It may be presumed that he gradually retired as Pettigrew had done.

It can readily be seen that, during these years from 1794 to about 1810, the only active Episcopal clergymen in the state were Pettigrew, Blount, Halling, Miller, and Irving. A letter written in 1808 by John S. West of New Bern to the "Wardens of the Episcopal Church at Edenton (if any)" sheds light on the declining situation there. West wrote:

The object of this letter is to enquire whether you have any Episcopal Clergyman in Edenton, or its vicinity—

If you have no such Minister resident among you—I should then be glad to know if there are any among you who feel an interest in the restoration of those admirable principles by which the once amiable, but now degenerate Episcopal Church professes to be governed—If you should be so fortunate as to have a Clergy-

man however, you will greatly oblige me by making known to me his name—As a communication with him is very desirable.¹⁴²

That there was no such minister could be vouched for not only by the Episcopalians but also by the Methodists. The Edenton Methodist Record Book reviewed the situation in 1808. Few people, it stated, “appeared to care much about the things pertaining to their everlasting welfare” and, though “not so openly profane and wicked” as some, they were not disposed to “enthusiasm.” The Baptists were the only denomination that had regular preaching. “The old Episcopal church had long been in a ruinous condition its walls well nigh tumbling to the ground, the floors torn up and the sacred stand not having been occupied by a Minister of the Gospel for years.” The enthusiasm and the competition afforded by the Methodists aroused the Episcopalians in Edenton to give personal funds for the repair of their church and to secure a minister, “for fear, as a member of that Church had the candour and ingenuousness, not long since to confess, they should become Methodists or Baptists.”¹⁴³

Between the death of Charles Pettigrew in 1807 and 1816, five additional clergymen are on record. George Strebeck who taught school and was rector in New Bern from 1813 to 1815 may be the George Strebeck listed among the New York State clergy in 1804, 1808, and 1811 in the *Journals of the General Convention*. Strebeck was assisted at the school in 1814–15 by John Phillips, who had been ordained in 1814 by Bishop Moore of Virginia. Phillips went to Virginia in 1815 but returned to New Bern in 1818 after the Diocese of North Carolina had been organized.¹⁴⁴ In 1811 St. Paul’s in Edenton called the Reverend Frederick W. Hatch as its rector.¹⁴⁵ He remained until 1815, when he moved to Frederick Town, Maryland. The last two of the five, Adam Empie and Bethel Judd, were northerners who were destined to assist in revitalizing the Church in North Carolina.

Empie was born in 1785 and attended Union College in Schenectady, New York. One of his professors, Benjamin Allen, wrote of him to Bishop Hobart: “His talents are good and his application is unremitting: He is one of the best scholars, that we ever had here. . . . Mr. Empie will be soon out of College and soon ready to enter into the immediate service of the Church. I hope & believe he will be a very useful Member and Minister.”¹⁴⁶ After being ordained deacon, Empie went to Hempstead, Long Island, and from there to St. James’s Church in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1811. At that

time the church had only 21 communicants, but by 1814, when Empie left for the first time, it had grown to 102. Side galleries had to be added to the church to make space for enough pews.¹⁴⁷ Mrs. Eliza Clitherall records her baptism by Empie on his arrival there, as well as her later confirmation by Bishop Ravenscroft.¹⁴⁸

Empie and his church suffered, as had New Bern, from the continued inconvenience of having the vestry chosen by public election. A petition to the legislature secured a law for the vestry's election by the "supporters of this church," which the Wilmington vestry, for example, took advantage of in January 1813.¹⁴⁹ The new law assured the final break from the pattern of the colonial vestries, which had become Wardens of the Poor during the Revolution and which contained a high proportion of dissenters.

On 22 November 1813 Empie wrote to Robert Johnston Miller asking whether he was Episcopalian and, if so, whether priest or deacon; the number of his congregation; and "the prospects of your Ch^h." In the letter, Empie stated: "I have been in this State two years, & I have endeavored by enquiry & by travelling about to ascertain what number of Episcopal clergy this State contains. If a sufficient number could be found it is greatly to be wished that the Ch^h could be organized, placed under the superintendence of a *spiritual head* & accede to the ecclesiastical union that obtains in the other Sections of the U. States."¹⁵⁰ Empie had indeed been busy attempting to follow up what appears to be the list of clergy provided by Pettigrew before his death, as well as other leads. As he told Miller, he had located Hatch at Edenton and Strebeck at New Bern, but had not received replies from Micklejohn, Burges, and "Gurrally" in Murfreesboro; and he had inquired about "Blunt" and Wilson. He had even made a trip to the "back part of the State last fall" with consequent poor health ever since.¹⁵¹

Miller's reply in one sense disappointed Empie exceedingly, for "from what you say the Ch^h seems to be at almost its lowest point of declension." However, he was writing to a kindred spirit, because Miller was just as anxious as Empie to see the Diocese established. Miller's letter, Empie replied, "speaks a language congenial to my heart, & breathes a spirit of piety of orthodoxy & religious seal [*sic*] which I had almost despaired & which I greatly rejoice to find in this dark section of the Union Your desire & solicitude, to see the Episcop. Ch^h rise again from its ruins, are by me most cordially reciprocated & I hope & pray that the period of her resurrection is not far

distant." Empie said that his health did not permit him to remain in North Carolina at this time, but that he would emphasize the state's urgent need for missionaries on his return to the North. "Under existing circumstances," he declared, even a union with the Lutherans would be happier than the present sad condition of the Church.¹⁵²

The vestrymen of St. James's Church, although deeming Empie's reasons "quite satisfactory," received his resignation with regret. They begged him to "write on to the Northward" in an effort to find "some clerical gentleman" to replace him. An annual salary of \$1,200 with a two-year contract was promised, "with the priviledge [*sic*] of Returning to the north during the Sickly Season or spending it in some healthy part of the South."¹⁵³ The latter statement clearly identifies one of the problems encountered in obtaining clergy. St. James's Church had lost both Adam Boyd and Adam Empie because of their poor health; its congregation hoped not to lose another. Empie left in April 1814, with \$977.19 due him in arrears.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, there is an extensive gap in the vestry minutes after this date. We know, however, that by the next winter Bethel Judd, formerly principal of St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, left St. Paul's Church in Norwalk, Connecticut, to fill the pulpit in Wilmington through 1816.¹⁵⁵ His contribution to the Diocese was made after he left Wilmington and moved to Fayetteville, just as Empie's chief ministry lay in the period following his return to Wilmington.

The death of Nathaniel Blount in 1816 marked the end of the Revolutionary generation. Hatch had just left a congregation in Edenton. In New Bern Strebeck and Phillips had recently departed, and St. James's in Wilmington was temporarily vacant. In the west, the faithful Robert Johnston Miller still shepherded his flock in the garb of a Lutheran, but at heart he was an Episcopalian. With the exception of Miller, the Diocese was to be organized by young, post-Revolutionary men who had a different outlook on religious life. Adam Empie, for example, was born in 1785, whereas both Charles Pettigrew and Nathaniel Blount had been ordained in England before the war.

The question arises as to why more clergymen did not come to North Carolina or remain longer when they did come. Several reasons might be offered. First, the climate was believed to be a sickly one; certainly the letters written during this period indicate that illness constantly hampered the work of all the clergymen in the eastern half of the state. A second reason might be the scarcity of large towns

capable of supplying a congregation that could pay a living salary. The demanding schedule of Nathaniel Blount's visits to small chapels would discourage all but the most ardent churchmen; and, because every profession needed laborers, why stay in one of the worst paid? Charles Pettigrew became a man of means with two plantations and did not require the financial support of his congregation. This must also have been true of Blount, who came from one of the largest families in eastern North Carolina and one that produced several men of wealth. But they were the exceptions. To supplement their meager incomes, Halling and Wilson practiced medicine. Most clergymen taught school. Others left for more fertile fields: Virginia attracted many, like Micklejohn and perhaps Gurley; Dent returned to Maryland; Halling went to South Carolina; and Boyd went west after a brief stay in Georgia.

Further, clergymen coming to North Carolina from an organized diocese faced the prospect of no confirmations, no ordinations, and no general leadership of the kind to which they were accustomed. Men like Empie and Judd believed they were entering a missionary field, and it was this spirit that persuaded them to remain until the Diocese of North Carolina was organized in 1817 and well under way. It is ironic that the only clergyman of the 1794 Convention who lived to see the creation of the Episcopal chair was Robert Johnston Miller, the Lutheran who was to become an Episcopalian at long last.

Disestablishment was a major cause for the decline of the Church from 1776 to 1816. It was hard for those who were Anglicans to adjust to a self-supporting status and to the necessity for organizing an independent church. In contrast, such independence represented an opportunity and a challenge for those who were not Anglican; for them, it was an achievement to get rid of the Church.

The character of the clergy in North Carolina was another major cause for the decline of the Church during this forty-year period. Few in number, these men lacked sufficient initiative, drive, and organizational ability. Admirable though they were as individuals for the most part, they seemed incapable of the sustained effort needed to resume the growth of the Church. Each clergyman lived in his own small parish and, like Charles Pettigrew, seemed content to preach to those who came to him. Each appeared to accept defeat without even trying for victory, spending his time grieving over the inroads of the Baptists and Methodists but doing little or nothing to counteract them. It seems never to have occurred to these clergymen that the

Baptists would not have occupied their chapels if there had been Episcopalians to do so. The younger generation of men who, in the 1780s, would have formed the clergy's recruits, were too frequently handicapped by the lack of a classical education and could not meet the ordination requirements as set forth by the newly established Episcopal Church in the United States, even if there had been a bishop to ordain them. Thus, they turned to other denominations such as the Methodist. Indeed, the Methodists may have had more to do with the declining membership of the Church than the Baptists. Even Pettigrew had at one time been intensely interested in Methodism.

Pettigrew too must accept a share of the responsibility for the Church's decline. Nathaniel Blount probably was right when he suggested that Pettigrew should have resigned as bishop-elect if he had decided to do nothing about his consecration. It is unlikely that consecration would have transformed Pettigrew into an alert, active bishop, for it did not make Bishop Madison of Virginia or Bishop Claggett of Maryland into the kind of bishop Hobart was. Yet the existence of a bishop might have attracted more clergymen to North Carolina or have held those who came for a longer time. Had Pettigrew resigned, the way might have been clear for a more active man, like Wilson or Halling.

The lack of continuity in the growth and development of the Church in North Carolina is striking. It is as if the Church ceased to breathe in 1776 and slowly died. When the Diocese was organized in 1817, it was not a revival; it was a new Church.

*The Formation of the Diocese of
North Carolina, 1817–1830**HENRY S. LEWIS*

Bishop Cheshire argued persuasively that the rise of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina was in actuality a native revival rather than an imported creation. To support this position, he took pains to show that the congregations organized in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century were all located in areas in which Church of England clergymen had concentrated their efforts prior to the Revolution.¹ On the other hand, it has been suggested that the seeds planted in colonial times might never have germinated had not zealous clergymen and laymen from beyond North Carolina's borders entered the state and brought the Episcopal Church with them.² There is merit in both contentions. Anglicanism was present in the state, primarily in the eastern counties, before its formal organization; a handful of laymen, with the sporadic help of schoolmaster clergymen, were holding a few old parishes together, perhaps with the hope that rebirth was possible. As people with strong Episcopal allegiance came into North Carolina from sections of the country in which the Church was growing, their confidence and readiness to work buttressed the lingering local hope for revival.³ Without strong clerical leadership and episcopal supervision, however, little progress seemed possible.

Although the appearance of clerical and lay leaders accounted for the rise of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, their efforts would have been less successful had not the general religious climate of the state been favorable. The "Great Awakening" or "Great Revival" in evangelical Christianity had reached its climax in this state about 1804, and by 1815 the Baptists and Methodists, after suffering some decline immediately following the Revolution, were increasing in large numbers. The Presbyterians, with a strong grasp on the educational institutions of the state, were intensifying their efforts to eradicate the traces of deism and skepticism that had clung to the

educated classes since independence.⁴ Religion had lost its passivity and had assumed an aggressive role among the state's half-million inhabitants. Although Church membership remained relatively low, camp meetings were reaching that 98 percent of the population living on small farms and plantations. Preaching went hand in hand with oratory, each perhaps affording isolated people as much entertainment as spiritual or political edification. Pamphlets on controversial topics—modes of baptism was a favorite—rolled off the presses. Although strongly sectarian in tone, these efforts touched men and women without regard to denominational allegiance or preference. Christianity and doctrinal differences were live issues; religion was in the air.

The Colonial Remnant

In November 1811 the Reverend Adam Empie, a scholarly young priest from Hempstead, Long Island, came to Wilmington to serve St. James's Church,⁵ one of the few colonial parishes whose organization had survived. His arrival in North Carolina marked the beginning of a new era. As soon as he began his duties in Wilmington, the impact of his vigor was apparent in the parish. A month after his arrival, on Christmas Day, ninety-eight persons received the Holy Communion at his hands. The old church building was repaired and rearranged. But this twenty-six-year-old clergyman was not only concerned with the Episcopal Church in Wilmington; from the first, he entered into correspondence with residents of other parts of the state and when possible visited inland towns, seeking any traces of Anglicanism left in North Carolina. What he learned moved him to urge his northern friends to send at least two missionaries into the state. His aim was clear: "If a sufficient number [of clergymen] could be found it is greatly to be wished that the Ch^h could be organized & accede to the ecclesiastical Union that obtains in the other Sections of the U. States."⁶

When Empie arrived in North Carolina, Nathaniel Blount, the only surviving colonial clergyman, was still officiating in Beaufort County. At New Bern, Thomas Pitt Irving was serving both as principal of the academy and as minister of Christ Church. Contemporaneously with Adam Empie's arrival in Wilmington, the Edenton Academy engaged the services of Frederick W. Hatch, a clergyman

from Maryland. He taught for a year, then served St. Paul's Church until 1815 when he returned to Frederick Town in Maryland. Tied to their teaching responsibilities, Hatch and Irving did little more than serve as chaplains to the handful of churchmen in New Bern and Edenton; infirmities of age restricted "Parson" Blount's efforts to the neighborhood in which he lived. Although Empie, too, taught in a local academy, he alone seemed able to exert extraparochial efforts. On 5 January 1814, for reasons of health, he resigned the cure of St. James's to take the chaplaincy and a professorship at West Point. Nevertheless, his concern for the Church in North Carolina remained strong: "Perhaps, however, I may return to the Southward after the expiration of two [,] three or four years. And should nothing be done before that time [to organize the Church in North Carolina] I would again renew my exertions. . . . Tho I leave the state I am interested for the Ch^h & will do anything to promote its interests."⁷

Empie returned sooner than he expected. In November 1816 he again took charge of St. James's Church, Wilmington. In the following winter he was joined by Bethel Judd, an experienced priest and teacher from the Diocese of Connecticut, and the two ministered jointly in St. James's until 1 May 1817, when Judd took St. John's, a new church in Fayetteville which he had organized on Easter Monday that year. Meanwhile, on 1 January 1817, the Reverend Jehu Curtis Clay from Pennsylvania became rector of Christ Church, New Bern, and principal of the academy there. These three men were the only clergymen in North Carolina in 1817; the Reverend Nathaniel Blount had died in September 1816.

Organization of the Diocese

On 24 April 1817, five months after Empie's return to North Carolina, his efforts and those of his supporters bore fruit. In the colonial church in New Bern, nine men met in Convention to form the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina. All three clergymen resident in the state were present: Empie, Clay, and Judd. With them were lay delegates from four parishes: John Stanly and John S. West from New Bern, John R. London and Marsden Campbell from Wilmington, John Winslow from Fayetteville, and Josiah Collins, Jr., from Edenton. The three clergymen, together with Stanly and London, prepared a constitution for the Church in the

state, acceding to the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and acknowledging its authority. All present signed the document and sent it to the General Convention with a request for recognition and the right to send representatives to that body.⁸

This constitution provided for the simplest of diocesan organizations. There was to be an annual Convention composed of the clergymen "regularly settled" in the state and at least one lay delegate from each congregation. Each Convention was to elect a secretary and, unless a bishop were present to preside, a president. Each year the Convention was to name a three- to seven-man Standing Committee with power to admit candidates for the ministry, and, pending the election of a bishop, "to examine the testimonials of foreign clergymen, to call special meetings of the Convention, and to transact all such other business as they are empowered to do by the Constitution and Canons of the General Convention." Clerical and lay members of the Convention were "to deliberate in one body," and in balloting each minister was given a full vote, but the laity were required to vote by congregations. On the seconded motion of any member of the Convention, the vote was to be taken by orders "and a concurrence" was necessary "to constitute a decision."⁹

The Reverend Bethel Judd was elected president of the first Diocesan Convention, and the Reverend Adam Empie, secretary. The constitution made no provision for a treasurer, but in 1818 the Missionary Society's treasurer became *ex officio* treasurer of the Convention, an arrangement that continued until 1824 when John W. Wright of Fayetteville was elected treasurer of the Convention.

Having no bishop, the Convention of 1817 voted to ask the Right Reverend Richard Channing Moore, Bishop of Virginia, "to visit and perform the Episcopal offices in this State." In the absence of a diocesan, the Standing Committee necessarily assumed a role of major importance. The membership elected in 1817 consisted of all three clergymen in the Diocese and laymen from four towns; John S. West of New Bern, John Winslow of Fayetteville, John B. Blount of Edenton, and Marsden Campbell of Wilmington. Unfortunately, the constitution failed to specify how many members should be clergymen or whether lay members should be chosen on a geographic or other representational basis. As a result, tension reflecting North Carolina's deep-seated regionalism as well as traditional lay fear of clerical domination became a Convention concern throughout the formative years

of the Diocese. In 1818 it was agreed that, for convenience, laymen on the Standing Committee should be chosen from a single congregation, St. John's, Fayetteville, and until 1825 that parish supplied the lay membership of the committee. When the committee's entire clerical membership left the Diocese in a single year, the 1828 Convention was forced to devise a method for filling vacancies. Rejecting a proposal that they be filled by the bishop, a seven-man Standing Committee was named (four clergymen and three laymen) and it was resolved that three should constitute a quorum so long as two were clerical members. Two years later, by action of the Convention of 1830, it was required that a majority of the members be clergymen and that lay members be communicants.¹⁰

When in session, the Diocesan Convention functioned under rules of order that called for only three working committees: one on the State of the Church, one on finance, and one to examine testimonials of lay delegates.¹¹ Efforts to liberalize the original constitutional provisions with respect to the voting power of lay delegates were unsuccessful until 1830. At that time each member of the Convention, lay as well as clerical, was given a full vote except when a vote by orders was required, in which case lay delegates were required to vote by congregations.¹²

In anticipation of recognition, the organizing Convention of 1817 chose the Reverend Mr. Judd and Moses Jarvis, Jr., of New Bern as North Carolina's deputies to the General Convention to be held less than a month later. At the time of the first Diocesan Convention, although not as a part of its official business, a Missionary Society was formed to secure funds for the employment of clergymen, and this plan was followed for many years. A Convention resolution called on members of the clergy to make "an annual collection, in their respective Churches, for the support of a Missionary in this State," the moneys collected to be "subject to the order of the Convention."¹³

The Church in North Carolina was organized, and the organizers, both clerical and lay, wasted no time in making the fact known to their scattered fellow churchmen. In personal letters Adam Empie circularized the state, trying to locate the "destitute, though apparently faithful remnant," soliciting aid and influence from laymen in obtaining contributions for the Missionary Fund and, if possible, in organizing congregations in their localities that might be represented at the 1818 Convention. The recurring refrain in these letters was, "If

we will but exert ourselves as we ought, by the blessing of God, we may soon have a flourishing Church and a Bishop of our own.”¹⁴

On 20 May 1817, less than a month after the Diocese of North Carolina was formed, the General Convention of the American Church met in Trinity Church, New York. The next day both houses of that body passed a resolution recognizing the Church in North Carolina as a “member of this Union.” On the same day, Moses Jarvis, Jr., took his seat in the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies and was immediately added to the membership of the Committee on the State of the Church.¹⁵

Episcopal Oversight

Bishop Moore was receptive to the invitation to assume responsibility for episcopal visitation in North Carolina, and, through correspondence, sought to acquaint himself with the condition of the Church in the state.¹⁶ When the convention met in Fayetteville in 1818, Bethel Judd, its president, reported that Bishop Moore had agreed to take the North Carolina Church under his oversight, and, although indisposition had prevented his attending the Convention, the bishop was “ready to visit the congregations of this diocese either in summer or fall.”¹⁷

Richard Channing Moore, a native of New York, had been consecrated Bishop of Virginia in 1814. Because that diocese was unable to support his full-time services, he served also as rector of the newly erected Monumental Church in Richmond, a position to which he had been called immediately before his election as bishop.¹⁸ Although surrounded by a family of young children and often unwell, Bishop Moore proved to be a strong leader of the Church in Virginia for many years: “His venerable form, his melodious voice, his popular preaching, his evangelical doctrine, his amiable disposition, his fund of anecdote in private, and his love for the Church, all contributed to make him popular and successful.”¹⁹

It is difficult to classify pre-Tractarian churchmen as either high or low, Catholic or Evangelical, because they demonstrated few differences in fundamentals of dogma and ritual. Moore, however, was usually considered to be Evangelical in that he held that the “fundamentals of the Gospel should be given first place in preaching rather than the peculiar customs and doctrines of the Episcopal Church,”

and that “preaching was the primary means by which men were won to Christ and built up in the faith.”²⁰ Nevertheless, he “had a considerable leaven of High church principles.”²¹ He believed the episcopacy to be “divinely instituted and necessary for the perfection of the Church,” regarded the Sacraments as “means of grace rather than signs of grace already bestowed,” and believed that regular services of the Church should be conducted in strict conformity with the rubrics.²²

Two years passed between the time the bishop was invited to come to North Carolina and the time of his first official appearance. On his way to Wilmington to preside over the 1819 Convention, he stopped in Fayetteville and, on 17 April, confirmed 48 persons, the first recorded confirmations in North Carolina. A week later, on the day after the Convention adjourned, Bishop Moore confirmed 138 persons in St. James’s Church, Wilmington. While in the state the bishop also visited New Bern, Washington, Greenville, and Tarboro, preaching several times in each place. This first episcopal visitation was felt to be “of extraordinary advantage” to the North Carolina Church: “the venerable appearance of the Bishop, together with the solemnity of his official performances, and the pure and evangelical strain of his discourses has won to our institutions the approbation of all.”²³

Initial Missionary Efforts

By the time the second Diocesan Convention met in 1818 less than \$500 had been collected for missionary work in North Carolina, yet the sum was considered enough to employ a missionary “to visit vacant congregations, and to give every possible aid to revive the drooping spirits of the friends of our Zion.” Clergymen already located in the state were called upon “to visit, as often as convenient, the vacant parishes in their respective neighborhoods.”²⁴ On 2 April, the opening date of the Convention, the managers of the Missionary Society employed the Reverend John Phillips of Virginia at an annual salary of \$400. He was present at the Convention and was given an honorary seat. This first diocesan missionary was not a stranger to North Carolina. Before being ordained by Bishop Moore in August 1814, he had served as an assistant in the New Bern Academy. But immediately prior to his appointment, he had been serving in Lunenburg County, Virginia.

One of the significant signs of progress reported to the 1818 Convention by the Committee on the State of the Church was "that five gentlemen, of whose qualifications we have no right to doubt, have, on application, been admitted as candidates for holy orders."²⁵ To the 1818 Convention came two new deacons who were destined to play important roles in the North Carolina Church, John Avery and Richard Sharpe Mason. Two years out of Yale, in 1814, Avery had taken charge of the Edenton Academy. Although bred a Congregationalist, he was attracted to the Episcopal Church; he was ordained deacon by Bishop Kemp of Maryland on 22 October 1817 and assumed duties at St. Paul's Church in addition to his work at the academy. Mason, a native of Barbadoes, was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1811 at age fifteen and was ordained deacon by Bishop White on 21 September 1817. He had arrived in New Bern not long before the 1818 Convention to take the place left vacant when Jehu Curtis Clay moved to the Diocese of Maryland.

Later in 1818, Bethel Judd resigned his charge at St. John's, Fayetteville. The vestry of that church, acting on the recommendation of Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York, the acknowledged champion of "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order," called the Reverend Gregory Townsend Bedell, a twenty-five-year-old New Yorker, a few months after his ordination to the priesthood.²⁶ It is hard to overestimate Bishop Hobart's influence in the Church at this period: "Ardent, eager, impetuous, zealous, he could brook no difficulties which hindered or delayed the gathering in of his countrymen into the fold of that Church which he firmly believed had the Apostolic Ministry, the Catholic Faith and the Evangelical Mission."²⁷ Churchmen throughout the country sought his advice in filling vacancies.

Hobart's recommendation was not a guarantee that the young priest shared the bishop's "high" views, for the fact is that the two had already differed on the important issue of Bible societies. Whereas Bishop Hobart firmly opposed the American Bible Society and issued a pastoral letter urging Episcopalians not to support it, Bedell warmly favored it. The fact that Bedell was a nephew of Bishop Moore no doubt had a bearing on the Fayetteville vestry's decision to accept Bishop Hobart's suggestion.

To the 1819 Convention the Standing Committee reported that Henry M. Shaw, a teacher in the Fayetteville Academy, had been ordained deacon on 19 April by Bishop Moore, that Robert Davis from Orange County continued as a candidate under Bedell's supervision,

that George S. Phillips (son of the diocesan missionary) had been licensed as lay reader for the church in Tarboro, and that William Hooper, professor of languages in the University of North Carolina, had applied for admission as a candidate and had been licensed as lay reader for St. Mary's, Orange County.

Progress in Fayetteville

The congregation of St. John's, Fayetteville, set an example for the work in other places. A few months after its organization on Easter Monday 1817, during the rectorate of Bethel Judd, work had been started on an ambitious church building. Construction continued without interruption after Judd's departure. When Gregory Townsend Bedell arrived in October 1818 services were still being conducted in the academy, but by winter the church was completed and occupied. A thoroughgoing Evangelical, Bedell leaned heavily on the efficacy of preaching. He organized a Sunday school and held weekly Bible classes in his home for the adult members of the congregation. In three years' time, the communicant strength of St. John's had grown from twenty-eight to sixty-five.²⁸ Bedell soon took a leading role in diocesan affairs. He was named secretary of the 1819 Convention and was elected to the Standing Committee. He was also chosen to fill a vacancy in the Diocese's delegation to the General Convention caused by Judd's removal. When the 1820 Convention met in Edenton, Bedell was chosen to preach the opening sermon and again elected secretary of that body. On the national scene, he was named a trustee of the Church's Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society on its formation in 1821.²⁹

Interest in Theological Education

Bishop Moore attended the 1820 Convention and shortly afterward, in a report to the Virginia Convention, he described conditions in North Carolina in these terms:

In Edenton, at which place the Convention convened, our sittings were attended by great numbers of people, some of whom had come from a distance of near fifty miles to witness our pro-

ceedings & attend upon our ministry. In that place I ordained two deacons, & admitted one gentleman to the priesthood. In that diocese, so late as the year 1817, there was not a single clergyman; they are now blessed with the labours of seven faithful men, and in the course of another year several candidates, who are now preparing for holy orders, will be admitted to the ministry of the word.³⁰

But how were these candidates preparing for the ministry? At that time the American Episcopal Church had no school of theology or seminary. Those seeking Holy Orders had to be trained by men already ordained, and this was far from satisfactory. As early as 1810, before his consecration, Bishop Moore preached a sermon in Philadelphia that sounded a call for a seminary, and, within two years after he became their bishop, Virginians began to seriously consider the need.³¹ Churchmen in South Carolina, under the leadership of Bishop Dehon and Dr. (later Bishop) Christopher Edwards Gadsden, rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, pressed hard in General Convention for the establishment of a seminary. In New York, Bishop Hobart made theological education a major goal. The growing concern moved the General Convention of 1817 to agree to setting up a "General Theological Seminary" in New York, but when the institution opened in 1819 its two professors found only six students in attendance. Its progress and acceptance were disappointing. Thus, the General Convention of 1820, with Duncan Cameron of North Carolina as chairman of the responsible committee, decided to move the seminary to New Haven, where the "officers of Yale College assured [them] that the Library & public lectures of that institution would be free to the officers & students of the Seminary."³²

Distance and regional interests were hard to combat. In Virginia, where interested churchmen had formed an Education Society in 1818, Dr. Gadsden found that the General Seminary "excites too little interest. Narrow views prevail. I have even heard the objection that 'all the Clergy will be retained in New England, that not one will find his way to Virginia.' It seems that the Virginia Presbyterians have declined to give the least aid to their *General Seminary*, and I fear the Virginia Episcopalians, i.e., the great body of them will act on the same local principle."³³ The Virginians were inclined to supply their own clerical needs.

A year after the 1820 General Convention, Cameron received a let-

ter from the Reverend John Stark Ravenscroft, then rector of St. James's, Mecklenburg County, Virginia, describing that diocese's plans to establish a seminary. "[D]rawn to a Point, by the Liberal offer of the Professors of Wm and Mary [College]" to grant free tuition to theological students, Virginia hoped that churchmen in Maryland and North Carolina would join in its effort to build "a Domestic Institution, in which the Candidates for the Ministry will be educated . . . free from the danger of acquiring Habits, Manners and Sentiments, uncongenial with those of the People among whom they are to officiate." But knowing North Carolina's interest in the General Seminary, Ravenscroft denied that Virginia's proposal was hostile to that institution: "On the Contrary," he wrote, "they Conceive they are aiding that Institution, by taking off their hands and providing for a description of Persons who could only obtain the superior advantages it possesses at an Expence, which would seldom, if ever, be encountered."³⁴

Duncan Cameron failed to answer Ravenscroft's letter,³⁵ and the Church in North Carolina offered no support for the Virginia proposal.³⁶ Its leaders were firmly attached to the General Seminary idea, an attachment demonstrated by Convention resolutions and by the fact that, through the efforts of Bedell and Richard S. Mason, North Carolina subscribed \$10,000 for the support of a professorship in the seminary.³⁷

Shortly after the General Seminary was moved to New Haven and Bishop Hobart had established a diocesan seminary in New York, the issue was reopened when a substantial legacy from Jacob Sherred seemed to be available for a seminary should it be located in New York. At the request of the General Seminary's trustees, a special General Convention was called. In North Carolina, Adam Empie wrote Duncan Cameron urging him to attend: "The question there about to be decided appears to me one of great magnitude because it materially involves the future interests of our American Zion. . . . [L]ocal prejudices [,] sectional partialities & a species of partisan religious spirit [,] together with partial interests and unenlightened views of this subject are daily giving strength & popularity to a system of policy that appears to me erroneous, . . . & of pernicious tendency."³⁸

When the General Convention met in special session in Philadelphia on 30 October 1821, Cameron was present and was named chairman of the joint committee to study seminary affairs. As chairman, he had the responsibility to bring out a report recommending

that the General Seminary be returned to New York and united with the diocesan seminary there, thus clearing the way for acceptance of the Sherred legacy. His statesmanship won the admiration of the whole Church, although Virginia was not happy with what it saw as the growing influence of Bishop Hobart and the New York churchmen.³⁹

Growth in the East

The first parish to be admitted into union with the Diocesan Convention after its organization was St. Jude's, a congregation worshipping in the Union Meeting House near Stony Creek in Orange (now Alamance) County. This occurred in 1818. The following year three eastern congregations were admitted: Williamsboro, Tarboro, and St. Mary's, Orange County.

Churchmen using the colonial church building at Williamsboro had received occasional missionary attention from the Reverend John Stark Ravenscroft, then rector of St. James's Parish in the adjacent county of Mecklenburg in Virginia, and had the active services of William Mercer Green, then a layman teaching in the community.⁴⁰ St. Mary's, Orange County, also had the use of a colonial building and had had the advantage of occasional services from the Reverend Andrew Syme, of Petersburg, who visited in the neighborhood at the home of his brother-in-law, Judge Duncan Cameron.⁴¹ Trinity Church, Tarboro, was the first congregation organized by the diocesan missionary, John Phillips.

By the end of his first year as missionary, Phillips had done work at "Parson" Blount's chapel in Beaufort County, in Washington, and in Greenville. He had made occasional visits to New Bern and Fayetteville. At Washington, Thomas H. Blount, a layman, was taking the lead in erecting a church building.⁴² In 1820 Phillips reported additional work in Raleigh, Warrenton, Hillsborough, Scotland Neck, and St. Mary's, Orange County. In the course of a year he traveled "at least 220 miles per month." So short in stature that he had to be "elevated on a high block or platform to be seen at all in the pulpit," this droll man went from place to place preaching in a "very animated" style. When he visited men and women in their homes and led families in prayer, he "knelt in the chair, and not by it." Wherever

he went he spoke of nothing but religion, "for he knew nothing else, being a child in all other things."⁴³

The second clergyman engaged by the Missionary Society was Thomas Wright, who took the position on his ordination as deacon on 30 April 1820. Born in New York, Wright came to Wilmington and became a merchant. While still young, however, he began preparation for Holy Orders under Adam Empie. During the five months following the 1820 Convention, he visited eleven counties. In the eastern part of the state he held services at Raleigh, Oxford, Chapel Hill, Pittsboro, Halifax, and in Milton and other places in Caswell County, but concentrated his efforts at Williamsboro, Warrenton, and St. Jude's, Orange County.⁴⁴ The third clergyman engaged by the Missionary Society was William Hooper, a member of the University of North Carolina faculty, who was ordained deacon at the same time as Thomas Wright. In Hooper's case, however, professorial responsibilities at Chapel Hill left him only the summer months in which to do missionary work. Nevertheless, in his first summer of effort he made several visits to Pittsboro, Williamsboro, Warrenton, Raleigh, and Fayetteville, and went once to Oxford, Louisburg, Hillsborough, and St. Mary's, Orange.

The missionary efforts in Warrenton seemed to bear the most encouraging fruit. To the Convention of 1820 Phillips reported that there were fifteen communicants in the town, and that "a gentleman has offered to give a lot, and will subscribe \$50 or \$100 towards building a Church in Warrenton." Giving one Sunday each month to the work, Phillips baptized twenty persons there between the Conventions of 1820 and 1821. During the same period the other missionaries, Thomas Wright and William Hooper, also did work in the town. Reporting on the work of the diocesan missionaries, a committee of the 1821 Convention wrote: "The Committee cannot refrain from noticing the pleasure with which both these gentlemen speak of their visits to Warrenton. The small congregation collected in that place by the Rev'd Mr. Phillips, seem distinguished for their attachment to the Church."⁴⁵ On his way to the 1821 Convention in Raleigh, Bishop Moore stopped at Warrenton, preached to a large congregation, and confirmed ten persons. When the Convention opened, Emmanuel Church was admitted into union with the Diocese, and John Anderson was seated as its delegate. At the same time a certificate attesting the organization of a congregation in Pitt County called Grace Chapel was presented; on motion, it was admitted into union with the Convention, and William Pugh, its delegate, was seated. Prior to this ac-

tion the Convention *Journals* carried no indication of activity in that area. It is likely, however, that "Parson" Blount had officiated in Pitt, and it is possible that Richard S. Mason and John Phillips had visited the county.

Following his ordination to the diaconate, in addition to his work at Williamsboro, Warrenton, and Raleigh, William Mercer Green officiated in Halifax once a month between the Conventions of 1821 and 1822. A year earlier Thomas Wright had visited the town twice. Six weeks before the 1822 Convention the Missionary Society employed the Reverend Samuel Sitgreaves, Jr., a deacon from Pennsylvania, and sent him to the eastern part of the state. He "reported favorably of the prospects of our Church in Washington and Halifax," but thought "that the hope of a Church in Tarborough is past."⁴⁶ The influence of the Church in this area was further attested when Ira Parker, a Methodist minister in Halifax County, sought admission to the Church and ordination to the diaconate.

When the Convention met in Salisbury in 1823 the Reverend Richard S. Mason presented appropriate certificates of organization from four congregations in his neighborhood: St. Thomas's, formed in the ancient church at Bath; Trinity Chapel, the congregation using the building Parson Blount ministered in near the present village of Chocowinity in Beaufort County; Zion Church, situated between Washington and Bath in Beaufort County; and St. Matthew's, Kinston. All of these new congregations except Trinity had lay readers working under Mason's supervision.

In 1823 the Diocese's first missionary, John Phillips, asked to be relieved on account of poor health. Because William Hooper had become rector of St. John's, Fayetteville, and Sitgreaves had remained in the Missionary Society's employ for only a brief time, when the 1823 Convention met only William Mercer Green was doing regular missionary work in the eastern part of the Diocese, and he was employed in that capacity for only one-third of his time. Hooper and Mason were, however, making occasional visits to several eastern locations when they could find the time.

Growth in the West

The early history of the Episcopal Church in the western part of North Carolina is inextricably entwined with the life and work of Robert Johnston Miller who, in 1794, agreed to Lutheran

ordination with the curious stipulation that he was being ordained “as an Episcopalian.”⁴⁷ When Charles Pettigrew’s consecration as Bishop of North Carolina was delayed, and the chances for survival of the Episcopal Church grew dim, Miller increased his participation in Lutheran affairs, still hoping, however, to see some form of union between the Lutherans he served and the Episcopalians to whom he felt he belonged. Although he was one of the men Adam Empie corresponded with when he arrived in North Carolina, Miller appeared at only one of the first four Conventions of the revived Church. When he did appear at the 1821 Convention in Raleigh, however, he was “cordially received” and admitted to a seat as a “Delegate from the German and English Lutheran Synod of North Carolina.” On 21 April 1821, during the convention, Bishop Moore ordained Miller to the diaconate and then to the priesthood. Thus, at age sixty-three, he obtained his original desire. On the following morning he was excused from the Convention to return home.

Miller had first settled at White Haven in Lincoln County. As a lay reader he had held Book of Common Prayer services, organized a congregation with a vestry and wardens, and secured an act of incorporation from the General Assembly. While living at White Haven, he organized St. Peter’s and Smyrna in Lincoln, Christ Church in Rowan, and St. Michael’s in Iredell; he made missionary tours throughout western North Carolina and even went into Virginia, Tennessee, and South Carolina. It would be incorrect to say, however, that these were Episcopal churches in the strict sense. Before Miller’s Episcopal ordination his ministrations reflected his mixed allegiance, and, although his congregations contained some persons with Anglican antecedents, many of the members were Lutherans. In 1806 he moved from White Haven to a plantation called Mary’s Grove near the present city of Lenoir in what was then Burke County, and established St. Andrew’s, a thriving church near his home. This remained Miller’s residence for the rest of his life.

Clergymen from the eastern part of the state made brief missionary journeys into the west prior to Miller’s ordination. As early as 1819 Richard S. Mason, while still a deacon, made such a tour. At Lincolnton he baptized five children. In the summer and early autumn of 1820 Thomas Wright, as diocesan missionary, traveled to Salisbury, Lincolnton, and Wadesboro, administering baptism “wherever and whenever opportunity afforded.”⁴⁸ When Wright reached Wadesboro in October 1820 he found that a clergyman from Cheraw, South Car-

olina, the Reverend Andrew Fowler, had recently started holding occasional services in the local academy and had distributed some Books of Common Prayer. In July 1821 Calvary Church was organized and, while continuing his missionary work, Wright made Wadesboro his base of operations.⁴⁹

Still another clergyman was sent to the western part of the state at an early date. Following his ordination to the diaconate during the 1821 Convention, Robert Davis, a native of Orange County, was engaged to "visit most of those western parts of the State which are destitute of our ordinances, and wherever there may be any Episcopal attachments, or even a probability of exciting any."⁵⁰

At the 1821 Convention the first fruits of Miller's work were reaped when Christ Church, Rowan County, was admitted. This was a congregation he had organized about 1817 while still connected with the Lutheran Synod. The admission of five western congregations in 1822 attested to the joint work of Miller, Wright, and Davis: Calvary, Wadesboro, White Haven and Smyrna in Lincoln County; St. Peter's, Lexington; and St. Michael's, Iredell County. Together, Miller, Davis, and Wright baptized seventy-three persons in their first year of joint effort. Although six years had elapsed since the Diocese had been formed, the western congregations had still received no Episcopal visitation, a matter that troubled Bishop Moore. Finding himself unable to attend the 1823 Convention scheduled to be held in Salisbury, he asked Duncan Cameron to express his regret to the delegates and explain his unavoidable absence: "I feel particularly distressed in being obliged to disappoint Mr. Miller and the Churches in the interior of the State. The people will perhaps attribute my absence to some unworthy motives & conclude that the humble sphere of life in which they move has given rise to the event. Did they really know me, they would not indulge an unkind suspicion; or suppose me capable of being influenced by such a consideration."⁵¹

The decision to hold the 1823 Convention in Salisbury was concrete evidence of the Church's determination to strengthen interest west of Raleigh. A sixth church in Miller's old territory, St. Peter's, Lincoln County, was admitted into union with the Convention that year. The missionary work of the Church was further emphasized when the Salisbury Convention established a committee of twenty-four laymen representing almost every congregation in the state to collect funds for the work of the Missionary Society.

A Spire in the Metropolis

North Carolina's post-Revolutionary capital, unlike some of the older eastern towns, inherited no colonial church building in which the churchmen who moved to the seat of government might gather a new congregation. At relatively early dates the Methodists and Presbyterians formed congregations in Raleigh, and, as the center of political affairs, the town attracted the attention of representatives of a variety of denominations and sects.

To the newly organized Diocese, formation of a parish and erection of a church building in Raleigh were major objectives. It seemed unthinkable that the Episcopal Church should not be represented in the capital city. The first diocesan missionary, John Phillips, visited the place three times between the Conventions of 1819 and 1820 to minister to those with Church allegiance. The desire for a building was so strong that a plan was drawn before a congregation was formed.⁵² At the 1820 Convention in Edenton, on motion of John A. Cameron of Fayetteville, it was resolved to hold the next Convention in Raleigh even though no organized parish there could serve as host. Bishop Moore shared the general concern. It was rumored that the Church people in Raleigh had offered him \$3,000 a year as salary if he would move there from Richmond,⁵³ and, although the rumor seems to have had little foundation, the bishop's interest was genuine. Writing to a sister of Thomas N., John A., and Duncan Cameron a few months before the 1821 Convention, the bishop said:

I am pleasing myself with the prospect of my trip to Raleigh: constantly bearing in mind the assurance of your excellent brother, that one Convention held in that place would secure the erection of an Episcopal Church.

To be zealously affected in a good cause, is a duty sanctioned by Apostolic precept; and as I do most sincerely believe, that the object in which we are engaged is of the most leading importance, I feel disposed to give it all the aid in my power; I am willing to declare, that it shall not be my fault, if an Episcopal spire is not raised in the metropolis of that Diocese.⁵⁴

The bishop proceeded to Raleigh as anticipated, and on 28 April the 1821 Convention convened in "the Supreme Court Room" for business sessions. All services, however, were held in the Methodist

and Presbyterian churches that had been offered for the occasion. At that particular moment, Trinitarians in the capital were united in opposition to the public utterances of a Unitarian preacher who, under the auspices of the liberal editor Joseph Gales, had recently visited Raleigh. Nor did the Convention preachers “overlook the heretical doings which had just taken place.” Both Bishop Moore and the Reverend Gregory T. Bedell preached sermons that Gales felt were “directly leveled” at the Unitarians.⁵⁵

Although Phillips continued to visit the capital occasionally, in 1821 the Reverend William Mercer Green of Williamsboro began holding one service a month in Raleigh, spending some additional time in visiting the Church people of the town. Writing to his law teacher, Duncan Cameron, twenty-year-old William H. Haywood, Jr., made an interesting report on what happened in Raleigh after the 1821 Convention was held there: “The effects of the Convention have been flattering indeed at this place and I trust in God they will be lasting. Laudible and active exertions are making for the erection and support of an Episcopal Church in Raleigh by subscription and we all are sanguine, notwithstanding the embarrassed state of the Country and of our City in particular. The aid of the friends of the Church in other sections of the State must necessarily be asked and all are confident in hoping it will be extended.”⁵⁶

Haywood’s appraisal of the situation in Raleigh was accurate. Less than two months after the Convention adjourned, with the Reverend Mr. Empie from Wilmington present, the churchmen in the capital met to organize Christ Church. On the night before this occurred, Haywood wrote Duncan Cameron: “Mr. E[mpie]’s visit is a very fortunate one at this time as we meet to-morrow evening to organize and form a Church. Our number in Males is few but many are well disposed towards the Church, yet our chief trust is in God. Lest we should fail I think the attempt will not be made at present for erecting a Church, but when we come to some measures I may be able to write more satisfactorily.”⁵⁷ The first parish vestry was elected early in August 1821,⁵⁸ and Christ Church was admitted into union with the Convention when it again met in the Supreme Court Room in 1822. The church was still without a rector, but a rumor persisted that Bishop Moore would take the position if his Virginia churchmen agreed.⁵⁹

Although the parish had been organized, Bishop Moore’s hope for an “Episcopal spire” in Raleigh had not yet materialized. When Mrs.

Mary (Jacky) Blount of Tarboro, widow of Congressman Thomas Blount and daughter of General Jethro Sumner, died in December 1822, she left her interest in her husband's unsettled estate (estimated to be between \$14,000 and \$15,000) in trust to Duncan Cameron and the Reverend William Hooper for building a church in Raleigh. This possibility of substantial funds raised the hopes of the congregation, but complications in the administration of the estate postponed distribution.⁶⁰

First Steps toward Securing a Bishop

Beginning in 1819, Bishop Moore made three annual visitations to North Carolina, each being the occasion of the Diocesan Convention. Going to and from the Convention he stopped in as many places as were convenient, administering confirmation and ordaining candidates for the ministry. But between Conventions his clergymen and congregations in North Carolina had no contact with him other than through correspondence. In Richmond he moved through the streets as a sort of patriarch, "with his silvery locks floating upon the breeze, and his devout countenance lifted to the heavens,"⁶¹ but his diocese still failed to pay him sufficient salary to enable him to resign as rector of the Monumental Church. He wrote: "Chained to a Parish as I am, the Episcopate becomes in great measure a useless office. Could I be set at liberty, I have inclination and energy sufficient to enable me to be active, & to labour to advantage. I regret . . . that I am not sufficiently wealthy to justify me, in relinquishing the care of a single Church: but surrounded with a family of helpless children, I am obliged to submit to the imprisonment of a parish minister, as I have no other means of support."⁶² Given this state of affairs, it was natural for the growing Church in North Carolina to seek a bishop of its own.

At the Convention of 1821, the first official action was taken toward developing financial support for a diocesan bishop. A resolution was adopted stating the need for establishing "an adequate and permanent fund . . . for the support of the Episcopate of this Diocese," and ten clergymen and sixteen laymen were named to a committee to "solicit and receive donations and subscriptions" for that purpose and report to the next Convention.⁶³

In the summer following the 1821 Convention, the Reverend Mr.

Bedell, the popular rector of St. John's, Fayetteville, visited New York and did not return to North Carolina until after he had represented the Diocese in the special session of the General Convention held in Philadelphia in October.⁶⁴ Not long after his return to the state he informed his vestry that his wife's health would not permit him to remain in Fayetteville and that he would have to resign. Bedell's intentions were disturbing to his uncle, Bishop Moore, who solicited Duncan Cameron's help in keeping Bedell in North Carolina:

The State of the Church in the Diocese in which you reside gives it a claim to the fostering care of all its members. It is yet in its infancy, & requires all the nursing tenderness we can bestow upon it. To lose therefore at such a critical period of its existence, the talents of so popular a man as Mr. Bedell, will I am apprehensive check its growth, and paralyze our efforts.

The object I have in view in this address is to enquire whether some exertion cannot be made to detain him in Carolina? . . .

Can we not employ him as a Missionary thereby enabling him to locate his family in a more healthy situation, preserve his labours in the State, and greatly extend his usefulness?⁶⁵

Cameron delayed answering the bishop's letter,⁶⁶ but he did not ignore it. Having been profoundly impressed by Mr. Bedell,⁶⁷ and knowing North Carolina's need for a resident bishop, Cameron saw in Bishop Moore's suggestion a possibility for obtaining a bishop and keeping Bedell in North Carolina in a single move. He discussed the matter with other laymen, and apparently they broached the subject to Bedell himself.⁶⁸ At that time, however, the diocesan constitution provided that, in electing a bishop, "The order of the clergy shall nominate and appoint, by ballot . . . and if this appointment be approved by the lay order, he shall be declared duly elected."⁶⁹ Because it was essential that Cameron obtain the support of the diocesan clergy, he asked its members to meet at the time of the 1822 Convention to consider his candidate. They acceded to his request and met in Raleigh either immediately before or during the Convention.

When word of Cameron's proposal reached some of the clergymen, three of them began to correspond on the subject and made up their minds not to vote for Bedell. Thus, when all the clergymen met, these three were prepared to state their views convincingly. Independently, Adam Empie, the senior presbyter in the Diocese, had con-

cluded that Bedell's "deficiencies in theological attainments would have prevented" his signing the testimonials required by canon. Being unaware of the correspondence that had taken place, and believing that "all the other presbyters would have been unanimous, in favor of Mr. B.," Empie had planned to remain silent in the meeting of the clergy: "I was unwilling, therefore, by the public avowal of all my sentiments, to throw any obstacle in the way of Mr. B's advancement to the episcopal office; considering his piety & his popularity, how much we stand in need of an active & zealous Bishop, together with all the other considerations that were urged, & the auspicious omens that manifested themselves at the meeting." Thus, the "almost unanimous" decision of his fellow clergymen against Bedell's election came as a surprise and a relief to Empie. "After the clergy met, feelings of delicacy & respect induced them to keep their reasons to themselves,"⁷⁰ and thus not a word of this significant action appeared in the 1822 Convention *Journal*.

As "late Rector of St. John's Church, Fayetteville," Bedell attended the Raleigh Convention and preached a sermon in support of funds for the Missionary Society. And on the closing day, the delegates passed a resolution expressing their "unfeigned regret at his departure, and their sincere and grateful acknowledgment of his active and zealous services."⁷¹ Bedell moved to Philadelphia where he was the first rector of St. Andrew's Church and had a distinguished but brief career.

The unsuccessful attempt to elect a bishop strengthened the determination to try again in 1823. In some quarters there was a lingering hope that Bishop Moore might be persuaded to move his residence to North Carolina, but this was little more than a hope. The bishop felt that he could handle both Virginia and North Carolina if he were supplied with a competent assistant in his Richmond parish.⁷² Adam Empie wrote Duncan Cameron: "As to Bishop Moore, I presume you & I think alike; & next to him, I can see none but Mr. B[edell] & Mr. Ravenscroft who can be holden up as candidates."⁷³ Thus, Ravenscroft's name was in the minds of two leading figures in North Carolina a year before the Convention at which he was elected. Ravenscroft himself, however, was not convinced that North Carolina should try to obtain a bishop at this time. Writing from Boynton to William Mercer Green at Williamsboro, he made the alternative suggestion that North Carolina pay for an assistant to Bishop Moore at

the Monumental Church and thereby free the bishop for additional visitations.⁷⁴

An Episcopal Election

The Church in North Carolina was still “a body in a great degree without a head,” and wanting “the fatherly direction of a Bishop.” With one abortive effort behind them, the delegates to the 1823 Convention in Salisbury were determined to have an election if at all possible. The one obstacle was the lack of any guarantee that the Diocese could meet the financial demands of the episcopate. The committee named in 1822 to collect subscriptions for the Episcopal Fund had been singularly ineffective. Meeting this problem directly on the opening day of the Salisbury Convention, Dr. Albrington Samuel Hardy Burges, delegate from Christ Church, Raleigh, moved that a special committee be appointed to consider the election of a bishop and the practicability of raising adequate funds for his support and make its report before the Convention adjourned. The motion carried, and Adam Empie, president of the Convention in the absence of Bishop Moore, named as members Dr. Burges, Duncan Cameron, and George William Bush Burgwin of the laity, and William Hooper and William Mercer Green of the clergy. After canvassing the delegates privately, this committee, through Dr. Burges, reported that, “from the flattering representations of the different members of the Church now in Convention, and a reliance upon the liberality of our brethren generally, your committee entertain no doubt but a sufficient sum may be raised in this diocess, by private contribution, for the comfortable support of a Bishop; and from the great need there is in our diocess of the labours of one, and the confident hope that their expectations in being able to support him may be realized.” The committee recommended that the Convention proceed at once to an election. The Convention agreed, and promptly named William Mercer Green as general agent to solicit funds for the support of the episcopate.⁷⁵

At 9:00 in the evening of 12 April, after services in the old Lutheran Church, the Convention again convened. Although the diocesan constitution required the clergymen to make a nomination, they adopted a procedure unlike that followed in Raleigh the year before and con-

ducted their deliberations with the lay delegates present. When the president announced that the time had come for the Episcopal election, "There was a pause of some length, and the eyes of several of both clergy and laity were turned on" William Mercer Green, "then the youngest of the clergy, as if expecting him to make a nomination." He later wrote that he was "startled at the sound of his own voice as he mustered courage enough to nominate the Rev. John Stark Ravenscroft of the Diocese of Virginia."⁷⁶ No other nominations were made, and after some description and evaluation of Mr. Ravenscroft and his work had been presented and discussed, the clergymen present voted unanimously to nominate him "as a suitable person for the office of Bishop of this diocese." The laity then voted their unanimous agreement.⁷⁷

Although the Burges committee had expressed its belief that funds could be raised to support the episcopate, and Green had been named general agent for collections, no concrete financial proposal had been adopted. Thus, as soon as there had been an election, on motion of William Hooper, the president appointed Chief Justice John Louis Taylor, Dr. Alexander Caldcleugh, and John A. Cameron to a committee "to digest a plan for paying the salary of our Bishop, and for establishing a permanent fund for the Episcopate of this diocese," and asked them to report on Monday morning. This was done, and the committee made two recommendations that the Convention adopted: first, that the bishop's annual salary be set at \$750 "exclusively of parochial support," a significant phrase, and second, that a committee be named to address the people of the Diocese on the immediate need to establish a fund for the episcopate. William Hooper, Robert Johnston Miller, and Chief Justice Taylor were named to prepare the address.⁷⁸ This action made it plain that North Carolina would expect its bishop to take a parish in order to supplement the meager stipend the Diocese felt able to pay him.

John Stark Ravenscroft

North Carolina's first bishop was born in 1772 at Blandford, Prince George County, Virginia.⁷⁹ When he was less than a year old his parents moved to the north of England and, a year later, settled on the Scottish side of the Solway Firth at an estate called

Cairnsmore in Kirkcudbright, Galloway. A few years after his father's death in 1781 his mother married a second time.

Young Ravenscroft was sent to good classical schools in Scotland and in Northumberland. At sixteen he returned to Virginia to study law at William and Mary College and to salvage his father's properties. He left college without a degree and in 1791–92 revisited Scotland to arrange to sell Cairnsmore to his stepfather. On returning to Virginia, he married Anne Spotswood Burwell in 1792 and purchased a plantation in Lunenburg County. For eighteen years he lived the usual life of a slave-holding planter. "Few were more conspicuous than he on the race-course, at the card-table, or around the cock-pit." By his own testimony, he had an "impatient and passionate temper, with a most sinful and hateful habit of profane swearing."⁸⁰

At thirty-eight Ravenscroft began to take a more serious view of his life and started to read the Bible. He joined the Republican Methodists, a small group that had withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church in opposition to episcopacy. In later years he described his decision in these words: "I acted as multitudes, alas, do, without considering that any thing depended on my being a member of the Church of Christ, or that any difficulty existed as to what was and what was not truly such."⁸¹ He became a lay elder and read sermons to local congregations on vacant Sundays. After three years he "gradually began to be exercised on the subject of the ministry." About the same time his wife died, leaving Ravenscroft to care for their adopted children.

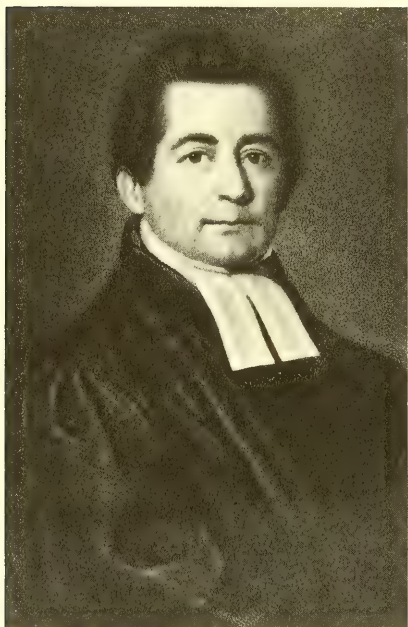
In 1815, as he considered the ministry, he began

to seek information on a subject which I felt was of the last consequence to my comfort, and I may say usefulness as a minister of Christ, viz; the *authority* by which I should be commissioned to perform the duties of the ministry. To rest it upon the assurance I felt, that I was called of God to the work, was personal to myself, but could not weigh with others . . . and something more than that was essential to prevent me from feeling myself an intruder into the sacred office. . . .

. . . [L]eft to my own resources, and the word of God, I became fully convinced that the awful deposit of the Word . . . could never be thrown into the world to be scrambled for, and picked up by whosoever pleased to take hold of it; and though this objection might in some sort be met by the manifestation of



William Mercer Green, antebellum priest and professor at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Green became the first bishop of the Diocese of Mississippi in 1849. Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.



Jarvis Barry Buxton, rector of St. John's Church, Fayetteville, 1831-51. Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.



*John Stark Ravenscroft, first bishop of the
Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, 1823–30.
North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.*

an internal call, yet as that *internal call* could not be demonstrated to others, something more was needed, which only could be found in the *outward* delegation of authority, from that source to which it was originally committed.⁸²

He informed his Republican Methodist friends of his beliefs and asked to be dismissed from their body. He “paused a while on the *Presbyterian* claim to apostolic succession” but finally settled on the Episcopal Church “for that deposit of apostolic succession, in which alone verifiable power to minister in sacred things was to be found in these United States.” He presented himself to Bishop Moore and was received as a candidate for Holy Orders. On 17 February 1816, Bishop Moore licensed him as a lay reader and sent him back to serve in his home community. On 25 April 1817, Ravenscroft was made deacon in the Monumental Church, and on 6 May, during the Virginia Diocesan Convention, he was ordained priest in St. George’s Church, Fredericksburg. He returned to St. James’s, Mecklenburg County, as rector, and remained there until elected bishop.

In his first year as a priest Ravenscroft married Sarah Buford of Lunenburg County and settled near Boydton on a plantation that he named “Makeshift.” With his own means he built a plain church and embarked on a remarkably successful ministry. Having entered the Church from a deep conviction of its validity and apostolic authority, he consistently taught and urged others to teach “faithfully the distinctive principles and features of the Church.” Taking an active role in the affairs of the Diocese of Virginia, he came into touch with Bishop Moore, William Meade, and especially William Holland Wilmer, a man who exerted deep influence on the whole Episcopal Church. Although Ravenscroft worked with these men in their efforts to foster theological education and agreed with their views of evangelical preaching, he did not follow them in matters of churchmanship.

During 1820 and 1821 Dr. Wilmer wrote a series of articles on baptismal regeneration in the *Theological Repository*, a periodical he had founded, presenting a point of view to which Ravenscroft did not subscribe. In their private correspondence he took the position held by Bishop Hobart and other “old fashion” high churchmen.⁸³ After defining regeneration and what it means for man when it takes place, Ravenscroft wrote: “Now the question is, when is this done? The Church assumes, on the sure ground of Scripture, that this blessing

is conferred *in baptism*. . . . [S]he does not pretend to confer an uncertain or conjectural benefit in the baptism which she administers by the authority of Christ.”⁸⁴ With this view of the Sacrament, it was natural that Ravenscroft should have been concerned about the dangers of its “dwindling down to a mere ceremony for naming a child,”⁸⁵ frequently performed in private houses rather than in church, often accompanied by revelries that made it more a social than a religious occasion. In the General Convention of 1820 to which he was a delegate, a report was adopted embodying the views he and other young Virginia clergymen expressed, but not without murmurs from some ministers of the old school.⁸⁶

By his “friendly smittings” Ravenscroft soon became a man of influence and respect in Virginia, and his reputation reached into other areas. Early in 1823 he was called to St. Paul’s, Norfolk; shortly after declining, he was invited to be Bishop Moore’s assistant at the Monumental Church in Richmond. This call he accepted, but before he could make the move he was elected to the episcopate.

Conditions in North Carolina in 1823

The unanimity evidenced in the election of Ravenscroft was “unlooked-for” and surprising in the light of conditions in North Carolina.⁸⁷ The Church’s four hundred communicants were divided among twenty-three organized congregations widely scattered throughout the state.⁸⁸ More than half of these “parishes” were little more than preaching stations, “with no medium of inter-communication better than the common wagon road.” More difficult to overcome than geographic separation was the fact that members of the Church were “so connected . . . by marriage and other ties with the different denominations around them, as to be under a species of vassalage which repressed, even where it was most fervently entertained, the true spirit of the Church.”⁸⁹ Judge Walker Anderson, an active layman in the Diocese at the time of Bishop Ravenscroft’s election, later wrote that “even in the more established and better informed congregations, there were many individuals who had attached themselves to the Church from motives entirely distinct from a discerning and rational preference for her peculiar character. Hereditary predilections, convenience, and accidental circumstances, afforded a sufficient motive with many; while comparatively few had been led to a

candid examination, and a consequent acknowledgment of her distinctive claims.”⁹⁰

As for the nine clergymen resident in the Diocese in 1823, only one, Adam Empie, was a man of mature experience in the Church. Thomas Wright and William Mercer Green had been trained by Empie, but both were young and essentially untested. Richard S. Mason, although well educated and familiar with the life of the Church in other sections, had served only one congregation. Robert Davis had had limited educational advantages, and he had been trained for the ministry under the direction of Gregory T. Bedell whose “theological attainments” Empie considered deficient. Robert Johnston Miller, although loyal to the Church, had no formal theological education and had spent his ministry separated from his fellow clergymen, serving longer as a Lutheran than as an Episcopalian. John Avery had a good education but had never served a congregation other than the one at Edenton. William Hooper had been a professor at the University of North Carolina and had grown up in the household of his stepfather, Joseph Caldwell, one of the strongest leaders of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina. A man of strong character and piety, Hooper had sought the ministry of the Episcopal Church after studying at Princeton, but he had not lost his essential Calvinism, and his views of clerical authority were not in line with the central Anglican view.⁹¹

Of these clergymen, Judge Anderson wrote, “there were some who, acting upon that notion of charity which teaches us to shrink from the search of truth, lest, when found, it should show our neighbors to be in error, avoided the urging of claims which were unpalatable to so many.”⁹² Though these men were able and “sound in their views of the Church as a heaven-ordained agency distinct from the self-appointed authorities of the sects around,” Green later pointed out that “there was but one of them [Thomas Wright] that fearlessly and habitually set forth her Catholic and Apostolic Character.”⁹³

Bishop Ravenscroft's First Year

Twelve days after the episcopal election, William Mercer Green arrived at Makeshift with a letter from Adam Empie, president of the Convention, informing Ravenscroft of what had taken place. The following day Ravenscroft drafted his acceptance.⁹⁴ Within a few

weeks he traveled to Philadelphia where the General Convention was to meet, and there on 22 May 1823 he was consecrated in St. Paul's Church, with six of the nine bishops of the American Church participating. In company with Green, he returned to Virginia at the end of May.⁹⁵

In accepting his election, Ravenscroft explained to his new Diocese that necessary preparations for moving to North Carolina would occupy most of the summer and fall. Shortly after his consecration, the vestry of Christ Church, Raleigh, formally invited the bishop to serve as rector of that parish on a half-time basis.⁹⁶ During commencement exercises in June, the University of North Carolina conferred on the new bishop the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. On 5 August, Columbia College in New York honored him in the same way.

On 27 June, less than a month after his return to Virginia, Ravenscroft set out on his first visitation in North Carolina. Even before the new bishop entered the state, there was great speculation as to the course he would follow. For example, some feared that under his influence the Episcopalians in Raleigh would try to take possession of a building being used by the Presbyterians. A hint of this appears in a significant letter written by the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Fayetteville to a fellow minister:

Ravenscroft I hear will settle in Raleigh. You ask what they will do for a church. Build one I suspect. True there is not much Pres[byterianis]m in R[aleigh] but I hope enough to keep the building. . . . I anticipate all the influence you do from the new Bishop and roaring *Canons*. McPheeters says noisy guns kick backwards. . . .

. . . I do not feel any alarm from Episcopacy. I am conscious of no wrong and fear no consequences. I intend to make no attack. Since no offence. But as I stand to defend my own tower I will not be driven away without a struggle. I do not fear their influence here [in Fayetteville]. They have got what they will get I think. We have the Majority. The early influence of this place. The surrounding country. I do not intend to disturb them. They do much good I think among the rich especially. They draw out their treasure and influence in favour of religion. And so long as they be peaceable we hope to be so. But there will be a mighty struggle in N.C. yet for the ascendancy. The West they cannot move. The East they will gain in a measure. One thing I hope.

Many of their ministers are evangelical. Much more so than many in that denomination. So that if vital piety flourishes we should rejoice. Pious Episcopalians will do as well in heaven as any others that are no more so. Many good and great men have lived in that Church, and many yet do.⁹⁷

It is not unlikely that the writer of this letter, in speaking of the Evangelicals among the North Carolina clergy, had in mind William Hooper, then rector of St. John's, Fayetteville. In a postscript to a letter he wrote to Ravenscroft before the bishop made his first North Carolina visitation, Hooper gave useful insight into attitudes the bishop would find among some North Carolina Episcopalians:

Since finishing my letter, it occurred to me to avail myself of this opportunity as perhaps not premature, to convey to you some sentiments, which are not only mine, but those of my clerical brethren, & of others well acquainted with the state of feelings thro'out the Diocese. It is our opinion, that our church interests ought to be managed at present with much tenderness & delicacy—that they are to be advanced rather by preaching the fundamental truths of religion than by dealing much in points on which we differ from other denominations—that controverted topics had better be avoided, & high exclusive claims not insisted on. There is little doubt that a contrary course at present will alienate more than it will convince.⁹⁸

As subsequently appeared, Hooper exaggerated when he indicated that he was speaking for all the North Carolina clergy. Such advice as this could hardly have been acceptable to its recipient. "Tenderness & delicacy" were not Ravenscroft's weapons. In his final sermon to his Virginia congregation, the new bishop announced his unalterable position:

[S]teadfastness or establishment in religion, does not refer singly to the spiritual doctrines of the gospel, but to the whole scheme of our redemption—including those appointments of our Lord and his apostles, which are outward and visible; such as the Church, the ministry, and the sacraments. . . .

. . . If the authority by which any denomination of Christians ministers in sacred things, cannot be shown to be derived from the apostles of Christ—that is, cannot be verified as a fact,—such

denomination cannot be a branch of that catholic apostolic Church, in which we profess to believe. . . .

. . . I know that I am treading on what is considered forbidden ground; yet I am actuated by a deep sense of the responsibility under which I am placed, lest I should be charged with keeping back aught that was profitable to you.⁹⁹

As he began his first visitation, Ravenscroft went from Williamsboro to Oxford, then to Orange County, and, with Duncan Cameron as his companion, to Raleigh. Later in the summer he made a second trip to Orange and other places in the central section of the state. His preaching produced an immediate effect. Having heard the bishop in Hillsborough late in August, the distinguished lawyer, Thomas Ruffin, wrote: "If he be not a pure & humble Christian, his life & feeling must be greatly at variance with his precepts. I think I never heard our Religion preached in greater Gospel Purity. There was no new-fangled notion, no metaphysical subtlety, no effort to draw off the attention of the hearers from devotion to the Deity & make the Preacher the object to be considered."¹⁰⁰

Just before Christmas, the bishop and Mrs. Ravenscroft took up residence in Raleigh, and soon he resumed his visitation. In his first year as diocesan, Bishop Ravenscroft visited almost all the congregations in the central and eastern parts of North Carolina. He had intended going west of Rowan, but having heard nothing from Robert Johnston Miller, who had met with an accident, he did not think it wise to go into that part of the state. In Raleigh he had been able to spend a total of three months. In the words of the Committee on the State of the Church, the "unwearied labours of our venerable bishop, during the short time he has been in the diocese, have imparted a *new tone* to the interests of the Church."¹⁰¹

The Williamsboro Convention

The "new tone" Bishop Ravenscroft brought to the Diocese of North Carolina was epitomized in his sermon on the first day of the 1824 Convention, held in the newly renovated church in Williamsboro. After tracing the Catholic and Apostolic character of the Church, identifying the Episcopal Church in North Carolina as a

“branch of the true vine,” the bishop laid down a five-point plan for revival:

1. “. . . [H]oliness . . . in ourselves and in our families” to counteract the general opinion that Episcopalians were lax in piety.
2. “. . . [O]bservance and cultivation of family religion” as an antidote to neglect of the instruction of children and servants.
3. Reserve “pecuniary means . . . for the wants of our own communion” rather than contribute to others out of misdirected “equal regard for all denominations.”
4. “. . . [S]teadfast and uniform adherence to the liturgy and offices of the Church, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. . . .”
5. Preach and instruct in the “doctrines of the cross” and “other points of edification . . . particularly that of the distinctive character of the Church.” Speaking directly to the clergy on this point, the bishop said:

On this a most lamentable ignorance prevails. . . . To permit this ignorance to continue undisturbed, is to be false to our ordination vows, to our acknowledged principles, to the interests of our communion, and to the souls committed to our care. . . . If we hold principles that are indefensible, let us abandon them. But if they are our principles, interwoven into the very frame of our polity, impregnable in their truth, and essential to the great work we have in hand; let us not appear ashamed of them, or weakly afraid of the consequences, and thus become parties to that miserable delusion, which weakens us as a body, strengthens the ranks of our adversaries, and, I will fearlessly say weakens the cause of true religion, by tacitly owning one division after another, until the great master principle of the Church of God, its unity, is merged in the mass of Christian names, and swallowed up by the indifference and infidelity thus fostered.

If, then, we would be found faithful to ourselves, to the Church whose commission we bear, and to the souls committed to our trust; this doctrine of the distinctive character of the Church must be fully unfolded, and laid before

our people. . . . The importance and efficacy of authorized ministrations—of valid sacraments,—must be elucidated and confirmed.

As for himself, the bishop had this to say: “To this work you have called me; to this work the Lord through you hath devoted me; and to your service, such as I am, I give myself without reserve.”¹⁰²

The bishop’s sermon had a profound effect. In expressing its approbation, the Convention adopted a resolution thanking “the Rt. Rev. prelate, for his excellent discourse,” asked for a copy for publication, and ordered six hundred copies printed, more than enough to supply every Church family in the state. The remainder of the Williamsboro Convention was an anticlimax. The most significant section had to do with the continuing struggle to raise funds to support the episcopate. As agent for that purpose, Green had met with some success during the preceding year, but means had to be devised to draw out more treasure for this cause, and a plan for keeping the funds inviolate was needed. Once more an address to the people on this subject was called for.

The Hooper Case

Not surprisingly, publication of Ravenscroft’s “Farewell Discourse” to the Boydton congregation and his 1824 Convention “Sermon on the Church” stirred up strong opposition in other Christian bodies. The leading theologian of the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia, Dr. John Holt Rice, “arraigned” them in the *Literary and Evangelical Magazine* “as popish and even as Anti-Christian” and suggested that they undermined “the civil and religious liberties of this country.”¹⁰³

Among those present at the Williamsboro Convention were two young men whose reactions to the sermon demonstrated how, even within the Church, Ravenscroft impelled men to take sides in the campaign he felt himself bound to wage. One was James Hervey Otey, a twenty-four-year-old lay delegate from Emmanuel Church, Warrenton; the other was William Hooper, the thirty-two-year-old rector of St. John’s Church, Fayetteville.

After graduating from the University of North Carolina in 1820, Otey had remained for a term in Chapel Hill as tutor in Latin and

Greek and then spent three years as a teacher in Tennessee. By 1824 he had returned to North Carolina to take charge of the Warrenton Academy. There he had been baptized by William Mercer Green and confirmed by Bishop Ravenscroft. To his ears the bishop's sermon carried great conviction. Within the year he was admitted as a candidate for Holy Orders and went on to become one of the pioneer bishops of the American Church.

William Hooper, grandson and namesake of one of North Carolina's signers of the Declaration of Independence, was a respected clergyman and member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese. It was he who had cautioned Bishop Ravenscroft to proceed "with much tenderness & delicacy," avoiding "points on which we differ from other denominations," and not to insist on "high exclusive claims." The tenor and content of the Convention sermon made plain Ravenscroft's rejection of Hooper's advice. The Fayetteville minister was honestly and profoundly disturbed. When questioned about episcopacy before his own ordination, Hooper had frankly admitted he "knew nothing about it," and, as he later said, "if the examination had been as strict as such examinations ought to be, they would have advised me to delay."¹⁰⁴

Not long after returning to Fayetteville from the 1824 Convention, Hooper wrote Bishop Ravenscroft: "My views on many points are so different from yours—the sentiments proclaimed in your convention sermon are so repugnant to my feelings, that I cannot co-operate in the maintenance and propagation of them. . . . I look upon all other denominations as branches of Christ's Church equally with Episcopalians. . . . But as you are so decidedly of an opposite opinion, there seems to be no hope of a cordial concurrence between us in the promotion of the particular interest of the Episcopal Church. I would, therefore, rather withdraw from this station."¹⁰⁵ The bishop immediately sent Hooper a long and detailed letter asking him to rethink his position.¹⁰⁶ Still not satisfied, Hooper wrote Ravenscroft that his views of "church government" disqualified him from serving as a minister,¹⁰⁷ and again he took the bishop to task: "I do believe that while preaching the grand doctrines of practical religion with your characteristic energy, you at the same time urge controversial points of church communion with equal energy, you considerably delapidate with your left hand that spiritual building which your right hand is so zealously rearing."¹⁰⁸ Ravenscroft replied that he would deeply regret Hooper's loss to the Church but suggested that Hooper con-

sider whether any denomination would suit him.¹⁰⁹ Early in August, Hooper notified his parish “from the Desk that he had given his resignation to the Wardens; but that at the earnest solicitations of his Congregation, he had consented to reconsider the matter, and would write to some of his Clerical Brethren on the subject of the doubts that now distracted his mind—if these doubts could be removed, ‘twas more than probable he would continue with [the Fayetteville church]; if not, he would give [them] notice during his Summer Vacation, that [they] might supply his place.”¹¹⁰

To be forced to face such a problem in the first year of his episcopate was a severe trial for Ravenscroft. As he struggled to add to the few clergymen available in the diocese, it was especially disheartening to contemplate the loss of an able and acknowledged leader with the criticism that would necessarily ensue. Although certain of his duty, Ravenscroft sought the advice of Bishop Moore, the man who had ordained Hooper as well as Ravenscroft himself. The venerable Bishop of Virginia urged that an effort be made to keep Hooper in the Church, admitting at the same time, however, that “Calvinism forms the ground work of all his mental troubles,” and that “his prejudices” on baptismal regeneration and the “divine right of Episcopacy” would “grow with his growth, & never leave him as long as he lives.” Later Moore suggested that Ravenscroft visit Fayetteville and counsel with Hooper and his congregation.¹¹¹

Well aware that word of the Hooper case was spreading over the state, Bishop Ravenscroft, in late August 1824, took pains to summarize the situation in a letter to Robert Johnston Miller so that he might stop erroneous rumors in his area:

It has ended for the present, in his requesting permission to withdraw from all Ministerial Duty for a Season, to give his Mind time to recover its balance, and regain Composure—This I have assented to. . . .

From the Principles laid down in my convention Sermon and approved of by that Body—he found he was not an Episcopalian—and as Clergy and Laity were called upon to act upon our known principles, he felt it his Duty to apprise me, that he could not bear his part in the revival of the Church, in its distinctive Character. . . . The prejudices of early Education, and the warmth of his personal Feelings, are yet too strong for Reason

and Scripture—Nor am I sanguine as to the result of the consideration he may give the subject in his Retirement.¹¹²

Ravenscroft was willing to let Hooper retire quietly, but, being convinced of his error, the bishop was not willing to give Hooper letters of dismissal to another diocese.¹¹³

In the course of his parochial visitations, Ravenscroft met Hooper in Hillsborough in early October, and there Hooper promised he would send him “a letter decisive of his conduct” when the bishop reached Wadesboro in early November. While Ravenscroft continued his visitations, Hooper went to Alexandria to discuss his difficulties with William H. Wilmer, but seems to have received no comfort.¹¹⁴ On his arrival in Wadesboro on 11 November, the bishop found a letter from Hooper dated 29 October announcing his renunciation of the ministry and his intention of offering himself to the Fayetteville congregation “as an independent minister.” This renunciation left Ravenscroft with no choice other than to depose Hooper. After notifying the other members of the Standing Committee, all the lay members of which happened to belong to Hooper’s parish, the bishop went to Fayetteville.

On 19 November the Standing Committee met and Ravenscroft laid “the necessary documents” before the members. Then, with their advice, he “had to resort to the painful exercise of discipline, in displacing Mr. Hooper from the ministry according to the directions of the 7th canon of 1820.”¹¹⁵ In reporting this action to the 1825 Convention, Bishop Ravenscroft pointed out that “it would, however, be unjust to Mr. Hooper not to mention, that the plan contemplated in his letter of 29th October, was abandoned before I reached Fayetteville, and no attempt was made to divide or draw away the congregation.”¹¹⁶

The Bible Society Controversy

Less than a month after Hooper’s deposition, Bishop Ravenscroft was engaged in a second assault on what he felt was a dangerous misunderstanding of the nature of the Church. In November 1813, under the leadership of Dr. James Hall, a Presbyterian minister, the North Carolina Bible Society had been organized at a meeting in Raleigh; three years later it had become an affiliate of the

American Bible Society on that society's foundation. The primary purpose of both organizations was to distribute Bibles wherever needed without charge or at the cheapest possible price. North Carolinians from all leading denominations joined the organization and contributed to its work.

It was customary for the North Carolina Bible Society to hold an annual meeting in Raleigh at which some clergyman of distinction was asked to preach. Although Bishop Ravenscroft had openly disagreed with a portion of the society's constitution, which stated "that the distribution of the Bible, *without note or comment*, is the *only* just principle on which to disseminate the Scriptures of our faith,"¹¹⁷ he accepted its invitation to preach on 12 December 1824. As his text he chose a passage from the Book of the Acts describing a scene in which Philip meets an Ethiopian eunuch reading from the Scriptures: "And Philip ran thither to him, and heard him read the Prophet Esaias; and said, Understandest thou what thou readest? And he said, How can I, except some man should guide me?" The bishop pointed out that, in the support of Bible societies, "Great and good men of every persuasion, sick of the dissensions which deform the fair face of Christianity, were glad to find one object, in the forwarding of which all could cordially unite." Yet, at the same time, "To the unhappy divisions in the Christian world must we, in great part attribute the currency—I had almost said, the consecration,—of the dogma, 'that the distribution of the Bible, without note or comment, is the only just principle on which to disseminate the scriptures of our faith.'" ¹¹⁸ From his text, Ravenscroft sought to show that the principle recognized and acted on by the Bible Society was dangerous and erroneous.

Whether the sermon was as lucid as might have been desired on such an occasion is debatable, but, when published with the bishop's preface a few days later, its central argument was plain. Ravenscroft opposed neither distribution of the Bible nor its study without a commentary. What he attacked was the assertion that distribution "without note or comment" was the "*only* just principle" on which the Bible should be distributed. On the contrary, adopting a position similar to that Bishop Hobart had taken in a comparable situation, Ravenscroft advocated "disseminating the word of God to all who are in want . . . accompanied with the authority of God, and with the sacraments of consolation and assurance."¹¹⁹ In short, he advocated distribution in and through the Church. In closing the sermon, after

repeating the text, the bishop said: "No, my Christian brethren, let us hear them calling unto us in the words of the Ethiopian in my text . . . and, with the word of God, send them the Church and its ministers, and the sacraments of God. Then shall the end and the means correspond."¹²⁰ Without the Church and its ministers to guide them, Ravenscroft believed that to hand the Bible to the ignorant and the heathen would be "dangerous, and, ultimately, subversive of all revealed religion."¹²¹

To preach such views in such a place was an open challenge to those firmly attached to the dogma he attacked. In the moderate words of one of Ravenscroft's biographers, the sermon "elicited very severe animadversions from various quarters." The opening shot was a letter published in the *Raleigh Register* for 30 January 1825 over the signature "Clericus." Its author was the distinguished Professor Elisha Mitchell, a Congregationalist who had affiliated himself with the Presbyterian Church in Chapel Hill. On learning his critic's identity, Ravenscroft replied, and their published correspondence continued for several months.¹²² Much of the writing was unpleasant in tone, and both men reiterated their points to a tiresome degree.

Not all churchmen shared the bishop's views. Bishop Moore, who had served as president of the Bible Society of Virginia, expressed himself with candor at an early stage in the debate: "In all those matters in which the principles of the Church are concerned, our sentiments generally harmonize, but in the case of Bible Societies, we certainly differ. . . . Could a Prayer Book accompany every volume of the Sacred Writings, I should be rejoiced; but as that was not the case when the Scriptures were first given to the world, I cannot see the propriety, at the present day, of making it the condition of their dissemination."¹²³ Undeterred, Ravenscroft found the controversy exhilarating: "The Discussion occasioned by my Bible Society Sermon has been favourable to the Cause of the Church so far—The Presbyterians have taken it up—as trenching upon their foundation—This I am prepared for. . . . What the Event may be I cannot predict—I only know this—that I have the question, now between us, perfectly in my favour—and in such a shape as to meet the apprehension of every plain mind."¹²⁴ From the first, he saw the scope of the argument as encompassing more than the Bible Society question; he grasped the occasion as a means for advancing the cause of the Episcopal Church.

The Presbyterian pastor in Hillsborough, Dr. John Witherspoon, came to the assistance of Professor Mitchell with a severely critical

“review” of the bishop’s sermon. Soon the controversy spread to Virginia, where Dr. John Holt Rice made a strong attack on Ravenscroft’s position and at the same time assailed the Episcopal Church. This shift to a grander scale of controversy stimulated Ravenscroft to further action. He “felt himself imperiously called upon to stand forth to vindicate” the Church from Rice’s “aspersions,”¹²⁵ and, although ill at the time, set himself the task of answering. The result was a fiercely written 166-page tract known as *The Doctrines of the Church Vindicated*, in which the bishop summarized “the learned labors of the fathers, and the brightest luminaries of the Church,” and, in the opinion of a partial reviewer, made “a plain and irrefragable argument, establishing the divine authenticity of those ministrations upon which” the unlearned churchmen “relies as means for his spiritual sustenance.”¹²⁶ Not unexpectedly, Ravenscroft’s pamphlet, in turn, produced a reply,¹²⁷ and, ultimately, a number of published notices.¹²⁸

Anxious to make as good use of his efforts as possible, Ravenscroft sent copies of his tract to his fellow bishops of the American Church and to the clergy and laity of his Diocese, urging them to let their “neighbours see it—some of them may be able to profit by it,” and pointing out that “it is making much noise in Virginia.”¹²⁹

Clerical Morale and Supply

Speaking of the North Carolina clergy, Bishop Ravenscroft is supposed to have told the rector of a New York parish, “I wouldn’t give my fourteen boys for your whole diocese.”¹³⁰ The fact is that at no time during his episcopate did the roster of priests and deacons in his Diocese number fourteen, but the story illustrates the relationship that existed between Ravenscroft and the clergymen who worked under him.

Residence in Richmond had made it impossible for Bishop Moore to weld the North Carolina clergymen into a united and harmonious team in the few years he exercised episcopal supervision in the Diocese. But to this task Ravenscroft turned his attention as soon as he entered the state. He charted the course for the priests and deacons assembled at the 1824 Convention:

[T]he question with an Episcopal clergyman is not, whether our general principles, or our method of conducting public worship

by a fixed form, be scriptural, profitable, or even evangelical; this ought to have been settled on the most serious investigation, before he assumed the orders of the Church. Whatever discretion he has as to this and other points of required conformity, is then given up; nor can he continue to wear the livery of the Church, and thus act, without the guilt of the most sublimated perjury.¹³¹

This was the rock on which William Hooper foundered, but, having acted decisively in that case, Bishop Ravenscroft had no further major difficulties with the clergymen in North Carolina.¹³²

Faced with an immediate and acute shortage of men in Holy Orders, Ravenscroft wrote the Bishops of Pennsylvania, New York, and the Eastern Diocese, seeking their help in securing four young clergymen.¹³³ By the time of the 1825 Convention, two deacons and a candidate for Holy Orders had responded to the call.¹³⁴

Numbers and quality in clergymen were important, but even before his consecration Ravenscroft had taken the position that priests should be given an opportunity to concentrate their ministrations within manageable areas: "I have thought that we are weakened by the eagerness with which we have endeavoured to extend our Borders, and spread over a large surface, remote from Inspection, and sparingly supplied. A meal once a month may keep a man alive, but it will neither nourish nor fatten him."¹³⁵ As bishop, he charged the ministers in North Carolina in the plainest of terms with responsibility for teaching the long neglected "distinctive doctrines" of the Church: "Set your faces, like a flint," he said, "be prepared to meet and to disregard the odium attached to a controversial spirit."¹³⁶ Writing to Bishop Hobart about liturgical infractions of clergymen in other parts of the country, Ravenscroft said: "With the help of God I shall watch to keep my diocese free from this infection. Nor will I ordain any man whom I have sufficient ground to suspect of laxity or disaffection to the distinctive principles of the Church."¹³⁷

Vacant cures remained hard to fill, yet Ravenscroft was heartened by the conviction that he and his clergymen were "of one mind and of one heart." By lending them books from his own library he sought to keep them of one mind and arm them for the controversies they often encountered in their parishes. The progress of the Diocese he attributed in large measure to "the faithfulness of that little band of brothers, who labour in this portion of the Lord's vineyard."¹³⁸ However, the bishop's joy "in the unequalled unanimity in which we are

yoked together” was sadly diminished when one of the young men who had come at his call left without warning and the other two died shortly after ordination.¹³⁹ Two reasons were advanced for North Carolina’s difficulty in obtaining ministers from outside: “[T]he opinion entertained of our climate . . . is ostensibly the chief; and however erroneous, is unhappily confirmed, by the decease of the two young and active clergymen, whom we so deeply lament; the other, and as is believed, the main objection, is the small amount of salary which the congregations in general are able, or disposed to pay.”¹⁴⁰ Ravenscroft’s solution was a plea for North Carolinians to enter the ministry—“natives of the climate, who are assimilated to our manners and customs, and whom we might hope to retain among us.”¹⁴¹ He reminded the delegates to the 1827 Convention that the funds North Carolina had subscribed for the General Seminary were sufficient to support two candidates in that institution at all times.

The situation grew worse before it improved. In 1827–28 the Diocese lost four clergymen: two veteran priests—Adam Empie and Richard S. Mason—and two promising and scholarly young ministers—Henry M. Mason and Francis Lister Hawks. At this juncture, the bishop was impelled to deliver a powerful charge to his people on the Christian ministry and their duty to support it. Within a year the major vacancies had been filled, and William Norwood of Hillsborough was “pursuing his theological studies in the General Seminary, on the fund paid in to that institution by this diocese.”¹⁴²

Those who were attracted to the priesthood by a man with Ravenscroft’s standards or by the clergymen he led, never numerous, proved to be giants in the Church.¹⁴³ James Hervey Otey became the first Bishop of Tennessee and at various times had Episcopal responsibility for Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory. “If there was any one man Mr. Otey admired above all others, that man was Bishop Ravenscroft.”¹⁴⁴ George W. Freeman became, in succession, Bishop of the Southwest and Bishop of Arkansas. Leonidas Polk, who taught Sunday school under Ravenscroft at Christ Church, Raleigh, became Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory, Bishop of Louisiana, and a lieutenant general in the Confederate Army. William Mercer Green, the man who nominated Ravenscroft in the Salisbury Convention of 1823 and who was always his faithful lieutenant, after serving as professor of belles lettres at the University of North Carolina, became the first Bishop of Mississippi. Francis Lister Hawks became the greatest pulpit orator in the Episcopal

Church and a frequent nominee for the episcopate. The loyalty to Christian principles and the distinctive doctrines of the Church which they learned from Ravenscroft were transplanted by these men to the dioceses they served, marking them indelibly with conservative "North Carolina churchmanship."¹⁴⁵

Confirmation and Admission to Holy Communion

Without bishops to make visitations, churchmen of the colonial period had no opportunity to receive confirmation. Even in England as late as the opening of the nineteenth century, bishops treated the rite in a highly perfunctory manner. In the few visitations Bishop Moore made to North Carolina he confirmed those who could be gathered at the Convention and at convenient places on his route from and to Richmond, in some instances with little or no preparation or instruction. Had the canons at that time required vestrymen and Convention delegates to be communicants, few congregations could have found a sufficient number to serve.¹⁴⁶

One of Bishop Ravenscroft's first efforts was to impress on clergy and laity alike a proper estimation of baptism and confirmation. "These he regarded as the threshold of the Church, and when duly administered and worthily received, would guard the body of the Church from the intrusion of the unprepared."¹⁴⁷ At St. Mary's, Orange County, in the first class he confirmed in North Carolina, the bishop found a "Mr. Latta, between eighty and ninety years of age," who was "desirous, above measure, to add this apostolick rite to the other grounds of his faith in the revealed promises of God." During the first years of his episcopate Ravenscroft used almost every confirmation service as an opportunity to preach on the subject. Although he found little evidence that North Carolina clergymen had been lax in presenting candidates, he told them that he would hold them "answerable for the qualifications of those by them presented, on personal knowledge and conference with them; in order that by due care in this behalf, the odium cast upon this ordinance, by its promiscuous administration, may be avoided in this diocese; and the ordinance itself restored to the reverent estimation due it, and the religious benefit certainly to be derived from it, when duly and rightly received and applied."¹⁴⁸

There is substantial evidence that the diocesan clergy were diligent

in following these instructions. When named to the vestry of St. Matthew's, Hillsborough, on its organization in 1824, the distinguished Thomas Ruffin, like other leading laymen of the day, had not yet been confirmed. A few years later, when William Mercer Green, rector of the Hillsborough church, wrote Ravenscroft that Ruffin was considering confirmation, the bishop replied: "If Judge Ruffin thinks of Confirmation he will, when I come, have an opportunity which may not soon recur. Examine faithfully, by giving him the true grounds on which the worth of the Ordinance rests,—heartly repentance, and true faith."¹⁴⁹ The young clergyman, buttressed with Ravenscroft's advice, sent Ruffin a small publication dealing with confirmation and assured him "of the great gratification which it would give" Green to see the judge "altogether a Christian, and to be the least instrumental in contributing to so desirable an end."¹⁵⁰ Nine days later, on 20 January 1828, Ruffin was a member of the class Bishop Ravenscroft confirmed in Hillsborough. On Easter Day several months later, while in Edenton on court business, Ruffin attended the Holy Communion in St. Paul's Church and wrote his wife: "I partook of it, I hope profitably, in charity, faith, penitence & humility. Its strengthening Graces were much multiplied to me by the sincerity & earnestness of my prayers to God for his favor & blessing on yourself, my dearest Anne, & all our dear children & by the expectation that you were at the same hour engaged in the like duty of obedience to the command of our blessed Redeemer & in commemoration of his passion & rich bounty to the human race."¹⁵¹

Not all who were confirmed, however, felt inclined to join regularly in the Holy Communion. "Before admitting for the first time to the Lord's Supper," members of the clergy were expected "to converse" with those who had been confirmed. Such conversations and the care with which candidates were prepared for confirmation may have nurtured such a sense of unworthiness that the newly confirmed found themselves reluctant to commune. Some hint of this can be discerned in a letter the Reverend John Avery addressed to a lady on the subject:

Mr. Buxton informed me that you had thoughts of coming to the Holy Communion the next opportunity. Do it by all means if you are purposed to forsake sin & the vanities of the world, & to seek an inheritance in Christ's Kingdom of glory. This is the only worthiness that is required. No one need fear who is re-

solved by the grace of God to be a disciple of Christ & to obtain his promises as the greatest good. And how important it is to take this stand! Time is short & death is hastening. We must seek the Kingdom of Heaven in season if we would not be shut out of it at last.¹⁵²

The efforts of bishop and clergy began to bear fruit. "Among the friends and supporters of the Church, who [were] not communicants," there was "an increased attention to the subject of religion, manifested by a more constant and serious attendance upon the services of the Church, and by inquiries in conversation, which [showed] that the thoughts [were] so occupied with the subject, as to give the promise, through God's gracious blessing, of their entire surrender of themselves to the influence of divine grace."¹⁵³

Relations with Other Denominations

Writing to a schoolboy son who was toying with the charms of Roman Catholicism, Thomas Ruffin said:

I do not look upon the difference of Sects amongst Christians, as of so much consequence in itself: But for that very reason, I have long considered it very proper for each person to attach himself to that persuasion which he can not only call *a Church of God*, but also, *the Church of his Fore Fathers*. The Protestant Episcopal Church is that of your family and is in itself, by its formularies, doctrines and practices, excellent, presenting [as] strong restraints to vice and excitements to virtue as any denomination whatever.¹⁵⁴

Ruffin had not been confirmed at the time he wrote this letter, and the sentiments he expressed were characteristic of many members and other persons attached to the Episcopal Church when it was first organized in North Carolina. A substantial number of both clergy and laity believed it to be only one among the "churches," and while they preferred it as the denomination with which their families had long been associated, membership in some other Christian body they felt to be equally sufficient affiliation with the Church of God. Thus, when the Convention of 1820 met in Edenton a resolution was adopted inviting the ministers of other denominations to the sittings;

more significantly, when the Holy Communion was celebrated at the 1821 Convention in Raleigh the local Presbyterian and Methodist ministers were among the communicants.

When Gregory T. Bedell arrived to take charge of St. John's, Fayetteville, in October 1818, he found his congregation and that of the Presbyterians "much separated, and, in some cases, violently opposed to each other." But Bedell became "the peacemaker between them" and worked harmoniously with the Presbyterian minister. Together, they "so arranged their services on the afternoon and evening of the Sabbath, that the people of one could hear the preaching of the other."¹⁵⁵ Not all Episcopal clergymen, however, were so eager to have their flocks subjected to religious instruction from Calvinists. When William McPheeters, the Presbyterian minister in Raleigh, conducted a regular course of sermons on "the Socinian doctrine," the rector of Christ Church, William Mercer Green, attended and took shorthand notes. "It was indeed quite a novel sight to me," wrote William H. Haywood, Jr., "to see a Stenographer in the 'House of God!'" It was Green's purpose to see that McPheeters was answered.¹⁵⁶ Nor were all Presbyterians willing to cooperate with Episcopalians. Shortly after the 1823 Convention, an Episcopalian in Salisbury reported that the Presbyterian minister, "Dr. Freeman [,] is moralizing the people or rather trying to do so. It seems to some about here that he is labouring with redoubled energies since the Convention was held here, fearing the predilections of the people in favour of that church in preference to his. He appoints night or prayer meetings at any private house he chooses without their invitations or permission [,] at which some of the more ungodly are disposed to kick. However he is a Mighty Good man & bound no doubt to Heaven."¹⁵⁷

When Robert Johnston Miller arrived at the Convention of 1821 for ordination, he came in the significant role of delegate from the Lutheran Synod. According to the Convention Journal, he attended in that capacity "for the purpose of effecting as far as practicable, intercourse, and union between the Episcopalians, and some of the Lutheran Congregations." After being ordained to the priesthood, Miller was excused from Convention sessions and returned to Burke County. He had left when a resolution on his proposal was adopted. Under its terms, the Convention agreed to send a three-man committee to the Lutheran Synod "to consider of, and agree upon such terms of union, as may tend to the mutual advantage and welfare of

both Churches, not inconsistent with the Constitution and Canons of this Church [in North Carolina], or the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States." Adam Empie and Gregory T. Bedell were named as clerical members of this committee, and Duncan Cameron was named as the lay member.¹⁵⁸

At the close of the Convention, Bishop Moore warmly welcomed the proposal Miller had brought from a "portion of the Lutheran Church in this State," saying that if they "breathe the same sentiments which warm my heart; if they possess the same desire to effect as perfect and entire an union, as hath been exemplified in their representative, it cannot be long before that union will be completed."¹⁵⁹ As soon as the Convention adjourned, Empie wrote Miller what had happened, asking for a Lutheran catechism and prayer book and anything else "which contains any portion of the formulas or the standards or an explanation of the standard doctrines of the Lutheran Church." Something of the caution with which the delegates approached the meeting is apparent from Empie's comments on their participation in the Holy Communion at the synod: "As Episcopalians many if not all of us would have scrupled to receive the communion from hands not Episcopally ordained [,] but now as you continue still to minister as one of them [,] the elements may be consecrated by yourself & this is a measure which [,] for the sake of peace [,] accomodation & unity [,] we hope our Lutheran brethren will most readily adopt." Having said this, Empie continued in a hopeful vein but still more cautious than Bishop Moore: "We pray that both sides may manifest a most conciliatory spirit that has nothing in view but the salvation of souls [,] the prosperity of religion & the glory of God. As for our part we are determined to yield every thing we can in consistency with our consciences [,] our ordination vows [,] the established rule of our Church & the consequent duties that we owe to the Laiety to which we belong."¹⁶⁰

On Trinity Sunday (17 June) following the 1821 Convention, two of the three delegates (Empie and Cameron) attended the meeting of the Lutheran Synod at Lau's Church in Guilford County. There, with a committee of the Synod, they agreed on five resolutions to be submitted for adopting to both the Synod and the Convention. In substance, they advocated the "closest bonds of friendship" between the two churches, with mutual concessions not "inconsistent with the rules and regulations" of either. Each body should be permitted to send delegates to the other to occupy honorary seats, with "the priv-

ilege of expressing their opinions and voting in all cases except when a division is called for." All Lutheran "ministers" should be entitled to honorary seats in the Convention, and all Episcopal "clergymen" should be entitled to honorary seats in the Synod.¹⁶¹ The 1822 Convention adopted these recommendations and named a six-man delegation to attend the Lutheran Synod. When the Convention met in Salisbury in 1823, it was invited to use the Lutheran Church building, and four delegates from the Synod were present and took honorary seats.

In his "Farewell Discourse" in Virginia and in the sermon he preached before the Williamsboro Convention of 1824, Bishop Ravenscroft served notice that he was convinced that for Episcopalians tacitly to admit the validity of all denominations and sects "weakens us as a body, strengthens the ranks of our adversaries, and . . . weakens the cause of true religion."¹⁶² Unlike Bishop Moore, the new bishop considered the negotiations looking toward what he called "amalgamation" with the Lutherans to be "paralysing" in their effect on the revival of the Anglican Church in western North Carolina.¹⁶³ At the same time, the Lutheran Synod was undergoing an unhappy experience of differing views on matters of doctrine and discipline.¹⁶⁴ Thus, it is not surprising that the Convention and the Synod ceased to exchange fraternal delegations after 1823.

John Ireland, a Roman Catholic bishop, visited Raleigh in 1821 and preached in the Presbyterian Church building. "He is an ingenious close reasoner," wrote young William H. Haywood, Jr., "and could he keep the Bible out of the hands of the people might make converts."¹⁶⁵ In a letter to his wife, Judge Thomas Ruffin described an encounter with Roman Catholicism in New Bern: "At night I heard a Lecture on '*Lust*' from a Mr. O'Donoghue a Roman Catholic priest: And this morning, at Sunrise, I went to *Mass*!—I would cultivate as far as the frailty of my nature will admit of a generous & Catholic Toleration; & therefore I am sorry I did not sleep an hour later today, for the same reason that you have heard me give for never going to a *Camp-meeting*! If the latter be noisy turbulent confusion, the former is absurd unintelligible *jargon* & *flummery*. I truly regret my curiosity."¹⁶⁶ With brief eloquence, Judge William Norwood summarized the attitude of North Carolina Episcopalians toward their Church in relation to Roman Catholicism: "[O]ur own Church possesses all [the Roman Catholic Church's] authority, all its beauties, all its advantages; without those superstitious rites, that idle parade, that ostentatious form

of pomp, those absurd doctrines, in a word without those abominable and detestable corruptions which are a disgrace to any religion, an imputation upon the character of civilized men. To speak plainly, our church is just the roman catholic church purified, and cleansed from all that is objectionable in it.”¹⁶⁷

There is a marked parallel to be found in the attitudes evidenced by both laymen and clergymen. At Williamsboro, on the very first day he spent in North Carolina after his consecration, Bishop Ravenscroft met a Miss Yancey who had, in his words, been “infected with the Romish D[octrine]” during Bishop Ireland’s visit. Ravenscroft immediately “endeavoured to counteract his perversions of Scripture, in favour of Transubstantiation.”¹⁶⁸ A few years later, while staying at the Catawba Springs in Lincoln County, the bishop explained his decision not to meet an announced appointment for services in Morganton by saying, “a Presbyterian Camp Meeting commences on Saturday next, near Morganton—and as that is a complete bar to all expectation of a Congregation, unless at the Camp ground—*where I cannot consent even to be seen—I shall merely pass thro’ Morganton, on my way Westward.*”¹⁶⁹

“The wretched system of Calvin . . . was held by Bishop Ravenscroft in perfect abomination. He could scarcely speak of it with patience.”¹⁷⁰ In the Bible Society controversy, for example, it was made plain that the bishop would give the Calvinists no quarter: “We must expect every Effort to be made by the Presbyterians to hold their ground—They feel that the Blow is a mortal one—and they are contending *pro aris et focis*—Their advantage moreover is great in the ignorance of the People—but this should stir us to exertions to enlighten them.”¹⁷¹ Ravenscroft’s attitude toward Methodists and Baptists, although less militant than toward Presbyterians, was nonetheless firm, and, regardless of denomination, he had no “sympathy with those itinerant Revivalists who were going about, as he used to say, in his rough way, ‘dispensing the Holy Ghost from their breeches’ pockets.’ . . . ‘You can’t weld a Christian out, *at one heat.*’”¹⁷²

Reviewing the history of North Carolina Anglicanism for the Convention of 1825, the bishop pointed out that for forty years after the Revolution religious instruction had fallen exclusively into non-Episcopal hands. To promote the Anglican revival, he called the laity to exact conformity to the liturgy and enjoined “occasional conformity” by which he meant “a mixed attendance upon the Church and

upon those who dissent from her—sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other—[This] is so far in opposition to her advancement, as it is sure to keep the person thus acting unfixed and wavering.”¹⁷³ Noting that the shortage of priests and the lack of regular Episcopal services had been used by churchmen as excuses for attending the public services of other denominations, Ravenscroft continued:

Now, while it may be said, that hereby a good example was given of reverence for the Sabbath, and good instruction was received from the Sermon delivered, it is not considered, on the other hand, that countenance has also been given to ministrations which the Church considers irregular and invalid, not to say schismatical; and that, by this kind of conduct, we actually encourage the dangerous delusion, that one system of doctrine is as true as another, and one Church just as safe as another; and thus, without meaning it, perhaps, pull down with one hand the fabric we are rearing with the other.¹⁷⁴

Thus, he instructed Church families unable to attend Episcopal services to remain at home on Sunday, reading the daily service from the Book of Common Prayer, with appointed lessons from the Bible and sermons from the standard writers of the Church. In fairness, however, it should be noted that the bishop’s position was intended as discipline for churchmen rather than as sanction against others: he never excluded members of non-Episcopal churches from participation in the Holy Communion.¹⁷⁵

The Moravians alone, among Protestant denominations, Bishop Ravenscroft considered “a body of Christian confessors, Episcopally derived and constituted.” Visiting Salem in August 1827, he met the Moravian bishop and expressed the hope that the two denominations might establish “such Christian intercourse . . . as was calculated to extend Christian fellowship . . . in every way consistent with independence, as distinct Ecclesiastical Bodies.”¹⁷⁶ During this visit, the bishop took part in a celebration of the Holy Communion in the Moravian Church, an action that demonstrated his belief in the validity of the orders of those who administered it.¹⁷⁷

Believing their Church was just the Roman Catholic Church “purified and cleansed,” North Carolina Episcopalians—laity as well as clergy—felt they had “surrendered too much to the claims of Dissenters.” Most of them supported their leaders in the conviction that

“people must be roused from the Delusion, that all professions of Christian Faith are equally safe for Salvation.”¹⁷⁸ Nor did they consider such an attitude to be hostile to other denominations. They believed what they were taught about the Episcopal Church was true; to withhold the truth, lest “it should show our neighbor to be in error,” was a mistaken notion of charity.

Burdens of the Episcopate

An important psychological hurdle for North Carolina Episcopalians was the realization that Diocese rather than parish was the vital unit in Church organization, that the bishop was chief pastor of the flock, and that the Convention had authority to legislate for the Church throughout the Diocese. It was Bishop Ravenscroft's responsibility to lead his people over this hurdle. Problems incident to the Convention's struggle to obtain adequate financial support for a full-time episcopate brought the issue into focus.

When the 1824 Convention met in Williamsboro, \$8,240, payable in five annual installments, had been subscribed to the fund for the episcopate; \$1,878 had been paid in cash. By 1825 collections for the fund had reached \$7,000, but income from that sum was insufficient to meet the meager salary of \$750 being paid Bishop Ravenscroft. Thus, an assessment schedule was adopted under which each congregation was assigned an annual quota for the next eight and one-half years. The objective was to permit investment of the funds already collected so that, at the end of the assessment period, income from the principal would produce enough to pay the bishop's salary—an endowed episcopate.¹⁷⁹

After almost three years' experience in the dual role of diocesan bishop and parish priest, Ravenscroft told the 1826 Convention that the “increasing labours of the episcopate” could hardly be performed on a half-time basis and urged the delegates to act so that “in a reasonable time” the bishop might be released from parochial charge. The only action taken was to increase parish quotas to take care of anticipated deficiencies. Nevertheless, sensing that the power of the Convention to legislate authoritatively in such matters was poorly understood in the Diocese, Bishop Ravenscroft delivered a charge lucidly explaining the way in which the Episcopal Church was orga-

nized and governed, and diocesan clergymen were required to read it to their people on suitable occasions of public worship.¹⁸⁰

Ravenscroft's next step was to address the Convention on the problems he faced in visiting twenty-four congregations in only twenty-six weeks when those congregations were scattered throughout an area 350 miles long, east to west, and 220 miles wide, north to south. This necessity, coupled with an increasingly burdensome correspondence, deprived the bishop of the opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of his flock, a matter he felt was essential to the proper administration of his office. The only response this awakened was appointment of Francis Lister Hawks, a young lawyer then seeking ordination, to accompany the bishop in visiting every congregation to explain the problem and seek financial support.¹⁸¹ Hawks went with Ravenscroft to ten eastern congregations, then became ill and left the Diocese; thereafter, the bishop pursued the humiliating visits alone.¹⁸²

In 1827 the Reverend Adam Empie, senior presbyter in the Diocese, accepted the presidency of William and Mary College, leaving St. James's, Wilmington, without a clergyman. Late that year a committee of the vestry asked Bishop Ravenscroft to come to Wilmington as rector.¹⁸³ The bishop gave no definite answer, and the day after Christmas the secretary of St. James's vestry wrote him a somewhat cooler letter, saying Wilmington did not wish to stand in the way of his accepting a prior call it understood he had received from New Bern.¹⁸⁴ Ravenscroft then notified the vestry of St. James's that he had received no call to New Bern but that, nevertheless, he had to decline the call to Wilmington.¹⁸⁵ On 5 February 1828, the New Bern vestry asked the bishop to become rector of that parish, but by that time he had already accepted a call to St. John's, Williamsboro, believing it was small enough to enable him, despite his declining health, to give its congregation adequate attention while administering the increasing responsibilities of the Episcopal office.¹⁸⁶

By the time the 1828 Convention met, Ravenscroft's private estate had been exhausted through forced sales required to raise funds to make good the debts of one of his wife's relatives; thus, his salary was his sole source of income.¹⁸⁷ Although new subscriptions indicated that "the independent and respectable support" of the bishop would eventually be possible, Ravenscroft pointed out that, so far as he was concerned, "nothing really efficient" could be done: "Before the whole of the new subscription will be available, the probability is

very strong that I shall be removed from you. Every year has given its warning to my decaying body—and this last the loudest.”¹⁸⁸ He was thinking of his successor: “[W]hile I am able to serve a parish, in addition to the duties of the Diocese—and a parish shall be willing to receive my broken services—I am content to make up what is necessary in my support, in this way.”¹⁸⁹

Although willing to pass resolutions expressing their “anxiety and solicitude [for] the precarious state of our much loved Bishop’s health,” Convention delegates denied his request that the Convention secretary be named to work full time, a measure calculated to relieve him of administrative detail. Nevertheless, Ravenscroft indicated that he was willing to give full time to the Diocese if the Church would pay him \$100 a month, and once more the Convention named a committee to seek subscriptions—this time for a fifteen-year period.¹⁹⁰

Finally, the Convention of 1829, no doubt aware that the bishop’s expenses would be reduced as a result of his wife’s death a few months earlier, unanimously adopted a resolution “that the Bishop be discharged from Parochial charge, and his salary be fixed at \$1,000 per annum—commencing from the 11th day of June, 1829.”¹⁹¹ This action enabled Ravenscroft to relinquish his duties at Williamsboro. Two days after the resolution became effective, with Convention approval, he began a journey “in the public stage” to visit the congregations in Tennessee.¹⁹² He had secured a full-time episcopate for North Carolina but at the cost of his own time, health, and penury.

Meeting a few months after Ravenscroft’s death, the Convention of 1830 necessarily directed its attention toward plans to elect a successor. John R. London, who had been a delegate to the organizing Convention of 1817, moved that no successor be chosen “until efficient steps be taken to raise a competent salary for his support.” When this failed, William H. Haywood, Jr., moved that men in each congregation be asked to report what could be done to raise the necessary funds, but this, too, was defeated. More interested in securing continuity in the episcopate than in facing the mundane matter of salary, the Convention instructed the Standing Committee to call a special session as soon as the clergy was prepared to make a nomination.¹⁹³

Places of Worship

Congregations of the revived Anglican Church worshipped in a motley set of structures and places in North Carolina. A

few inherited buildings from the colonial and post-Revolutionary Church; several congregations built new structures before 1830; a few shared “union” or “free” buildings with other denominations; and some, with no semblance of shelter of their own, met in government buildings, in the churches of other denominations, and in academies. Occasionally services were held in taverns, in private houses, or out of doors “under the trees” or with possibly only “an arbour to shade them from the sun.”

The rectangular brick building boasting neither steeple nor belfry, occupied until 1839 by St. James’s, Wilmington, furnishes a good example of the colonial structures used by the revived Church. It had doors on three sides: one opened toward the Cape Fear River, one opened toward the street, and one opened into the graveyard.¹⁹⁴ Inside, large “double” or “square” pews were arranged along broad aisles paved with square bricks. On the side without doors stood a high reading desk and, above it, a higher pulpit with sounding board. The mahogany communion table, in accordance with a common eighteenth-century usage, was placed inconspicuously at the foot of the desk and pulpit inside the rails.¹⁹⁵

Within the rectangular frame structure at Williamsboro was illustrated a different colonial style. The pulpit with sounding board rose from the reading pew against the north wall, and the communion table, enclosed within a railing, stood between two corner pews at the east end. St. Paul’s, Edenton, with an apsidal chancel, presented still a third colonial arrangement. The communion table, within its railing, occupied the apse, and directly in front of it (but outside the rails), at the head of the aisle, stood the reading desk and, above it, the pulpit. “Whoever is acquainted with the size and structure of the old chancels of most of the Churches,” wrote William Meade, “will readily believe from their very contracted dimensions, that but few were expected to kneel at them.”¹⁹⁶

All of the North Carolina colonial churches that survived until 1817, and most of the churches built before 1830, had galleries—sometimes on three walls, sometimes on only one. When opened for use in August 1822, Emmanuel Church, Warrenton, like St. Paul’s, Edenton, and St. John’s, Fayetteville, had galleries on the north, east, and south.¹⁹⁷ The three galleries in St. Peter’s, Washington, were supported by pillars which also served as supports for the roof.¹⁹⁸ In Williamsboro, the single gallery over the west door was reached by a pair of well-designed stairs. These galleries were by no means “slave galleries,” restricted to use by servants of white members of the congre-

gations. In Wilmington, for example, when St. James's was renovated in 1811 the front gallery pews were reserved for "the singers."¹⁹⁹ The gallery over the door was used for the same purpose in Warrenton; the north gallery there was available to persons who had no pews of their own, "the south one being used by the colored people who attended the services."²⁰⁰ In Wilmington, benches were installed on the sides of the main floor for "persons of color."²⁰¹

Sale of pews to the highest bidders was a common method of financing the erecting of churches, and annual pew rentals produced revenue for maintenance. After consecrating the new church in New Bern, Bishop Ravenscroft remained in the town for a week at the vestry's suggestion "that it would have a favourable effect on the sale of the pews."²⁰² But such financial practices were not universal in the churches of this Diocese. In Warrenton, for example, the church was built by subscription and all the seats were free.

A feature of some of the early church buildings was wide aisles in which benches, stools, or chairs could be placed to seat "strangers" and, in parishes with rented pews, persons without regular seats. The aisle at Williamsboro is a classic example of this arrangement. In Wilmington pews at the rear of the building were reserved for this purpose. The church built in Fayetteville, however, had no center aisle; its three banks of pews were divided by two narrow aisles running just beneath the front of the side galleries.

As already indicated, chancel arrangement and decoration in the first twenty years of the revived Church followed no set pattern, and congregations occupying colonial buildings often modified the internal arrangements of the structures they inherited. In 1819, for example, probably on account of deterioration, the woodwork of St. Paul's, Edenton, was replaced,²⁰³ although no change was made in the location of the central reading desk and pulpit; the communion table remained behind them in the apse. Similar arrangements in New York churches led Bishop Hobart to suggest the chancel plan that came to be known by his name: the pulpit, with a heavy reading desk below it, was placed against the rear wall, and the communion table was placed in front of the reading desk. All was then brought within the rails. The objective was to ensure that the congregation might witness services that took place at the altar. This seems to have been the aim when in 1828 the Edenton vestry "ordered that the Chancel of the Church be so enlarged & the Pulpit & Reading Desk be so moved back, that the railing of the Chancel may be in front of the Reading-Desk."²⁰⁴

Early North Carolina churches had no fixed tradition with respect to type and location of fonts. Contemporary descriptions rarely mention them. In all likelihood, basins were more common than fixed fonts, and baptisms were probably performed in the chancel rather than near the church door. In Warrenton, a marble urn for use at baptisms was placed on the center post of the communion rail, and this pattern may have been followed in other parishes.

The congregation in Fayetteville built the first new church in the new Diocese. Efforts to obtain financial assistance for the project from churchmen in New York and Boston, while not fruitless, brought little more than token response.²⁰⁵ Yet, when the second Diocesan Convention met in 1818 the building was near completion, and the Committee on the State of the Church commended the zeal of the Fayetteville churchmen, stating that, when completed, their church would “be equal, perhaps in point of elegance, to any in the state.”²⁰⁶ Consecrated by Bishop Moore in 1819, the rectangular church had a single “towering steeple rising up above the trees.” Inside, the pulpit “had a handsome canopy over it as a sounding board.”²⁰⁷ Although destroyed by fire in 1831, the outline of the original walls is easily traced in the present structure.

Inspired by Fayetteville’s example, the congregation of Christ Church, New Bern, began laying plans as early as 1819 to erect a new church on the same design to replace its small dilapidated colonial building. By 1821 the parishioners had entered into a contract for its construction, and on 1 February 1824 Bishop Ravenscroft consecrated the “elegant” new building.²⁰⁸ This was the second church he consecrated in North Carolina; two days earlier he consecrated St. Peter’s, Washington, a building whose internal arrangement seems to have resembled the colonial church in Wilmington.²⁰⁹

Most of the new churches were substantially less “elegant” than those in Fayetteville and New Bern. Christ Church, Rowan County, consecrated in 1827, was a “plain, but convenient” frame structure, 60 feet by 40 feet, with a gallery.²¹⁰ Emmanuel Church, Warrenton, consecrated in 1824, was described by Bishop Ravenscroft as “a very neat and commodious, though small, wooden building,”²¹¹ with neither tower nor steeple. St. John’s on Durham Creek in Beaufort County was built of the “best pitch pine lumber” but was very simple.²¹² No doubt these structures satisfied Ravenscroft, whose lack of concern for the fine arts had already been demonstrated by the church he built when in Virginia; locally, it was compared to a tobacco barn.²¹³

The architectural style first adopted in Fayetteville and New Bern was again apparent in the plans drawn by the versatile Francis Lister Hawks and executed by John Berry for St. Matthew's, Hillsborough (consecrated in 1826), and St. Luke's, Salisbury (consecrated in 1828). Although wonderful innovations in the eyes of churchmen of that day and place, these structures demonstrated the "characteristic lack of understanding . . . that the builders of the period had for Gothic architecture, being merely the application of a few features of the style to a traditional building."²¹⁴ Nevertheless, for a century, pointed windows and crosses on the roof were the ensigns of episcopacy in North Carolina:

Gothic in style, and tending to excite
Dissenters to a sense of what is right.²¹⁵

St. Peter's, Washington, had a simple tower at the entrance, and the Fayetteville church had a tower for its bell and Willard clock;²¹⁶ but because steeples and towers were nonessentials, they rarely appeared in the original plans for churches built in the early days of the Diocese. Yet most parishes wanted bells and needed places to hang them. As early as 1828, the rector in Hillsborough was able to report: "The Ladies' Working Society have continued during the last year to ply their needles diligently in the service of the Church. From the profits of their industry a sufficient sum has been raised to defray the expense of erecting a tower to our Church."²¹⁷

Inside the early North Carolina churches decoration and ornamentation were of the simplest sort. There is no record that the royal arms commonly used in colonial churches survived in any of the buildings used by North Carolina congregations after 1817, but over the pulpit in the old frame church in Halifax "a crown and mitre carved of wood" remained in place.²¹⁸ The simpler structures contained no sconces or chandeliers, but congregations in the larger towns soon made provision for illumination. Having spent the surprising sum of \$16,000 for their new church, churchmen in Fayetteville were determined to fit it in proper style. "Two gentlemen of the town gave 'two branches for the pulpit, and two for the organ' and a chandelier of sixty candles, which 'cost in Liverpool one hundred guineas.'"²¹⁹

In the typical North Carolina church, after the English fashion of the eighteenth century, the communion table, if covered at all, had "a carpet of altar cloth, which normally went over all four sides, either fitting closely, or falling in folds at the corners. . . . The most popu-

lar color was crimson.”²²⁰ The New Bern vestry asked parishioners “disposed to line and trim their pews, on the sides and backs thereof . . . to use a red colour for the same, in order to conform to the hangings and trimmings of the pulpit and desk.”²²¹ Unlike New Bern, the Warrenton church—in common with most—used no altar cloth until after the Civil War; when one was finally acquired, the color was crimson.²²²

Candles were used for lighting the churches, but their use on the communion table was unknown. Nor were there crosses on the communion tables. It was traditional that “outside the time of the Communion service,” the altar “should be kept free from unnecessary ornaments.” When the Eucharist was to be celebrated, the clergyman (or the parish clerk), possibly assisted by some women of the congregation, “covered the altar with a fair linen cloth; and also set on the altar itself the paten, chalice, flagon, and alms bason. The bread would be already on the paten and the wine in the chalice; and the communion vessels would be covered with a napkin. . . . At one or both ends of the altar was a cushion with a service book and markers.”²²³ In Salisbury, cushions were provided for the pulpit and reading desk as well as for the communion table.²²⁴ Acquisition of appropriate communion silver was duly noted in parochial reports.

Wine for the Eucharist was made by a member of the parish with grapes from his own vineyard. In Warrenton, “The bread for this service was always made at the home of Mrs. Ann Falkener and sent to the church on the Sunday morning. The officiating minister cut it in small blocks ready for use in the communion service.”²²⁵

Flowers were not used in North Carolina churches until after the Civil War, but from the earliest days of the revival it was customary to decorate with evergreens at Christmas. In writing to her husband just after Christmas in 1829, Mrs. Ann Blount Pettigrew commented on having seen “the ornaments of the Church” in New Bern: “the dressing was more splendid than you can imagine—wreathes of evergreens festooned in the most beautiful manner—gilt letters on crimson appropriate to the occasion—also a dove made of wax was suspended over the Pulpit.”²²⁶

The erection of new churches did not come easily. In many places congregations struggled long to build modest structures. The example of Christ Church, Raleigh, already mentioned, is not atypical. When Bishop Ravenscroft became rector of that parish in 1823, the vestry rented an abandoned theater as a place to hold services. This

structure, which had been built as a museum in which to exhibit Jacob Marling's curiosities, was far from satisfactory, but it was not until 1827 that the bishop could report that "the building intended for a Church is commenced in a central and convenient situation."²²⁷ When the Convention met in 1829 it was still unfinished. It must have been a happy band of churchmen who finally saw the little wooden building—Bishop Moore's hoped for "spire in the metropolis"—consecrated on Sunday, 20 December 1829. The *Raleigh Register* for 24 December reported the event:

On Sunday last the new edifice recently erected for the use of the Episcopal congregation in this city was consecrated to the service of Almighty God by the Right Reverend J. S. Ravenscroft, Bishop of the Diocese. The Reverend Mr. Goodman of New Bern, and the Reverend Mr. Green, of Hillsborough, were also present on the occasion. At 11 o'clock the Bishop and Clergy appeared, attended by the Vestry, who repeated the 24th Psalm in alternate verses as they proceeded up the aisle to the chancel, where the Bishop and Clergy entered. A very excellent and appropriate sermon was delivered by the Bishop to a crowded auditory.²²⁸

Among those present was the witty Mrs. Winifred Gales and a Mr. Gray then visiting in the Gales household. Writing to Jared Sparks a few days later, Mrs. Gales said:

[Mr. Gray] will tell you how *orthodox* we are become and you will think that we *proselytized* him when I tell you that he went with us *three* times on Sunday week to the Episcopal Church.

Christ Church, a pretty little Building, on the N. E. of the State House was *consecrated* by that Son of Thunder, Dr. John Ravenscroft, Bishop of this Diocese. After candlelight service—Oh! what a falling off!—for the rest of the Evening [Mr. Gray] accompanied Julia Seaton's voice and Piana, in singing *Unitarian* hymns.²²⁹

Services and Music

The first American version of the Book of Common Prayer adopted by the General Convention of 1789 was the edition in

use when the Church was organized in North Carolina. Throughout the country at that date, even in parishes where there was a resident priest, the Holy Communion was rarely celebrated more than once a quarter, although whenever possible on Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday. The rubrics indicated that the usual Sunday morning service was to be full Morning Prayer, followed by the Litany and Ante-Communion without interruption. Those who led the revival in Virginia, however, tended to omit Ante-Communion,²³⁰ and it is possible that the Virginia practice found adherents in North Carolina during the period of Bishop Moore's benign episcopate.

The selection of Psalms and lessons stipulated in the Book of Common Prayer was mandatory, a fact that contributed to the length of the usual service. In 1826 Bishop Hobart secured the House of Bishops' approval of a proposal to allow the officiating clergyman some discretion in selecting Psalms and lessons, at the same time suggesting, however, that the rubrics make crystal clear that Ante-Communion was not to be omitted.²³¹ When submitted to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, all efforts to have the two parts of the proposal considered separately failed. With Virginia's delegation voting in the affirmative and North Carolina's delegates divided—one in the affirmative and three in the negative—both parts were adopted for referral to the Diocesan Conventions prior to action at the next General Convention.²³² Under Bishop Ravenscroft's leadership, the North Carolina Convention opposed both changes, making plain, however, that in this Diocese the use of Ante-Communion had always been considered obligatory.²³³

The English canons of 1604 had ordered that the Ten Commandments should be "set up on the east end of every church and chapel where the people may best see and read the same," and, through long custom, the Lord's Prayer and Apostles Creed came to be regarded as "very fit companions" for the Decalogue. During the colonial period, when Books of Common Prayer were scarce, bold copies of these texts hanging on the walls of a parish church assured at least minimal congregational participation in the services. Today all three may be seen in St. John's, Williamsboro, where they were placed when the hooks on which they had formerly hung were discovered during that building's restoration in the 1950s. Even after Books of Common Prayer became more plentiful, however, the people tended to rely on a loud-voiced parish clerk to sing or drawl out the responses for them.²³⁴

In reporting services at the Bertie County courthouse in Windsor, Bishop Ravenscroft observed a number of Books of Common Prayer and “the readiness with which the service was joined in.”²³⁵ A year later he stated, “Though as yet we have no regular congregation in this town; yet we have many friends: nowhere is the Liturgy more appropriately followed in the responses, or with more apparent interest in its sublime aspirations, and the truths of the Gospel listened to, with more earnest attention.”²³⁶ The bishop’s attitude on such matters was further evidenced in the account of his visit to Tennessee in 1829: “All our services, particularly those more directly Episcopal, are noticed with a very intense interest; but here, as alas is the case throughout, Preaching is the great attraction—to hear Preaching is considered the sum and substance of Religion.”²³⁷

This reverence for preaching was natural in a region where religion was rooted in the experiences of the “Great Awakening.” And while they customarily read their sermons, Episcopal clergymen of the time were not immune from the general climate and placed strong emphasis on this aspect of their ministry. Customarily, their sermons were long doctrinal discourses “laced with many scriptural references and often wanting in simplicity and directness.”²³⁸ Yet such sermons were not unwelcome. Even the funeral sermon, virtually unknown in Episcopal churches today, was commonplace. Bishop Ravenscroft, himself, followed the custom, but requested that no sermon be preached at his own funeral.²³⁹ A letter from a visitor to Warrenton during Bishop Moore’s oversight sheds an interesting light on the preaching of William Mercer Green, then newly ordained:

I had the pleasure since I came here to hear Mr. Green preach twice (two Sermons in a day). I was much pleased & edified. His sermon in the morning was explanatory of Baptism—a subject but little understood here. It was long & highly interesting—and even those who differed with him in opinion expressed themselves pleased at his sentiments, & explanation of that Sacrament. Mr. Green’s afternoon sermon was on the influence of the evil spirit & a very excellent discourse it was—but that which gratified me most of all was to see this little congregation so pious, so attentive & well versed in the moving Service, in which they seemed to join with one accord & with heart felt devotion.²⁴⁰

Such admirable conduct at public worship was not universal at the scattered preaching stations. At some places the missionaries found

little familiarity with the Book of Common Prayer and only the barest accommodations for holding services. William Hooper seems to have concentrated his efforts on preaching, but Thomas Wright was determined to adhere to Book of Common Prayer standards. When in Oxford, for example, Wright was distressed to find that the congregation made no responses in the liturgy. In writing to his wife, he explained this by saying, "Mr. Hooper did not require it of them & they feel diffident."²⁴¹ Nevertheless, in Lumberton, Wright was happy to have the tunes raised by a blacksmith.²⁴² Under Ravenscroft, a bishop imbued with "the Hobartian and Laudian principle of absolute ritual conformity," it is not surprising that North Carolina churchmen rapidly changed their ways.²⁴³

At the General Convention of 1820 there was much discussion of the impropriety of administering Holy Baptism in private houses except in accordance with the rubric. A portion of the report of the Committee on the State of the Church dealing with North Carolina contained this pertinent statement: "We are happy in reporting, that as far as we know and believe, the Clergy in this section of the country strictly observe the Canons and Rubrics of the Church. The case of private baptism forms, it is believed, the only exception; and in that article, even a reformation has commenced, which, we trust, will ere long become complete and universal."²⁴⁴ Three years later, the same committee reported "that, generally speaking, the canons and regulations of the Church, are as regularly attended to in [North Carolina], as in any other part of our Church."²⁴⁵ And on this occasion baptismal customs were not made an exception. It should be noted that, although not common, immersion was practiced when that mode of baptism was preferred, and this necessarily required administration outside the church building. On one such occasion, Bishop Ravenscroft baptized an adult in Edenton Bay and later wrote, "The ceremony was witnessed by a goodly number of spectators; and it is greatly to be wished, that such calls [for adult baptism] were more frequent upon our clergy, which ever mode shall be preferred for its administration."²⁴⁶

Music of the quality and variety found in the twentieth-century Church was unknown in the first decades of the life of the Diocese of North Carolina. "Fear of undue emotionalism led Bishop White and his associates," in setting out the first directions for music in the American Church, "to try to avoid the excesses they had seen among the free churches, which used the more subjective hymns and rhyth-

mic tunes.”²⁴⁷ The Tate and Brady edition of the metrical psalter (plus twenty-seven hymns) was adopted by the General Convention of 1789, but no tunes were provided. Bishop Meade wrote that in Virginia the One-hundredth Psalm, sung to the tune “Old Hundred,” was so generally used to begin the morning service that it was “regarded as law.”²⁴⁸

The General Convention of 1808, after hearing Richard Channing Moore read them, adopted 30 additional hymns recommended by a committee named for that purpose. Returning from the General Convention of 1823, at which Bishop Ravenscroft had been consecrated, William Mercer Green wrote Duncan Cameron that the only important action of the Convention was “the appointment of a Committee to consider if there are any, and if any, what alterations, additions, &c. were necessary in our present Collection of Psalms & Hymns.”²⁴⁹ To this committee was appointed Richard Sharpe Mason of North Carolina.²⁵⁰ After its report was adopted in 1826, the number of hymns was raised to 212, although they did not supplant the metrical psalter.

Virginia churchmen, under Bishops Moore and Meade, were leaders in the movement to enlarge the Church’s collection of hymns, and, as is suggested by Green’s letter and Mason’s committee assignment, North Carolinians shared their concern. Further evidence of interest in Church music appears as early as 1820 in the parochial report of St. John’s, Fayetteville. Believing music to be important, and able to play the organ, the rector, Gregory T. Bedell, had formed “an association of ladies and gentlemen, called the Harmonic Society,” which he felt did “incalculable good in improving the condition of that most sublime part of sacred worship, which comes more particularly under their care.”²⁵¹

The early acquisition of organs bears further witness to North Carolina’s interest in music for Church services. New Bern as well as Fayetteville obtained an instrument for its new church.²⁵² In 1828 the Washington congregation reported it had paid \$800 for a “handsome and well-toned organ, which is now, through the zeal of several female amateurs, regularly used in the services of the sanctuary.”²⁵³ Following the usual custom, the organ and choir of St. Peter’s were placed in the gallery over the front door.²⁵⁴

Choirs and “singers” of this period wore no vestments,²⁵⁵ and the vestments of the clergy were rather different from what are now familiar. “Stoles and cassocks were things unknown. The officiating

minister wore a large flowing surplice, which came down to the feet, and a black scarf.”²⁵⁶ He also wore black silk gloves with the forefinger split to facilitate turning the pages of his sermon manuscript.²⁵⁷ “During the hymn before the sermon, he went into the vestry [if there was one] and emerged in a black preaching gown and white bands.”²⁵⁸

In Virginia, possibly because vestry rooms were seldom attached to the old church buildings, or possibly because of traditional plainness, it was not uncommon for clergymen to conduct services without wearing ecclesiastical vestments. Even when making visitations, Bishop Moore “always took his seat in the chancel in his ordinary dress, except when about to perform some official act.”²⁵⁹ With the advent of Bishop Ravenscroft, however, North Carolina clergymen were held strictly accountable for any failure to wear the usual vestments when conducting services, and any tendency to laxness was immediately corrected.²⁶⁰

On those Sundays on which a congregation was fortunate enough to have a clergyman present, the church was an active place. Sunday school might be opened at nine, followed by morning service at half past ten or eleven, although in North Carolina Sunday school was more often held in the afternoon. Evening Prayer was read in the afternoon unless the church was fitted with lights. There were sermons at both services, and if the minister was especially evangelical he “would add an exhortation after the sermon, which occasionally consumed an hour.”²⁶¹

The officiating clergyman took Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany from the reading desk. When the Holy Communion was celebrated, he adhered to the rubric and stood at the north or Gospel end of the Holy Table and faced the people. When the offerings were taken, they were neither “presented” nor “received” but merely placed on the floor at the front of the main aisle.²⁶²

Regular weekday services were uncommon in congregations without a minister, but even where such services were possible there was some reluctance to hold them. For many they suggested “enthusiasm” and were shunned as “methodistical.” Bishop Moore, however, was an advocate of weekday prayer meetings and lectures so long as the clergyman “kept the reins” in his own hands.²⁶³ When Bishop Ravenscroft became rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, he reported to the Convention of 1824 that “a weekly evening lecture, at the private houses of the members, is respectably attended; and though differing

essentially from what are commonly called prayer meetings . . . is nevertheless unfolding its superior utility in the great purpose of conveying information on the scriptures generally.”²⁶⁴ And no less a high churchman than Adam Empie held similar services and gave lectures in private houses in Wilmington. During a visit to St. James’s in May 1827, Ravenscroft noted, “After candle-light I attended the weekly prayer meeting of the congregation held this night at the house of Mr. Wright, where I read prayers, and preached a sermon to a large collection of people in the rooms, and in the piazzas of the house.”²⁶⁵ William D. Cairns, Empie’s successor in Wilmington, continued the custom, holding a service in the church each Thursday evening and a lecture each Saturday evening in some private residence. Charles P. Elliott, a graduate of the General Theological Seminary who was reported to have preached “like one acting on the stage,”²⁶⁶ continued to hold a regular weekday service in Christ Church, Raleigh, when he took Ravenscroft’s place as rector of that parish.

Use of Lay Readers

Before the Revolution a number of North Carolina parishes used lay readers in the absence of clergymen. Often the position was occupied by the local schoolmaster. Except in Edenton, where John Avery served in this capacity before his ordination, there is no recorded use of lay readers in the revived Diocese until 1819 when the Standing Committee licensed George S. Phillips for Tarboro and William Hooper for St. Mary’s, Orange County.²⁶⁷ Bishop Ravenscroft, however, was convinced of the need for making use of this “Resource long known to the Church, and oftentimes much favoured.” During his visit to Christ Church, Rowan County, in September 1823, he persuaded William Barber to serve as lay reader in that parish, and in a letter to Robert Johnston Miller explained that “In the present distress, no other mode presents itself. . . . This removes much of the anxiety which preys on the Mind of the Pastor—while the Flock is out of his view—it keeps them to the Liturgy, and prevents their running into strange Pastures, for still stranger fruit.”²⁶⁸

Having been a lay reader himself, the bishop was aware that congregations preferred a man who could preach his own sermons and might not always welcome this substitute: “Some pains and address,

I doubt not, will be required to prevail with the people, to accept of this kind of Edification—very erroneous ideas being instilled into their Minds, on the subject of Preaching. Even with many Episcopalians, the delusion has succeeded so far, that they are rather inclined to wander into strange Pastures, tho' bare and lean—than to feed on the rich Repasts provided for them in our Standard Divines—To Counteract this, I know, will be a work of Time—But it is our Duty to instruct them, and try to keep them within our own Enclosures.”²⁶⁹ Ravenscroft made Miller a suggestion that he felt might be useful in training lay readers in the western congregations: “I will mention for Information that when I acted as Lay Reader I took the trouble to copy Sermons I read—conceding so far to the Prejudices of the people . . . and with a very happy Effect; and could you prevail with yours, to do the same—it would no doubt render them doubly useful, and lessen the difficulty you will have in getting the People to attend.”²⁷⁰

On Miller's recommendation, in January 1824 Bishop Ravenscroft named five readers for the western congregations.²⁷¹ To assist in his own parish in Raleigh, the bishop appointed George W. Freeman, and in Waynesboro he licensed James Davis. After visiting Bath and Zion Church in Beaufort County, Ravenscroft noted the good work being done by James Marsh and Jarvis B. Buxton who had been serving as lay readers since 1823. The names of Buxton and Freeman bring to mind the custom of selecting as lay readers men who were reading for Holy Orders or who were considering it. Not surprisingly, however, even the most worthy readers sometimes failed to satisfy their congregations. A letter from Judge Thomas Ruffin to one of his daughters makes the point with clarity:

Tell Mrs. Anderson, I wish she would without delay remit to Walker her positive injunctions to resume the office of Lay Reader in our Church; and in case she refuses, then I assume the judicial authority of imposing on her my command that she forthwith *teach* her Son's Successor, *how to read*. Last Sunday morning was my first attendance upon this gentleman: He had selected a sermon of which I could just comprehend enough to convince me it was well conceived and well written, so as to make my regret complete, that I could not understand the whole of so excellent a discourse: But I could only catch indistinctly a

part of, maybe every other sentence. We all consider ourselves happy in having prayer books before us—so that we *can't* lose the morning service!²⁷²

Religious Education and Parish Societies

As soon as the Diocese of North Carolina was organized, resident clergymen began to exert efforts to provide for systematic education in religious subjects. The Convention of 1820 heard reports attesting to the formation of Sunday schools at Wilmington, Fayetteville, Warrenton, and Tarboro—with Bible classes at the first two places as well.

While still under the missionary ministrations of the Reverend Mr. Phillips, “A few ladies of the [Warrenton] congregation . . . formed a school, in which upwards of twenty children [were] instructed in the rudiments of learning, and the principles of our religion, free from expense.”²⁷³ Early in 1822, a visitor from Petersburg attended services at Emmanuel Church and reported her pleasure in seeing that “the little charity children were all present [,] each neatly cloathed, & with prayer book [,] which they used with propriety—behaving orderly & attentively.”²⁷⁴

In secular education, Episcopalians were to be found among the teachers in local academies, but the Church sponsored no institutions of its own. Late in 1823 George W. Freeman, an experienced teacher and candidate for Holy Orders, announced in the *Raleigh Register* that he was willing to teach eight to ten boys. Appended to the advertisement was Bishop Ravenscroft’s personal endorsement and recommendation that Episcopal families take advantage of this opportunity.²⁷⁵ This marked the bishop’s first formal action in a field in which he had profound interest.

In his amazingly comprehensive sermon before the Williamsboro Convention of 1824, Bishop Ravenscroft urged North Carolina churchmen to train their children “in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,” so as to “enrich the Church and the world with sound and instructed believers, serious and experienced Christians, and firm professors of the gospel of hope.”²⁷⁶ Shortly after preaching this sermon he found himself on the firing line. No less a figure than Professor Elisha Mitchell (with whom he was later to cross swords in the Bible Society controversy) challenged Ravenscroft for saying that the

predominantly Presbyterian faculty at Chapel Hill was “exerting a ‘Jesuitical’ influence over the minds” of the students and “labouring to unsettle their religious principles, and convert the College into an instrument for building up presbyterianism.” The bishop’s reply was friendly in tone, but his firmness was unmistakable.²⁷⁷

At the next session of the Diocesan Convention it was apparent that educational matters were on the bishop’s mind. In an Episcopal Charge he addressed himself especially to the laity’s duty to see that the rising generation was properly educated in religious matters. He pointed out two conditions that he considered injurious and inconsistent with “what you are so solemnly pledged to in the baptismal covenant”:

First—The neglect of early catechetical instruction; that is, preparing your children for public examination on the Catechism, in the Church, by the clergyman. . . .

Secondly—An alarming carelessness as to the religious tenets of those to whom that part of the education of our children is committed, which has to be completed at a distance from the parents and guardians of youth. . . .

When . . . we see Christians, so called, sending their children to Jews, to educate; when we see Protestants trusting their offspring to Roman Catholics to train up; when we see believers in the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ surrendering their sons and their daughters to professed Unitarian teachers; and Episcopalians committing the hope of the Church to Dissenters; what can be the conclusion, but that such an indifference on the subject of religion generally, and such carelessness on its particular distinctions, prevails, as is sufficient to alarm every serious mind?²⁷⁸

Although the Diocese made little headway in sponsoring secular education, much progress was made in private devotional reading and in strictly religious education. In nearly every parish in which there was a clergyman, there was a Sunday school society, a Sunday school, and a class of catechumens. In 1828 the Committee on the State of the Church reported that between 450 and 500 children were enrolled in Sunday schools, which had “for the most part united themselves with the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union” and had “adopted the books and the system of instruction recommended by its committee.”²⁷⁹ In connection with the Sunday schools, most par-

ishes formed “classes for catechetical learning, for instruction in the Scriptures, in the evidences of Christianity, and in the doctrines and discipline of the Church.”²⁸⁰ Religious instruction, with examinations, was conducted for the young along lines familiar in the secular schools of the day. Writing to her husband early in 1830, Mrs. Ebenezer Pettigrew said: “I have been at a Sunday School examination of the Episcopal Church. A very interesting scene it was. There are 180 scholars—the Church was crowded with spectators. The master spirit is Mr. Goodman the Episcopal Minister—the young ladies and gentlemen are the teachers.”²⁸¹

An ambitious effort to organize a diocesan Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to publish and distribute religious books and tracts languished for lack of funds.²⁸² At least two congregations, however, attempted to meet this need by organizing parish libraries.²⁸³

The Reverend Adam Empie of St. James’s, Wilmington, was a strong advocate of parish societies for educational and charitable purposes. As early as 1820, in addition to a Sunday school and Bible Society, he reported the formation of a Society for the Education of Poor Children, a Society for the Promotion of Industry, and a Female Missionary and Common Prayer Book Society. In 1821, noting the continuation of these groups, Empie described the formation of a Female Working Association in Wilmington whose members “spend one half day in each week in manufacturing various articles, the net proceeds of which are devoted to missionary and other charitable uses; and who, for fear of otherwise misemploying the time when they meet together, are occupied in reading and in listening to such works as are best calculated to promote charity and piety.”²⁸⁴ The Wilmington example was emulated throughout the Diocese. Similar societies, although not as many, were organized in almost every congregation. The “close Christian intercourse” and “devotion to the welfare of the Church” that they fostered produced “a most salutary effect upon each Congregation.”²⁸⁵

The bishop collected an interesting theological library for his own use,²⁸⁶ and some of the clergymen followed the same course. At least one devoted layman was known to have “kept his Bible, Prayer Book and Bp. Andrews Devotions or Bp. Wilson’s *Sacra Privata* on his table in his bed-room.”²⁸⁷ Although this example may not have been typical, there is no doubt that North Carolina Episcopalians of both

sexes were reading religious books and studying the doctrines and discipline of their Church.

Social Relations and Behavior

In the opening years of the Diocese of North Carolina, Episcopal congregations were often composed of men and women “of information and influence” whose upbringing and habits of living led them to accept black slavery and to enjoy the pleasures of society. When Bishop Moore first came to Virginia, he was forced to recognize this cultural pattern. “In New York,” he wrote, “the relinquishment of balls, the theatre and card table, formed the ‘*sine qua non*’ of admission to the communion in my Church: but whether the temper of my present flock would submit to the same rule of conduct, God only knows. I am apprehensive it would produce a commotion overwhelming in its effects, and desolating to our interests.”²⁸⁸ Under Bishop Ravenscroft it was a matter of policy “to strike at the more intellectual and influential class of society, and then, with the aid of their example, build up congregations and parishes as opportunity might offer. ‘*Example descends*,’ he was frequently heard to say.”²⁸⁹ Such churchmen did not consider the temperate enjoyment of social pleasures as immoral. Dancing and card playing were common, and, among the male members, the use of liquor was more usual than rare. Excessive drinking and gambling, however, were not admired.

Except for occasional comments of a general nature in the annual parochial reports from clergymen, little on the subject of personal conduct and morality appears in the official records of the Diocese. As attested by a letter from New Bern in 1825, however, clergymen did not ignore behavior they felt to be improper: “Newbern continues very gay, so much frolicking that Mr. Mason gave a severe lecture from the Pulpit, which had not much effect.”²⁹⁰ The same writer later characterized Edenton as a “sink of vice” and questioned whether the Reverend Mr. Avery, rector of St. Paul’s, was capable of handling his congregation, believing he had “too much milk & water composition to reform the profligate—they ought to have the eloquence of a Demosthenes & the sword of the Turk to reform them.”²⁹¹

On Christmas Day 1823 the new rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, Charles P. Elliott, had expected to celebrate the Holy Communion,

but even though the elements were ready in the church he decided against it: "The reason was, that from the noise & tumult arising from the dissipations of the day in hours contiguous to the Church, it was feared the Congregation could not cherish such a frame of mind as is proper for the occasion."²⁹²

Bishop Ravenscroft, whose early personal acquaintance with horse racing and cock fighting was well known, kept a clear eye on the social habits of his people. His concern was reflected in his sermons, but on only one occasion did he speak out explicitly on the subject at a Diocesan Convention. In 1828 his annual address included the admonition that "a more decided separation from the fashionable vanities and unprofitable extravagancies of the non-professing part of the community, should mark [the] deportment [of communicants], and that of their families. This, I am grieved to say, . . . is matter of just reproach to us, especially in our commercial towns."²⁹³ In his charge to the same Convention, the bishop said, "Excess of apparel, fashionable decoration, and profuse living, add nothing to our real comfort or respectability . . . while they take much from our means for doing good, are seriously hostile to the inculcation of Religious principle in the rising generation, and grievously impair the confidence entertained of the truth and sincerity of our Christian profession."²⁹⁴

Following the pattern established in the colonial period, the revived Episcopal Church numbered blacks among its members. They were confirmed as well as baptized, and provision was made for their participation in the regular services of the parish churches. As early as 1818, for example, St. James's, Wilmington, reported eight black communicants. Fifteen "Africans" were among the members of Bishop Moore's first confirmation class in that parish in 1819. Throughout the first fifteen or twenty years of the life of the Diocese, there was scarcely a year in which St. James's reported fewer than one hundred blacks in its family. Scarcely a clergyman in the Diocese failed to record black baptisms, infant and adult, each year. Significantly, these ministrations were not confined to the eastern counties but extended as far west as Rowan and Anson.

The Church refrained from official statements on the issue of slavery. Most churchmen believed it was outside the sphere of the Church's activity to alter this civil institution, although it "could ameliorate the conditions surrounding" the slave codes "and make the enforcement of them less objectionable."²⁹⁵ A few Episcopalians emancipated some or all of their slaves, and some supported the work

of the American Colonization Society. And although it is difficult to determine the views of individual laymen and clergymen toward slavery, there are reliable indications that even those who opposed the system did not press their opposition "in such a way as to . . . endanger the [property] rights or injure the feelings of the slave[holders]." They recognized slavery as "an evil the remedy of which is not at hand."²⁹⁶

A story persisted that Ravenscroft's religious conversion grew out of remorse from maltreatment of his slaves. A passage from the letter he wrote on accepting his Episcopal election serves to illustrate his attitude toward slavery after his ordination, whatever it may have been earlier in his career: "In common with many others, I am encumbered with landed property and some slaves, which must be disposed of; as I wish, as far as possible, to be free from such cares and encumbrances."²⁹⁷ He retained one slave, a man called Johnson, who served him as long as the bishop lived. Under the terms of his will, Ravenscroft left Johnson and his horse Pleasant to his adopted sons, saying, "I believe they will be kind to Johnson for my sake, keeping him from idleness and vice, but suiting his labor to his infirm condition; and that they will not suffer Pleasant to be exposed to any hardship or want in his old age, but will allow Johnson to attend to him as he has been accustomed to do."²⁹⁸

Beginning in 1824, Richard Sharpe Mason, rector of Christ Church, New Bern, devoted each Sunday evening to giving "lectures on the scriptures and catechetical instruction for the benefit of the coloured people."²⁹⁹ Two years later some consideration was given to ordaining a black, with the thought that he might form a black congregation in the old church building in New Bern, but neither Mason nor Bishop Ravenscroft pursued the proposal.³⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the religious education of slaves, especially those belonging to members of the Church, was on the minds and consciences of Episcopalians.

William Mercer Green held instruction for blacks when he was in charge of St. John's, Williamsboro, and later worked with the slaves belonging to Duncan Cameron in Orange County. Southern sensitivity to the slavery question was plainly illustrated when Cameron cancelled his subscription to *The Recorder*, a Church paper edited in Philadelphia by his friend Gregory T. Bedell, when it printed an article on the subject that Cameron considered offensive.³⁰¹ Yet, with the exception of Charles Pettigrew, Cameron was the first North Carolinian to build a chapel on his plantation in which his household, both

black and white, might have the regular services of the Church. On 7 October 1827, Bishop Ravenscroft consecrated this building under the name of Salem Chapel and noted that at Cameron's plantation "services are supplied once a month, by the Rev. Mr. Green, to a small congregation, consisting chiefly of Mr. Cameron's own family; to the coloured portion of which, which is very numerous, he is laudibly desirous to impart the knowledge and influence of divine truth, and for that purpose, he gives them the privilege of receiving instruction from Mr. Green, adapted to their capacity, on the Saturday previous to the regular day of his attendance for public worship."³⁰² This was paternalism, but within the North Carolina social structure it was also Christian.

The Diocese in 1830

In the first seven years of diocesan history, wherever clusters of scattered churchmen gathered in response to sporadic missionary efforts, there was hope that a parish might be formed. With more enthusiasm than wisdom, a number of these preaching stations were admitted to membership in the Convention. Not until 1821 were standards set; in that year a canon was adopted permitting the admission of any congregation of ten or more adults consenting to the Constitution and Canons of the Church who adopted a name, elected a vestry of four or more persons, and named a delegation to the Diocesan Convention. There was no requirement that the members be either baptized or confirmed.³⁰³

Although the canonical requirements for parish recognition remained unchanged throughout Ravenscroft's episcopate, his attitude toward scattered congregations without regular clerical ministrations molded diocesan action: "The effect produced by occasional services soon wears out, and where the interval between is distant, no safe calculation can be made of any permanent advantage."³⁰⁴ As he told Robert Johnston Miller, "[O]ne fixed Congregation, adds more to our strength, than 20 floating neighbourhoods."³⁰⁵ In his eyes, the missionary efforts of the North Carolina Church had to be directed toward North Carolina. When approached about a general appeal for funds for foreign missionary work, Bishop Ravenscroft responded that the only out-of-state objects for which he was willing to have

offerings taken in his Diocese were the General Seminary and the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union.³⁰⁶ He made his position clear in 1828: "Along the northern line of the Diocess, from Edenton westward, we have many friends, the descendants of Episcopal families, who would hail with gladness the revival of the Church, where, in former days, there were flourishing congregations, now scattered and peeled away; and where there are yet many buildings standing, some of them in decent repair, and the exclusive property of the episcopal Church. . . . This is the true field for our missionary labour to be expended on."³⁰⁷

In mid-June 1829 the bishop left Williamsboro to make an episcopal visitation in Tennessee and Kentucky and to attend the General Convention scheduled to meet in Philadelphia in August. Although only fifty-seven, he wrote his mother that "the effects of climate, with the fatigue, exposure, and mental labor inseparable from" his office had made him "an infirm old man."³⁰⁸ On 1 July he presided at a Convention in Nashville at which the Diocese of Tennessee was organized, then went to Lexington, Kentucky, where he confirmed almost one hundred persons. He took his seat in the House of Bishops on 12 August, the opening day of the General Convention.³⁰⁹

During the sessions in Philadelphia he took the leading but unsuccessful role in opposing the consecration of his old colleague William Meade as Assistant Bishop of Virginia, basing his opposition on two grounds: first, his belief that Meade's views of the "distinctive doctrines of the Church" (especially apostolic succession) were not sound, and, second, his belief that the Virginia Convention had no right to stipulate (as it had) that Meade should not automatically succeed Bishop Moore.³¹⁰

When the General Convention adjourned, Ravenscroft remained in Philadelphia for two surgical operations which seemed to restore some measure of his former vitality. On returning to North Carolina he arranged to move from Williamsboro to Fayetteville, but first accepted an invitation from Gavin Hogg to stay in Raleigh through the coming session of the General Assembly. By early December, however, he was again in poor health. Nevertheless, he consecrated Christ Church on 20 December and preached on that occasion. His illness became increasingly serious, and when Bishop Brownell of Connecticut visited Ravenscroft in late February 1830 it was obvious that he could not long survive. He died in Raleigh on 5 March and on the

following day was buried within the chancel of Christ Church. Memorial services were held throughout the Diocese. Young Anne Ruffin wrote her father that "a great many of the students from Chapel Hill" went to the service in Hillsborough: "Mr. Green preached the Bishop's funeral sermon last Friday to a crowded church who were all very much affected. He preached an excellent sermon. The text was taken from Isaiah. 'When thy judgments are in the earth, Oh! Lord, the inhabitants of the world will learn wisdom.' He was very much affected, so much so that he had to take his seat during the sermon."³¹¹

Examination of a map of North Carolina discloses that the congregations organized before Ravenscroft's death grouped themselves into three distinct geographic divisions. One group lay east of a line formed by the counties of Northampton, Halifax, Nash, Johnston, Sampson, Bladen, and Columbus. A second group lay west of that line and east of a line formed by the counties of Rockingham, Guilford, Randolph, Montgomery, and Richmond. The third group lay west of the same line.

Characterizing the state of the Church in these three divisions, Bishop Ravenscroft told the Convention that "it is evident that the present strength of the Church is in the eastern section."³¹² This he was able to say despite what, in his episcopate, proved to be several false starts. Prospects in Tarboro, for example, were in his opinion "dark and distant."³¹³ Kinston, Greenville, Halifax, and Waynesboro were all very weak. "In the middle section," he found "the state of things . . . materially different. The members of the Church [were] not generally as fixed and decided in their principles as Churchmen."³¹⁴ Here it was that Hooper had served, and here the Presbyterian Church, which Ravenscroft called "the dissenting denomination . . . most respectable in point of learning and ability," had its main strength. The Milton congregation, for example, was in a precarious state, and in Oxford the only male member had "acted in such a manner as to come under censure."³¹⁵ By 1828 the Warrenton congregation, having lost all its men, was "left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers."³¹⁶ Nevertheless, in this region the bishop felt "that the principles of the Church and of pure religion" were gaining ground. "In the western section of the Diocess," the bishop thought, "the prospect is very discouraging, though not without hope. With the exception of the congregation in Wadesborough . . . and the congregation of Christ's Church, Rowan . . . and a

few organized in Salisbury, there is nothing at present to be depended on.”³¹⁷

The greatest disappointments were the congregations Robert Johnston Miller had worked with in Lincoln County. Having been served by him without salary, they seemed unwilling to contribute to the support of a clergyman when Miller’s health and age made it impossible for him to go among them. Within the limits of time and his own physical condition, Ravenscroft attempted to encourage leading laymen in Lincoln to show themselves in earnest “and engaged seriously for the cause.”³¹⁸ Twice he visited them, and in the summer of 1828, while at the Catawba Springs, he “endeavoured to collect the remains of the three [Lincoln] congregations once on our list of churches,”³¹⁹ hoping to assign Philip Wiley as missionary in the region.³²⁰ “But so completely” were “they dissolved” that he “could not feel justified in applying the nearly exhausted funds of the [Missionary] Society, on so hopeless an object.”³²¹

Thus, by 1830 a few of the mission stations had collapsed, but there were twenty-one active congregations in the Diocese. In the east, Edenton, Elizabeth City, Wilmington, New Bern, and the congregations in Beaufort County formed a base for advancement. In the central part of the Diocese, Raleigh, Hillsborough, Fayetteville, Williamsboro, and Warrenton appeared promising. In the west, Wadesboro and the two Rowan congregations seemed to be firmly anchored. Although far from complete, statistics in the *Convention Journals* indicate that Bishop Ravenscroft confirmed almost 700 persons in North Carolina during the seven years of his episcopate. In the same period, some 1,500 baptisms were recorded, and the communicant strength of the Diocese increased from roughly 400 in 1823 to approximately 800 in 1830. “Our little Zion bloomed like the rose.”³²²

With humility, but with magnificent intolerance for religious bodies he deemed less than apostolic, Bishop Ravenscroft welded his North Carolina flock into an intimate Christian minority fervently devoted to the Episcopal Church. In the words of the Committee on the State of the Church, “Established in faith;—strengthened in the knowledge of Heavenly things,—and animated by increasing holiness of life, the communion of the faithful, has not only grown in numbers, but has been cemented by mutual love and encouraged to mutual exertions for promoting the glory of God, and the cultivation of vital piety and purity of conversation.”³²³ What was said of Ravens-

croft applies with equal accuracy to the diocese itself at the close of his episcopate: “[Their] work was not to lengthen the cords; it was to straighten the stakes; not to make new conquests, but to secure our possessions—to awaken the Church to a just appreciation of the truth committed to its trust.”³²⁴

The Episcopate of Levi Silliman Ives

BLACKWELL P. ROBINSON

The untimely death of Bishop Ravenscroft on 5 March 1830 caused genuine sorrow throughout the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and was a deep loss to the Diocese of North Carolina. The young and struggling Diocese—thus bereft of its diocesan—was later described by the Bishop of East Carolina as being “more as one great family, living in loving social relations. The Diocesan Conventions were social gatherings of the warmest brotherhood, like the annual meetings of the separated parts of a family tied by blood” and where the delegates parted with sorrow and often with tears.¹

The bishop’s visit to each parish was regarded as a “great annual event, a feastday for the congregation. From the broad Atlantic on the East to the majestic mountains of the West the Bishop’s journeys were a perpetually unrolling scene of social sojournings of a father among his children. He was *welcomed* with affection and desire, *entertained* with the most abundant and loving hospitality, and *sped on his way* with sad regrets.” Such was the social and religious climate of the Diocese as the communicants sought a new bishop.² This closeness and congeniality can easily be understood given the small number of parishes and communicants at the time (see Table V–1).³

At the Diocesan Convention, held in St. James’s Church, Wilmington, in May 1830, it was resolved to hold a Special Convention for the election of a new bishop as soon as the clergy was prepared to nominate. The election was later scheduled to be held on 19 May 1831 in Christ Church, Raleigh. At the 1830 Convention, the Reverend George W. Freeman of Christ Church reported that Dr. William Heathcote DeLancey was “the person most talked of, and unless it should be previously made know [*sic*] that he will not accept, will in all probability be elected.”⁴ DeLancey, then provost of the University

TABLE V-I

Parishes and Communicants in the Diocese of North Carolina, ca. 1830

Parishes	Number of Communicants
St. James's Church, Wilmington	90 families 260 adults 170 children 50 Africans
Christ Church, New Bern	86
Christ Church, Rowan	70
St. Peter's Church, Washington ^a	60
St. John's Church, Fayetteville	57
St. Matthew's Church, Hillsborough ^b	40
Christ Church, Raleigh ^c	33
Christ Church, Elizabeth City	31
St. Paul's Church, Edenton	30
St. Thomas's Church, Bath	26
Trinity Church, Beaufort County	19
St. Luke's Church, Salisbury	15
Calvary Church, Wadesboro	12
Zion Chapel, Beaver Dam	12
St. John's Church, Durham Creek	8
St. James's Church, Greenville	3

Source: North Carolina Diocesan Journal 1830, 9-14.^aAdults not communicants = 60.^bAdults not communicants = 40.^cAdult members of congregation = 60.

of Pennsylvania, was a native of New York and a former theological student under Bishop John Henry Hobart.

Apparently Freeman was not as well informed as the Reverend William Mercer Green, rector of St. Matthew's Church, Hillsborough. In January 1831 Green informed the Reverend Robert Johnston Miller that although Dr. DeLancey had been the unanimous choice of the clergy at the last Convention, he—when approached a few months later—had positively declined to have his name brought before the Convention. Meanwhile, Green lamented that the more he heard

from different parts of the Diocese, the more need he saw for supplying a new diocesan. He pointed out the difficulty "to pitch upon any one man who would be generally acceptable to the Diocese, and at the same be contented with the small salary that we offer."⁵

Green also reported that, as a result of correspondence with other clergymen, the names of seven candidates had been brought forward for consideration, all of whom were out-of-state except George W. Freeman.⁶ As for Freeman, several influential laymen desired and three clergymen opposed his candidacy.⁷ It seems rather remarkable that the name of their later choice was not even raised at that time. In the interim, the Standing Committee had invited Bishop Nathaniel Bowen of South Carolina to take charge of the Diocese; he accepted the invitation,⁸ though there is no record of any ministrations by him.

We know little of the behind-the-scenes proceedings that took place between January and May 1831, but on 21 May the Reverend Levi Silliman Ives was nominated by the clergy as Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina. Ives received all the votes save one, which was blank. In the balloting by congregations, the same number of votes was recorded for Ives, and, again, one vote was blank.⁹ Actually the blank clerical vote was that of Freeman, who told Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin that he did not vote for Ives "because he did not know enough about him." By July, however, Freeman was "entirely reconciled," and he told Ruffin that all the accounts he had received of the bishop-elect were "most favorable."¹⁰ Ruffin said he was "extremely gratified at the happy result of our consultations at the Convention: the more so, as our selection seems almost to have been providential; for few of us knew any thing of the gentleman pointed out."¹¹

The bishop-elect, who was only thirty-three years old, was born near Meriden, Connecticut, on 16 September 1797, the oldest of ten children of Levi and Fannie Silliman Ives. Ives's parents were described as sturdy, thrifty, and hard-working middle-class people whose English forebears had settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635. Levi and Fannie later moved their family to the Black River section near Turin in Lewis County, New York, where young Ives received the rudiments of learning from a local teacher and then attended the neighboring Lowville Academy. In the War of 1812 he saw brief service under General Zebulon M. Pike, after which he completed his studies at the academy and matriculated at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York, to prepare for the Presbyterian ministry, in which faith he had been reared. His studies, however, were inter-

rupted by ill health, and for the next three years he developed serious qualms about his religious beliefs.¹² According to William Hooper Haigh, during this period Ives was given a Book of Common Prayer by an Episcopal clergyman and “became after much study impressed with the belief of its truths, and embraced its doctrine.”¹³

At any rate, Ives’s religious inquiries brought him as a convert to the Episcopal Church, and in 1819 he entered the General Theological Seminary where he studied under Bishop Hobart of New York. Three years later he was ordained deacon by Hobart, and in 1823 he was ordained priest by Bishop William White of Pennsylvania. He first served as a missionary at Batavia, New York, then successively as rector of Trinity Church, Philadelphia, and Christ Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In 1827 he became assistant rector of Christ Church, New York, and, at the time of his election as Bishop of North Carolina, he was rector of St. Luke’s Church, New York.¹⁴

Of profound and lasting significance was his marriage in 1825 to Rebecca Hobart, a daughter of the Bishop of New York. Ives’s father-in-law, the recognized leader of pre-Tractarian High Churchmanship in America, was considered the most outstanding leader in the Protestant Episcopal Church. The extent of his influence in Ives’s later apostasy to Rome is highly debatable, though Ives’s Catholic biographer, John O’Grady, notes that it was an interesting coincidence that the two most prominent converts (Ives and Mrs. Eliza A. Seton) in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in America should have come under the personal influence of Bishop Hobart. In fact, O’Grady asserts that Hobart led others into the Catholic Church though he never saw his way to becoming a Catholic himself.¹⁵

When notified of his election by the Standing Committee, Ives was taken completely unawares and concerned about his domestic relations; he did not decide to accept the appointment until five days later—on 10 June 1831. He wrote the Standing Committee that he would be ready to leave in the fall, when traveling in the low country was considered safe for a northerner.¹⁶ Meanwhile, the necessary arrangements were made, and on 22 September at Trinity Church, Southwark, Philadelphia, he was consecrated by the presiding bishop, William White of Pennsylvania, assisted by Bishop Henry Ustick Onderdonk, also of Pennsylvania, and Bishop Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk of New York.¹⁷

In his first annual address to the Diocesan Convention, Ives stated that he had left New York with his family on 14 October, the impli-

cation being that he and Mrs. Ives had one or more children at that time. According to his biographers, he had one or more children but none who lived to maturity,¹⁸ though it seems strange that there is no record of their existence. In 1833, however, the Reverend George W. Freeman wrote Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin that the bishop had been called back to New York because of the death of his little son.¹⁹

On his arrival in Warrenton, his first visitation in North Carolina, Ives was received with what he termed "most gratifying cordiality by the people, and a number of the Clergy" who had assembled to welcome him into the diocese. There, at Immanuel Church, he preached his first sermon, confirmed 19 people, administered the communion to about 30, and found the prospects "exceedingly encouraging."²⁰ But what were his impressions as he made his way to the various, scattered parishes of the state? The new bishop said he found "large and attentive congregations" at St. Matthew's, Hillsborough, where he administered the communion to between 50 and 60 persons. At Chapel Hill he was "politely invited to officiate in the College Chapel." At Wadesboro he consecrated Calvary Church, "a neat and commodious edifice, which does much credit to the liberality of the few Episcopalians here." At St. James's Church, Wilmington, his largest parish, he administered the communion to about 140. At St. John's, Fayetteville, he reported having had the pleasure—for the first time—of preaching to a congregation of blacks and was struck by the seriousness and propriety of their deportment. He also derived much pleasure in calling on the venerable widow of Charles Pettigrew, the first bishop-elect of the Diocese, and preached in the Pettigrew Chapel at Lake Phelps, where an Episcopal clergyman had not officiated for more than twenty-five years.²¹ In the first seven months of his episcopate, Ives visited every Episcopal church in the Diocese of North Carolina, with the exception of St. Andrew's in Burke County, which he planned to visit on his projected trip to Tennessee and Kentucky after attending the Diocesan Convention in May 1832.²²

In his first address to the Convention, Ives set the stage for his most outstanding accomplishments. His blueprint for the future was in a very real sense a carbon of that of his father-in-law, Bishop Hobart, who had contributed mightily to the Episcopal movement in America by his herculean efforts to found Hobart College in upstate New York and the General Theological Seminary in New York City. Hobart constantly dinned into his clergy and students the need for accel-

erating programs of religious education. He also called for increased missionary efforts, not only in the western part of his own diocese but also among the Indians in Wisconsin—a vision that was to affect the future of the whole Anglo-Catholic movement in the United States.²³

In like manner, Bishop Ives urged the expansion of missionary work in the Diocese of North Carolina (which would eventually lead to the founding of a missionary school at Valle Crucis in the western, mountainous section of the state). He also proposed the establishment of an Episcopal school along the lines of the “Flushing Institute,” an Episcopal academy at Flushing, Long Island (which would shortly lead to the founding of the ill-fated Episcopal School for boys at Raleigh and later to the successful St. Mary’s School for girls in the same city).²⁴ Impressed with his ideas for a seminary and a school, the Convention delegates appointed a committee of eight persons to prepare such a plan and report to the next Convention.²⁵ At the 1832 Convention the Committee on the State of the Church reported that the Diocese contained 16 congregations, excluding the missionary stations, and 7 Sunday schools with an enrollment of 785; and that the present number of communicants, including the parishes unreported, was about 900. A total of 340 had been baptized that year, 230 of whom were infants.²⁶

Shortly after adjournment Bishop Ives, at the invitation of the Dioceses of Kentucky and Tennessee, turned his face toward the mountains. On reaching Asheville he found that, although the prejudices of the mountain people had been strong against the Church, “a way is fast opening to the cordial and general receptions of its privileges.” After visiting the transmontane country, he joined his family in New Jersey and attended the General Convention in New York during the last two weeks of October.²⁷

In December 1832 Ives toured southeastern North Carolina where he spent a day or two at Orton, the seat of Dr. Frederick Hill, who took him to old Brunswick to see the walls of St. Philip’s Church. Ives described it as “an ante-revolutionary Church, situated about two miles distant, amid the ruins of the old town of Brunswick. These walls, 85 by 62 feet, are in a state of almost entire preservation, and by being newly roofed and repaired, would still furnish a commodious place of worship to the inhabitants of a neighboring settlement.”²⁸ Interestingly enough, after over a century and a quarter, the

walls remain in the same general condition—a grim reminder of the failure of the Diocese to heed the bishop's suggestions.

In January 1833 Bishop Ives was back in Raleigh, where, after some deliberation, he had decided to reside, and where, according to Thomas Ruffin, he preached “an excellent *missionary* Sermon.” Perhaps the best picture of the bishop's personality and attitudes is revealed in Ruffin's description: “He perceptibly *improves*, I think, every time I hear him. He is more of a North Carolina man in his mode of preaching and in gesture: more authoritative, dignified, and *Episcopal* in his manner, delivery, and discourse; and easier and more at home among his people.”²⁹

The ensuing year saw the consecration of two churches—the new St. John's Church, Fayetteville, and Trinity Church, Scotland Neck—and the construction of churches in Burke, Buncombe, and Craven counties and in the towns of Kinston, Oxford, and Pittsboro.³⁰ Even more encouraging was the report of the Episcopal Bible, Common Prayer Book, Tract, and Missionary Society, founded in 1830. Through its efforts, a congregation had been established in Pittsboro, where “a beautiful Church edifice has since been erected.” The society further reported that it had distributed 516 Bibles, Testaments, and Books of Common Prayer, along with a large portion of Bishop Ravenscroft's *Works* and 40,000 pages of Episcopal tracts. It also had procured the services of 4 additional missionaries who had the care of 266 communicants.³¹

On the bishop's annual visitation, in which he visited all the parishes and missionary stations in the Diocese, he again encountered strong prejudice against the Church in Bertie County—presumably among the Quakers. Nevertheless, the Episcopal congregation in Windsor was making laudable efforts to erect a church.³² Ives made special note of the Diocese's work in regard to the religious instruction of slaves. At St. James's Church, Wilmington, he reported: “A Colored Congregation has been organized, with more than anticipated success. The Church edifice is relinquished to their use on the night of Sunday, and the average attendance has been near 300. The intelligent of the community approve the effort, and no doubt is entertained of the favorable influence which it is calculated to exert over the present condition and future prospects of that too long neglected people.”³³

In the fall of 1833, wishing to obtain further insight into the prin-

ciples on which the best schools of the country were conducted, Ives visited “the celebrated Institutions of Round Hill, Massachusetts, and Flushing, Long Island,” and was gratified that they accorded with those principles acted on by the North Carolina Diocesan Convention. He also noted that the head of Round Hill, Joseph Green Cogswell, might be induced to accept the rectorship of an Episcopal school in North Carolina.³⁴

The Convention of 1833 approved the establishment of an Episcopal school to be located in or near Raleigh. The Episcopal School of North Carolina would educate Episcopal boys and “friends of our communion” in classical and other learning, as well as provide instruction in the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church. A committee of four clergymen and eight laymen, with the bishop as chairman, was to be appointed annually by the Convention to direct the school’s management.³⁵ The bishop, in a lengthy charge to the convention on the “Importance of Christian Education,” argued that the sums Episcopalians and their friends were spending elsewhere would be ample to sustain a classical school of the highest order in the Diocese. He further emphasized that it should be “strictly an *Episcopal School*: not that the children of others than Episcopalians are to be excluded: but it is to embrace in its system of instruction the *doctrines*, discipline, and worship of the Church.” He also envisaged this school, through recommended courses in theological education, as a training ground for students preparing for the ministry who were unable to attend the General Theological Seminary.³⁶

The school committee bought from Colonel William Polk a tract of land containing 159½ acres, chiefly woods, about one mile west of the capital. Through the liberality of Polk and his interest in the school, the committee paid the comparatively low price of a little more than ten dollars an acre. Here the Committee first erected “a Stone Building, fifty-six by thirty-six feet, two stories high, covered with tin.” The lower floor was used as a schoolroom, the upper as a dormitory. The ladies of Christ Church, Raleigh, superintended the school’s domestic arrangements.³⁷

The Episcopal School of North Carolina opened its doors on 2 June 1834, with Ives’s nominee, Joseph G. Cogswell, as rector, assisted by the Reverend Joseph H. Saunders, a former missionary in Warren and Franklin counties, as chaplain and teacher and John De Berniere Hooper as teacher.³⁸ A month later Cogswell reported that the “materiel of our establishment” consisted of a “comfortable mansion

house, once the residence of the former Chief Justice of the State, and a new stone building, sixty feet by forty, erected expressly for the school." The house was used as lodging for twelve pupils and one instructor, and the building contained a dormitory for twenty-four boys and a temporary schoolroom below. The Raleigh people were "very pleasant, refined, and kind almost to annoyance," but he was unable to take part in society, as he had done in Northampton, and could not think of the town as a home very long. The trustees, though, gave him absolute control and informed the students that there was no appeal from his decisions.³⁹ Based on Cogswell's description of his New England regimen, there might well have been cause for appeal:

I began by establishing five as the hour of rising, morning school at half after five, no holiday on Saturday, no communication with the town, no pocket money and no smoking, under penalty of immediate dismissal in case of wilful violation. I dismissed one the first fortnight for stealing down to town in the evening. . . . The parents in town are denied all authority over their children, in everything touching their school duties, and cannot keep them at home, for any reason whatever, except sickness. I began by telling the boys that the school had not been established for their pleasure, but for their improvement, and that they would be sure to find it a life of labor and self-denial, so long as it was under my directions.⁴⁰

With tongue in cheek, Cogswell wrote in August that he was "in a sort of desolate island, lord of all I survey, in the midst of an oak forest, a mile from Raleigh, sole sovereign and supreme over nearly sixty boys. They are round me by day and by night, at this moment the whole herd is buzzing around me, as I sit on my throne in the school-room. At ten o'clock when they go to bed I am still with them. I sleep in the room with them, that is half of them; the only moment of quiet I can get is when they are buried in sleep, and then I am tired enough to sleep too."⁴¹ Despite the kindness of the people, it was "a strange land, their manners are strange, the countenances are all strange, and even the names are strange." He found one consolation in the fact that he had had "complete success in breaking to the harness more than half an hundred high-spirited Southerners, which they said no Yankee could do," though there were some boys of "eighteen and nineteen, one a graduate of William and Mary's Col-

lege in Virginia, and several college bloods, who stopped ere they reached the goal." The school, he reported, was prospering, despite the fact that it had "a dreadful uncouth set to deal with, accustomed to the manners of country plantations, remote from civilization, who had never heard before that hats could not be worn at all times and in all places." Yet the young men were from the first families of the state and would soon be in its councils and legislatures.⁴²

After almost two years, Cogswell observed that in no part of the United States had he found a people as "primitive" as in Raleigh. "The descendants of the early Scotch settlers," he wrote, "retain all the peculiarities of their ancestors. The towns are all small, and have consequently never had any great influx of foreigners, hence language, usages and manners are all provincial."⁴³

In February 1835, Cogswell agreed to stay another year, being persuaded that the continuance of the institution, supported by the bishop, the clergy, and all the principal laymen of the Diocese, depended on his remaining longer. Then, too, his labors had their reward: "Rough, rude, idle boys became refined, civil and industrious, and a genuine spirit of content prevails, under a system of discipline more severe than I ever thought of applying in New England, or ever supposed would patiently be borne anywhere."⁴⁴ This boast soon had to be retracted, for, as he expressed it, he had to contend with "the lord of misrule":

Early in August [1835] the genuine mob spirit got among the boys, and changed our hitherto peaceful little community into a band of turbulent rebels. For two successive nights I kept about sixty of them without sleep, or with the little which they could snatch in the schoolroom; on the third morning I began to dismiss the leaders from the school and, in the course of a fortnight, got rid of a dozen in this way. When the storm subsided, we found the atmosphere purified, and a beautiful serene sky overhanging us, and the most pacific aspect all round our horizon. . . . When I communicated my doings to our Trustees, their answer was, "Clear out the whole if you find it necessary for the establishment of order."⁴⁵

Though the school returned to normalcy, Cogswell resigned and returned to the North in 1836.

Meanwhile, at the end of the first session on 25 November 1834, the examination committee reported that the results were very grati-

fyng. When the school reopened in January 1835, the school committee was forced to give public notice that it could receive no more applications for admission until accommodations had been enlarged. The school was overcrowded despite the fact that a second building, occupied wholly as a dormitory, and a small, wooden two-room building with fireplaces, used for temporary recreation rooms, had been completed for the January reopening. At this time 103 boys were enrolled, of whom 83 were resident boarders and 20 were day scholars.⁴⁶ To meet the emergency, work was begun on a 60-by-85-foot, four-story “Main Building” between the other two. In addition, the nearby house and grounds of Judge William Gaston were leased—the former as a dormitory.⁴⁷

School fees were set at \$175 per annum for boarders and \$50 for day scholars. The curriculum was divided into six departments:

1. Religious instruction—six classes in the Bible, Catechism, and ethics.
2. The English language—three classes in orthography and reading and four in grammar and rhetoric.
3. Ancient languages—four classes in Greek and five in Latin.
4. Modern languages—three classes in French, one in Spanish, and one in Italian.
5. Mathematics—two classes in algebra and one in arithmetic.
6. Geography and history—one class in geography and one in history.⁴⁸

A report to the General Convention in 1835 stated that the Episcopal School had surpassed “the liveliest expectations” and had secured the liberal support (\$21,500) and approval of the Diocese.⁴⁹ Governor James Iredell, Jr., chairman of the executive committee, congratulated the Convention on having established such a school “which we believe, with such teachers as you have, will be preeminent among the Institutions of our Country.”⁵⁰ The following year Bishop Ives reported that the school was sound and experiencing growth, despite the departure of Mr. Cogswell for health reasons. Mr. Hooper, the interim rector, had met with unusual success except for “some slight struggle of turbulent boys.” In fact, the school committee reported that a “spirit of insubordination” broke out in the summer of 1835, leading to the dismissal of several of the most refractory and the adoption of stricter rules, with the school divided into sections, each to be assigned to a different teacher.⁵¹

In 1836 the bishop also announced that the Reverend Adam Empie, then president of William and Mary College in Virginia, would assume the rectorship at the summer session.⁵² The new rector had been secretary of the Convention of 1817, when the Diocese of North Carolina was organized, and president of the Convention of 1823, which had elected Bishop Ravenscroft. It was at this time that Bishop Ives—a northerner—first insisted that if the Church was to have a permanent clergy, it must have a native clergy: “The climate, the habits of the people, the system of things under which they live, unite to make the necessity *imperious and indispensable*, that, to enjoy a stable and efficient Ministry, we must have *Southern* men: and they must be educated at the *South*. . . . Our duty, therefore, demands of us, some more definite provision for Theological education in our Diocese.” Maintaining that the Episcopal School was established with that in mind, he urged the appointment of a theological professor.⁵³

The following March Bishop Ives, at the request of the trustees, set out for northern cities to solicit funds for the school. While he was in New York, a group of Episcopalians, meeting at the home of Samuel Ward, adopted a unanimous resolution to raise \$10,000. Unfortunately, at this strategic juncture the committee appointed to execute the resolution was met “by the sudden and disastrous reverse in pecuniary matters, which has produced such ruin in our Northern cities”—the panic of 1837. After a hopeful delay, the bishop was advised to wait for a more propitious time to make solicitations. In Philadelphia, he met with “the same sympathy and encouragement, and also the same embarrassments.” In the light of these unhappy circumstances, he urged churchmen in the Diocese who had the means to supply the funds required or the school would be irrevocably lost.⁵⁴ And again he reiterated his appeal for the appointment of a native clergyman as the school’s theological professor, one who would be permanent. As an object lesson, he stated that, in his five short years in the Diocese, he had received eleven clergymen who had acquired their religious training outside North Carolina, only one of whom was still in the Diocese. By contrast, of those educated within the Diocese, only one had left.⁵⁵

The school’s debt amounted to almost \$20,000; moreover, the school committee reported that \$5,000 was indispensable before the next vacation period. The Convention referred this grave matter to the trustees and empowered the bishop to appoint one or more agents to make collections for the school.⁵⁶ On another trip to New York in

the fall of 1837, Bishop Ives was able to raise \$2,308.64, with the promise of more when the economy improved. And at a Special Diocesan Convention called to alleviate the immediate situation, the Reverend William Mercer Green, the agent appointed at the last Convention, reported the collection of \$2,646.50 in cash and subscriptions.⁵⁷

After less than a year, the rectorship was relinquished by the Reverend Mr. Empie, who returned to his old home in Wilmington. He was succeeded by the Reverend Moses Curtis, an educator, theologian, and botanist of note, who had served as a missionary at Lincolnnton and vicinity.⁵⁸ At this point, the school committee was still optimistic, believing that it had become “a nursery for sound learning and good morals, to which the churchmen of the Diocese may safely confide their sons, and that nothing is needed but patient perseverance in the system now pursued, to place this establishment among the first of the kind in the country.”⁵⁹ But, according to the Reverend Jarvis Buxton, “the apparent prosperity of the school, in point of numbers, was, in reality its greatest danger.” He pointed out that Flushing Institute, which the bishop had used as a model, had prudently restricted the number of pupils the first year to a small select group of boys. In this way, discipline could be firmly established before being severely tested by too many pupils. Unfortunately, the Episcopal School committee was overeager to accommodate an indefinite number of pupils at the risk of overindebtedness. The result was disastrous. The pupils—too numerous at first—got the upper hand. The patronage ebbed rapidly, and in July 1838 the trustees suspended operations, leaving an aggregate debt of \$14,508.81. The Convention of 1839 adopted the resolutions of the school committee to sell the furniture and 130 or 140 acres divided into lots of convenient size and apply the proceeds toward paying the debt, but to retain the buildings and 10 or 20 acres for the school. Moreover, a committee, consisting of Bishop Ives, Duncan Cameron, and William H. Haywood, Jr., was appointed to invite the cooperation of the South Carolina Convention in establishing a theological seminary making the literary department secondary.⁶⁰

The indebtedness of the school was further increased in 1839 by a claim of \$200 presented by the commissioners of public buildings of the state for undersized stone, which allegedly was carried away from the Capitol’s building quarry.⁶¹ The next year, the trustees reported that no progress had been made in liquidating the debt or in establish-

ing a theological seminary. No purchasers appeared to buy the lots, and the only property disposed of was the school bell and the school furniture, which, with rent and a few collected subscriptions, amounted to only \$500. Finally, the committee appointed to establish the theological seminary decided not to approach the South Carolina Convention because of the unsettled state of affairs following the death of its bishop. More discouraging to this committee was the fact that it had received information that there was little ground to hope that South Carolina would support the project.⁶²

According to Bishop Ives's vague report, in the two years after the school closed, its buildings were used for the theological training of "the only persons, who, in that time, have been or are likely to be raised to the diaconate. Here they were provided with rooms, board, use of books, and suitable aid and direction in study; and here they were enabled to maintain themselves by uniting in the instruction of a small school, in the management of which they gave full satisfaction."⁶³ Still encumbered by a debt of \$14,000, the school committee in 1840 recommended that an agent be appointed to sell the buildings and grounds, but by the next Convention no sale had been made. At this time, John H. Bryan and William H. Haywood, Jr., were appointed to sell the lands at public auction.⁶⁴

Just as every project seemed to fail, the bishop reported "that God heard his prayers and blessed his efforts in that hour of the church's danger and humiliation." In the late fall of 1841, Judge Duncan Cameron came forward and "by an arrangement which secured the buildings and adjacent grounds to the purposes of a FEMALE SEMINARY of the highest order, so greatly needed at the South, restored the funds which the Diocese had invested in the property, and saved the Church from the deep dishonor of suffering it to pass irrevocably from her control." St. Mary's School, which opened on 12 May 1842, had been established by individual enterprise, but the Church, the bishop stated, was "not without a deep interest in its prosperity."⁶⁵ Thus, in the beginning, St. Mary's was not immediately connected with the Diocese but Bishop Ives took a great interest in it. He was pleased to report to the 1843 Convention that it was prospering and exerting a most beneficial influence by inculcating evangelical truth and Christian character; therefore, it deserved the confidence and patronage of every churchman.⁶⁶

The bishop was able to secure as rector the Reverend Aldert Smedes, whom Ives had met in New York. Smedes had had to aban-

don his work as a parish priest because of bronchial trouble and, on the advice of his physician, was seeking a southern location for school work when he met Ives and was informed that Judge Cameron wished to rent the vacant buildings of the Episcopal School. Smedes, who had conducted a girls' school in New York, seized this opportunity. It was he who named the new school "Saint Mary's," and it was under him that it flourished.⁶⁷

Bishop Ives's interest in the school was unflagging. A few weeks after it opened, he reported that he had "preached to an interesting assemblage of young ladies at St. Mary's School, Ravenscroft Grove, Raleigh."⁶⁸ Six years later, Smedes told the Convention that six students had been baptized, fourteen confirmed, and thirteen added to the communion, declaring that the school was "never in a more flourishing condition, in respect to the character and deportment of its Pupils, than at the close of the session." In 1852, at the end of Ives's episcopate, the school had eighty-three boarders and twenty-one confirmations for the year.⁶⁹ Despite the Diocese's interest in St. Mary's and despite the large preponderance of Episcopal students, the school was not transferred from private to diocesan ownership until 1897.⁷⁰

Smedes also established Trinity School for boys in 1847. The bishop described it as a new classical school, under the patronage of the diocesan, located six or seven miles from Raleigh. The first principal was the Reverend Fordyce M. Hubbard, who reported that its first year of operation was successful; indeed, at that time the school seemed to be firmly established and promised to be of great and permanent advantage to the Diocese. Hubbard resigned in his second year to become professor of Latin at the University of North Carolina. In his last report to the Convention, he prophetically warned: "It is for the Diocese to say whether the school shall be sustained or be allowed to perish."⁷¹ He was succeeded by the Reverend P. Teller Babbitt, who also resigned after three years and moved to the Diocese of Florida. With his departure Trinity School, whose enrollment never exceeded nineteen pupils, closed after about five years of existence. It failed, according to Babbitt, because the sympathy and support of the Diocese were not forthcoming.⁷²

Equally distressing was the fate of the Missionary Society, another promising diocesan organization. Reorganized in 1830 under the unwieldy title of the Episcopal Bible, Common Prayer Book, Tract and Missionary Society, it immediately authorized the publication of the

unpublished manuscripts and works bequeathed to the society by Bishop Ravenscroft. Several missionaries were employed to revive old congregations and organize new ones, and depositories of books and tracts were established at Raleigh, Fayetteville, and Edenton. By 1835, however, the society was forced to cut short its operations because of insufficient funds. The report of the Committee on the State of the Church deplored the fact that “we shall lose a Society on which the destitute portions of the State *entirely*, and three-fourths of our organized parishes *more or less*, rely for the ministrations of our Church.”⁷³ The following year the society resolved to disband and delivered to agents appointed by the Convention its liabilities of about \$500 and its assets of about \$1,000, as well as 87 copies of Bishop Ravenscroft’s *Works*, 50 Bibles, 217 Books of Common Prayers, and \$50 worth of Tracts.⁷⁴

In contrast to this failure was the success of the mission school and theological seminary established by Bishop Ives at Valle Crucis, about eight miles west of Boone in the mountain county of Watauga, then a part of Ashe. The seeds of this institution seem to have been sowed as early as 1842, when Ives was told of the “needy and interesting population” in that vicinity by a friend in New York who had made a botanical excursion to the head of the Watauga River. His interest piqued, the bishop visited the area in July and reported his impressions of the inhabitants: “And while my sympathies were deeply excited in view of their great spiritual destitution, my admiration was at the same time awakened by the simplicity of their character and the deep earnestness of their petition for instruction.” As he had promised to send them a missionary, Ives was fortunate in securing the services of the Reverend Mr. Henry H. Prout who began his labors at the end of 1842.⁷⁵

At the next Convention, the bishop described Prout’s mission as deeply interesting and located in a section of the country that “is beautiful and striking, far beyond my powers of description.” The inhabitants, however, could not be “overmatched in spiritual destitution by the inhabitants of any other known land,” not having heard for seven years “even an *uncertain* sound of the *Gospel*.” He therefore proposed to send two efficient schoolmasters, as a minimum, and to buy a piece of land for \$200 for a farm to support the mission and another tract to be properly stocked for its use.⁷⁶ The plan received the approval of the Convention and of several prominent clergymen and laymen.⁷⁷ The bishop, thus supported, purchased the picturesque

valley for \$1,500; it contained 125 acres of level land, one-third of which was under cultivation. Later, he acquired some 2,000 acres in all, which were used for grazing and for timber. Here the bishop proposed to establish an important center for the entire Diocese, to include a missionary station, a Training School for the Ministry, and a Classical and Agricultural School for boys.⁷⁸

Henceforth Bishop Ives gave much of his time and energy to the establishment and successful operation of Valle Crucis. In November 1844, he and the newly appointed rector of the school, the Reverend William Thurston, formerly rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, Pittsboro, arranged for construction of the buildings that would be required.⁷⁹ At the Convention in 1845, he urged as "indispensable" the erection of missionary houses, charity school houses, and a chapel. He also announced his plans to extend the Church for some thirty to forty miles in each direction, to provide religious and academic training, and to maintain a model farm as an incentive to the surrounding population.⁸⁰

Soon after the Convention the bishop spent four weeks at Valle Crucis, personally supervising preparations for opening the school and the mission. At the 1846 Convention, he reported that the entire establishment was more prosperous than could have been expected, that the family of some forty souls was enjoying remarkable health, that the Classical School was operating successfully, and that the prospects as a whole had never been brighter. As for the physical arrangements, a dwelling house of hewn logs contained four convenient rooms, a 32-by-16-foot dining room of unburnt brick, and suitable kitchens and servants' rooms. The two-story, 60-by-18-foot schoolhouse had two rooms at each end for teachers, with a large schoolroom in the center on the first floor and over it a dormitory for boys, as well as a brick basement. Another two-story building of unburnt brick, 26 by 18 feet with a cellar, was used for storage and sleeping apartments. In addition there was a tannery, a sawmill, a gristmill, a blacksmith shop, four or five cheap log buildings for the accommodation of workmen, and a 30-by-40-foot frame barn with a brick basement underneath for stables. Finally, materials were being prepared for a chapel and another dwelling house.⁸¹ Most encouraging, too, was the fact that an average of twenty-eight pupils attended the Classical and Agricultural School, nine of whom had received gratuitous board and instruction, and there were seven candidates for Holy Orders in the Training School for the Ministry. The Agricul-

tural School was the first of its kind in North Carolina.⁸² The bishop's report concluded on this optimistic note: "This institution I regard as a most important nursery to the Church. In addition to the safe and effectual training of our youth in Classical knowledge and sound Christian principles, for which the institution provides, an opportunity is afforded to the Diocese of raising-up for itself, at the smallest expense, a class of Ministers which our necessities urgently demand; a class, humble indeed in pretension, but self-denying in spirit and vigorous in action."⁸³

Because of the untimely death of the Reverend Mr. Thurston, the bishop stayed at the mission for three months during the summer of 1846, but he was relieved of the immediate management of the Classical School by the appointment of the Reverend Jarvis B. Buxton, son of the rector of St. John's, Fayetteville, as rector of that department. Considerable assistance was also provided by Joseph W. Murphy, Thomas F. Davis, Jr., Richard Wainwright Barber, and Charles T. Bland, who were either in the ministry or studying for Holy Orders. The Reverend Mr. Prout became head of the mission and William West Skiles, to be ordained the following June, took over the management of the secular department. In the fall William R. Gries, a candidate for Holy Orders from Pennsylvania, was added to the staff.⁸⁴

That all seemed well at Valle Crucis was demonstrated by the repeated testimonies in the *Diocesan Journals*. In 1848, the Committee on the State of the Church declared that "the importance of this Institution of the Diocese is immense, as the nursery of a future ministry" and appealed to the Diocese for its cooperation and support. Certainly, as Bishop Cheshire later wrote, it was "no quixotic scheme of Bishop Ives, but commended itself to the deliberate approval of the whole Diocese" and was "a remarkably successful example of an Associate Mission and Training School for the Ministry."⁸⁵ In truth, it looked as though one of Bishop Ives's fondest dreams—a native, permanent ministry—had materialized, until suddenly, in the words of the Reverend Jarvis Buxton, "all the glowing expectations of man were dashed to the ground, by the course of the Bishop himself, owing to the bodily disease and Roman malaria which his mental health was too weak to resist."⁸⁶

Meanwhile, before the apostasy of Bishop Ives to Rome, there were other developments in the Diocese. Of particular interest was the concern about the religious welfare and instruction of the black

slaves. Bishop Cheshire wrote that Ives had done much religious work among the slave population of the state and that reportedly his personal popularity had suffered greatly as a result. Though agreeing with the first statement, Cheshire denied the second, maintaining that it had never been the policy of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina to withhold spiritual guidance from the black, either before or after emancipation. He maintained that Ives, instead of being a pioneer in such work, had merely followed a policy already inaugurated.⁸⁷

In the light of these conclusions, the report of the Committee on the State of the Church in 1832, six months after Ives's arrival in North Carolina, is pertinent: "And we notice with thankfulness. . . . The unusual accession of our coloured brethren to our communion. This class of community has hitherto withheld itself from our Churches, and preferred other teachers. But why should this be so? Our form of worship, in its simple and unvarying nature, is admirably adapted to the capacity of the poor and ignorant, and the whole design of our services is to encourage a spirit of animated devotion, and to convey lessons of holiness in the simplest and most impressive manner."⁸⁸ Indeed, the towns of Fayetteville, New Bern, and Wilmington indicated considerable interest regarding the spiritual life of blacks. No less concern was shown by a number of the largest slaveholders and aristocratic planters—largely in the east. Particularly concerned were the heads of such families as the Collinses, Pettigrews, and Skinners of the Albemarle region, the Burgwyns and Smiths of the Roanoke valley, and the Camerons and Bennehans of Orange (now Durham) County.⁸⁹

Bishop Ives's first encounter with black communicants was, as already noted, at St. John's Church, Fayetteville, which in January 1832 reported among the blacks twenty-nine adult baptisms, twenty confirmations, and twenty-three communicants. Here he "had the pleasure of preaching (at night) to a congregation of coloured persons, and was struck by the propriety and seriousness of the deportment." And at the Convention of 1840 the rector, Jarvis B. Buxton, reported: "The colored population continue to manifest the liveliest interest in the visitations of the Bishop, and in the special services he affords them. On these occasions, and for their accommodation, all the pews are relinquished by their proprietors." Also, in May 1832, a black congregation organized by William N. Hawks, rector of St. Peter's Church, Washington, attended divine worship regularly.⁹⁰

In 1833 the bishop reported, as has been previously stated, that at St. James's Church, Wilmington, a black congregation had been organized with an average attendance of nearly three hundred. Also, the Reverend John R. Goodman, rector of Christ Church, New Bern, reported that a black congregation formed in that parish attended regular weekly services.⁹¹

Among those most zealous in assuring the religious welfare of blacks was Josiah Collins, Jr., the owner of hundreds of slaves on his plantations in Tyrrell County. Here, at Lake Phelps, the bishop preached in 1836 to a "large and interesting coloured congregation" of Collins, "who deserves much praise for his persevering and successful efforts to improve the religious conditions of his slaves."⁹² Four years later Collins induced the Reverend Edward N. Forbes to take charge of the instruction of slaves at the adjacent plantations of the Pettigrews and Collinses, along with his duties as missionary for the county. The results of his work were observed by Bishop Ives two years later, when he witnessed a general examination in the Bible of about 250 slaves. He reported to the Convention:

And no sooner had the examination commenced than it was easy to perceive, that a better spirit than that of curiosity had prompted so large an attendance.—Brethren I shall never forget the impression of that night;—They will continue to be among the most pleasing of my Ministry! The examination embraced much of the Old Testament history, in its relation to that of the New, and hence to the doctrines immediately connected with our redemption by Jesus Christ; and a better sustained examination it would be hardly possible to conceive. . . . The performance of the regular Evening Prayer by these people was no less gratifying. The Responses were from memory, and the whole Service was conducted with a spirit and propriety which might have put many of our most enlightened congregations to the blush.⁹³

In April 1843, at Collins's Lake Scuppernong plantation, the bishop examined eighty black children, from ages four to fourteen, in the Oral Catechism and the Church Service. Again, he found the results "peculiarly gratifying, as fully justifying all my previous convictions of the capacity of such children to understand the *principles of the doctrine of Christ*, and of the ease with which they may be taught the entire Morning and Evening Prayer. One thing struck me on this occasion as of special interest to all who are engaged in promoting

the spiritual welfare of this portion of our population, which was the spirit with which they entered into the *Chanting*. Seldom have I heard the *Gloria in Excelsis* chanted with more effect than it was by these children." He was also pleased by the moral improvement of the Christian portion of the slaves he examined. Of particular interest was his report that the overseer, who had previously shown much prejudice toward slaves, confessed to the bishop that there was "a very marked difference" in the conduct of the communicants and the noncommunicants and that the black communicants on the plantations at Lake Phelps "would bear a favorable comparison with the same number of white Communicants among the laboring classes in the country."⁹⁴

During Lent, 1846, the bishop reported that he had officiated in a chapel erected by the free blacks in New Bern. Under the charge of the Reverend William N. Hawks, the congregation deeply affected Bishop Ives with the "earnest solemnity of the responses, and the touching simplicity and spirit of the chanting and other music." The bishop was moved to make an urgent plea that each man who called himself a Christian churchman do his duty toward his less fortunate brethren.⁹⁵

From New Bern, at the request of Josiah Collins, the bishop spent the rest of the Lenten season on Collins's estates at Lake Scuppernong. Here and at the neighboring Pettigrew Chapel Ives held daily services, delivered lectures, and began a course of oral catechetical instruction for blacks. His reactions were described to the Convention in a glowing report:

The services here were of the most gratifying and encouraging character—fully justifying all that has been said and anticipated of the system of religious training hitherto pursued on these plantations. When I saw master and servants standing side by side in the holy services of Passion-week—when I saw all secular labor on these plantations suspended on Good Friday, and the cleanly clad multitude thronging the house of prayer to pay their homage to a crucified Saviour;—and when I saw, on the blessed Easter-morn, the master with his goodly company of servants, kneeling with reverent hearts and devout thanksgivings, to take the bread of life at the same Altar, I could not but indulge the hope, that ere long, my spirit may be refreshed by such scenes in every part of my Diocese.⁹⁶

Moreover, Bishop Ives could not help believing that, had “some of our brethren in other lands been present, they would have been induced to change the note of their wailing over imaginary suffering into a heartfelt exclamation” of admiration. Particularly did he wish that his friend, the Bishop of Oxford, could witness such a spectacle. Surely “his manly heart would prompt him to ask instant pardon of the American Church, for his having spoken so harshly upon a subject which he is [*sic*] imperfectly understood; and that he would perceive his Christian sympathy might find a much more natural vent in efforts to remove the cruel oppressions of the factory system in his own country, and his Christian indignation a much more legitimate object of rebuke in the English Churchmen who have helped to rivet that system upon their land.”⁹⁷

Other examples of the solicitude of the slaveholder for his black families are found in the bishop’s addresses. In 1836 he performed a service and preached to a congregation that was comprised chiefly of blacks from the plantations of Judge Duncan Cameron and Thomas Bennehan at Salem Chapel, which adjoined Cameron’s plantation and was built by him. In April 1849, Ives officiated and confirmed eleven blacks in St. Timothy’s Chapel near Edenton on the plantation of Joshua Skinner, “whose interest in the Christian instruction of his slaves deserves every encouragement.” And on the same tour he officiated in Jackson at the home of Henry K. Burgwyn where he confirmed seven blacks. Burgwyn, he reported, was making “very laudable efforts to Christianize his slaves, which thus far have proved eminently successful.”⁹⁸

Perhaps the best summation of the Church’s work regarding blacks during Bishop Ives’s tenure is found in the report of the Committee on the State of the Church for 1848:

The committee observe that the reported number of colored catechumens is small; smaller, they are inclined to believe, than the real number. The religious wants of this part of our population strongly claim the attention of both clergy and laity. Our duty to our servants is not done by barely allowing them to receive some religious instruction in whatever quarter they may choose to find it. The sober piety that is inspired by the services of the Church—furnish reason enough to induce every member of it to desire and endeavor to bring them into “one fold” under the “one Shepherd.” And surely the master who calls himself a

Churchman falls short of his duty if he neglects to have his servants duly baptized and catechized, and trained in all the methods of the Church by her appointed ministers, for her communion. So much he may do, for they are entrusted to him—so much he must do, for on what he does depends the salvation of their souls.⁹⁹

Ives's attitude toward slavery, as expressed in his 1846 address, elicited the condemnation of William Joy, a northerner, in a thirty-two page pamphlet entitled *A Letter to the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives*.¹⁰⁰ Joy based his attack entirely on the testimony that he said was voluntarily given by southern witnesses, including such leaders as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Henry, Marshall, and Clay. He accused Ives of being the only Episcopal bishop who aspired to the championship of human bondage and the only one who had thrown down the gauntlet "to the whole of Christendom beyond the slave region." There is no known reply to this attack.

In the first decade of Ives's episcopate, much had been accomplished in the Diocese. In 1841, there were 28 clergymen, 21 presbyters, 7 deacons, and 4 candidates for Holy Orders. For the same year it was reported that there were 1,304 communicants, 544 baptisms (double the number reported the previous year), 128 confirmations, 3 new churches consecrated, and 17 missionary stations. Progress was being made in the baptismal education of the children and in the oral instruction, in the Bible and Catechism, of blacks. The clergymen were paying increased attention to the duties connected with the diocesan, and the Convention received reports from every parish and every occupied missionary station. The summer visitation of the bishop was attended "with strong and peculiar evidences of interest in religion and the church," and the congregations were "unusually large and serious in their attention."¹⁰¹

The decade, though, had not been without heartache. Particularly poignant was the bishop's report of his visit to Colonel Isaac Avery's plantation at the head of the Toe River in Yancey County, where he preached to a large number of persons "many of them manifestly hungering for the bread of life," who expressed a deep anxiety to know more of the way of salvation. Traversing that mountain region, "which for beauty of scenery, salubrity of climate and fertility of soil" was unsurpassed, he found "a depth of moral ignorance, which made my heart bleed, and my lips exclaim, 'is it possible, that a people so

destitute and withal so interesting, are within so short a distance of the most flourishing and privileged Churches of Christendom!"¹⁰²

Also to be reckoned with was the mass exodus of North Carolinians in the early 1830s, when the state was known as the Rip Van Winkle State and the Ireland of America. In 1837 the Committee on the State of the Church concluded: "It would appear . . . that the tide of emigration, which continues to people with our citizens the South and West, has borne along no small number of those who were near to our hearts, and who, we trust in God, will prove the chosen seed for the extension of the Church." From May 1836 to May 1837, the Church lost 281 communicants, decreasing to 753; some communicants had died, "but by far the larger portion has swelled the tide of emigration to the South and West."¹⁰³

Among the Diocese's blessings was the consecration of two of the state's most beautiful churches. St. Paul's, Edenton, reduced to bare walls after the Revolution, had been rebuilt and refitted, but, for want of a Bishop, had not been consecrated until the congregation in the late 1830s expended between \$4,000 and \$5,000 to make the necessary repairs. It was finally consecrated by Bishop Ives on 2 December 1839. He also consecrated the new St. James's Church, Wilmington, which he described as a "plain Gothic structure of brick, and for appropriateness of style, beauty of proportion, and elegance of finish" was "unsurpassed by any Church edifice in our country, and may be safely commended as a model of Church architecture."¹⁰⁴

In his annual address of 1841, the bishop called the Convention's attention to the great need for a church at Chapel Hill. Not only did fifteen communicants reside there, but also the sons of churchmen "(making a large proportion of the students) are comparatively without the means of instruction in the Gospel as held by their fathers; all distinctive views being sedulously precluded from the teachings of the Chapel."¹⁰⁵ At the 1842 Convention, the Reverend William Mercer Green, a professor of rhetoric and logic at the University of North Carolina, reported that a pleasant, spacious, and convenient lot had been purchased; a contract had been made for most of the building materials; a Sunday school had been opened; and, on 13 May 1842, the members of the church had organized a congregation by the name of the Church of the Atonement and appointed a vestry. But more money was needed to erect the church building. Nevertheless, this congregation and that of the Church of the Holy Innocents, Henderson, were admitted into union with the Convention.¹⁰⁶

Construction of the church at Chapel Hill, described by Alexander Jackson Davis—the eminent New York architect and designer of several university buildings—as “a handsome building,” was begun in June 1843 but was soon suspended because of insufficient funds. Work was resumed on 16 February 1844, though Green wrote Duncan Cameron that he feared in a few weeks the workmen would come to a full halt for lack of funds.¹⁰⁷ The bishop made an urgent appeal for \$1,200 to complete the church—“a beautiful Gothic structure,”—which by May was only three-fourths finished. In 1845, no more progress had been made: “the rank weed is growing against its windowless wall, the pigeon is building among its rafters, and its unfinished spires seem protesting to Heaven against the apathy of the Diocese.” Only \$1,000 was needed. Finally, in 1848, this debt was incurred by a parishioner and the church was expected to be completed in a few weeks.¹⁰⁸

Meanwhile, Bishop Ives was called to Lincolnton in August 1841, where, he reported, “the public mind had been greatly excited by a violent and unprovoked attack upon the Church.” After preaching three times to large congregations, he was happy to report that his services helped to restore confidence and a spirit of forbearance and charity to the friends of the Church. But, he declared, there was no concealing the fact that attacks on the Church were “general and systematic,” because “the increasing prosperity of our Zion has awakened a spirit of jealousy, and a settled plan of opposition,” which must be met by the Convention “*in the spirit of your Master.*”¹⁰⁹

In 1842 the bishop reported that he had visited every parish and every missionary station that year, having traveled 2,700 miles in his own carriage, besides making two journeys to New York by public conveyance. He concluded that the interests of the Church were steadily advancing, as seen by the formation of “an unusually large number of parishes” and “the decided increase in our confirmations.” Indeed, during the year 379 people were confirmed and 4 deacons and 5 priests ordained. In addition, 12 missionaries were active in the field. A presbyter, aided by a deacon, was established at Lincolnton, whose field embraced Mecklenburg, Lincoln, Rutherford, Caldwell, and Burke counties. Another presbyter, assisted by a deacon, served 6 congregations in Rowan, Davie, Iredell, Davidson, and Surry counties. But at Pittsboro and Wadesboro, the 2 missionaries had resigned and resorted to “school-keeping.” However, a presbyter was active at Plymouth, St. Lukes, Locust Grove in Washington County, and Wil-

liamston, and another in Halifax and Bertie counties officiated at Scotland Neck, Halifax, and Windsor. The parishes of Trinity, St. Thomas, St. John's, Durham's Creek, and Zion, Beaver Dam, in Beaufort County, were under the pastoral care of a missionary who occasionally held services in Greenville. Another presbyter served Perquimans County, embracing Hertford, Harvey's Neck, Old Neck, and Durant's Neck, whereas Hertford and Gates counties received the gratuitous services of the deacon at St. Paul's Church, Edenton, who sustained himself by operating a classical school; the deacon at St. Paul's also found time to establish parishes at Murfreesboro, Manney's Neck, Gatesville, and Sunbury Swamp. At St. Paul's, Swift Creek, St. Thomas's in Craven County, and St. Mary's, Orange County, two presbyters had kept up services, but their main support had been derived from teaching. Finally, another missionary succeeded in establishing the Church of the Holy Innocents at Henderson, which the bishop consecrated.¹¹⁰

At the 1843 Convention St. Luke's Church in Lincolnton, Grace Church in Plymouth, and St. Thomas's Church in Windsor were admitted into union with the Convention. Two years later five more parishes were organized: St. Philip's in Mocksville, Grace in Morganton, the Church of the Epiphany in Leaksville, St. Peter's Chapel in Charlotte, and St. John's in Pitt County. In 1847 three additional congregations were admitted into union with the Convention: Church of the Redemption in Lexington, St. Paul's in Greenville, and St. Mark's in Chatham County. The same year the bishop consecrated St. Peter's in Charlotte.¹¹¹

Of special note was the beginning of the construction of a new building for Christ Church, Raleigh—a "handsome granite structure . . . regarded by competent critics as one of the most beautiful examples of ecclesiastical architecture in America . . . [and] . . . designed by the eminent architect, Richard Upjohn, who likewise planned Old Trinity, in New York City, and many other notable structures." The cornerstone was laid on 28 December 1848 by Bishop Ives; the building was completed, free from debt, in about five years and was consecrated on 5 January 1854 by Bishop Atkinson.¹¹²

In the last five years of Ives's episcopate, five new churches were admitted into union with the Convention and eleven churches were consecrated. The churches admitted were:

in 1848: Church of the Holy Trinity, Hertford
St. John's Church, Rutherfordton
Christ Church, Rockfish, in Cumberland County
Gethsemane Church, Falkland

in 1853: St. Mark's Church, Halifax¹¹³

The churches consecrated by Bishop Ives were:

in 1848: Church of the Epiphany, Leaksville

in 1849: Chapel of the Cross, Chapel Hill
St. Philip's Church, Mocksville

in 1850: St. Paul's, Wilkesboro
Church of the Advent, Williamston

in 1851: All Saints' Chapel, Nags Head
Church of St. Barnabas, near Woodville,
Perquimans County
Church of the Saviour, Jackson
Church of the Holy Trinity, Hertford

in 1852: Trinity Church, Asheville
St. John's Church, Rutherford¹¹⁴

The Church of the Holy Trinity in Hertford was described as "being, by far, the best and most suitable wooden building in the Diocese; and constructed at an expense of 2000 dollars," whereas the Church of the Saviour in Jackson as "a neat and commodious building," and Trinity Church in Asheville as "a neat Gothic edifice."¹¹⁵

In the report of the Committee on the State of the Church for Ives's last year in the Diocese, the statistics were impressive: 521 baptized, of whom 130 were adults; 182 confirmed; 141 added to the communion; 2,219 communicants; 2 presbyters and 3 deacons ordained; and 4 candidates admitted for Holy Orders.¹¹⁶

Although the Episcopal Church had prospered greatly under Bishop Ives, it was to receive a stunning blow in his apostasy to the Roman Catholic Church. The degree to which Ives was influenced by the Oxford Movement then afoot in England and to a lesser extent in the United States is problematical, but certainly it had its effect. This movement, also called Tractarianism, Puseyism, or Anglo-Catholicism, originated with a series of pamphlets entitled *Tracts for*

the Times, issued at Oxford, England, during 1833–41. Its original objectives were to attack the Erastianism (or subservience of the Church to the state) and theological liberalism of the day, and to urge the revival of the seventeenth-century patristic, sacramental piety, and theology of Archbishop William Laud. Impetus was given to the Oxford Movement by John Keble's sermon in St. Mary's, Oxford, in July 1833, in which he preached on the national apostasy of the Church. The succeeding tracts by Keble and Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey maintained that the Church of England was being led astray from its historic and traditional position as a branch of the Church Catholic, the visible organization founded by Christ and the Apostles. It was therefore imperative to reaffirm the Church's belief in the apostolic succession of its episcopate, in the Sacraments as efficacious sources of Divine Grace, and particularly in baptism as a means of regeneration and in the Eucharist as the means of salvation. The series ended with John Henry Newman's *Tract No. 90*, which argued that the condemnation of Roman Catholic practices in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England was directed largely, though not entirely, to the abuses rather than to the dogmas of the earlier Church. Newman apostatized to Rome and later became a cardinal; others followed.¹¹⁷

An English theological historian, Stephen Neill, has aptly concluded that the great and permanent contribution of the Oxford Movement to the life of the English Church was its emphasis on apostolic descent. "All else—greater frequency of the celebration of the Holy Communion, liturgical experiment, more ornate ceremonial, the practice of 'sacramental' confession, the foundation of the theological colleges, the renewal of the monastic life, a stronger sense of continuity with the past—all these things, important as they may be, are secondary to the central issue."¹¹⁸ Such a movement quite naturally had repercussions in the Episcopal Church in America, though its effects in the 1830s and 1840s differed in two respects from that of the Oxford Movement in England. First, there was no danger of a state Church or of Erastianism as in England, and, second, there was already in the American Episcopal Church an active and influential High Church party which had looked to Bishop John Henry Hobart as its leader and to such journals as *The Churchman* as its spokesman. Therefore, according to James Thayer Addison, one of the Church's most profound historians, "the Episcopal Church *needed* the Oxford Movement less than did the Church of England, and for that reason,

as well as for others, it produced here less extreme results.” Further, because High Churchmen in America had been preaching and teaching the importance of apostolic succession, the nature of the Eucharist, the sin of schism, and the patristics (or the authority of the early Church Fathers), there was no great explosion in America. In fact, it was not until the 1840s that the Church in America awakened to the controversy.¹¹⁹

Bishop Ives first took official notice of the movement in America in his address to the Convention in 1842, in which he thanked God for the harmony of views and actions of his Diocese. He maintained that peace and quietness continued here “in respect to all those disturbing matters which of late have been so deeply felt in some other sections of the Church. Questions which there have stirred up the bitter waters of strife, seemed to have passed over us without ruffling even the surface of our tranquility . . . [and] by His grace we have been enabled, under what is termed the ‘Oxford excitement,’ to remain self-possessed and unmoved.”¹²⁰

Having taken such a position, Ives, two years later, began to evince leanings toward the Oxford Movement, as seen during a discussion at the law office of George Badger in February 1844. As reported by William Hooper Haigh, a law student in the office, Ives declared that it was absolutely necessary for “high Churchmen to act decidedly.” He was particularly disturbed by resolutions introduced at the South Carolina Convention and rejected by a very small majority. These resolutions censured Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York for ordaining Arthur Carey, a recent alumnus of the General Theological Seminary, who, in his canonical examinations, had declared that the Thirty-nine Articles could be reconciled with the decrees of the Council of Trent. This incident had caused great excitement and led the Evangelicals—as opposed to the High Churchmen—to demand an official investigation of the seminary.¹²¹

Ives told Badger he felt that the state of the Church was “truly precarious—the public mind much excited, and unless some master spirits . . . should raise their voices against the insubordination of the low Church system, we would soon be reduced to a state of chaos and confusion.” He implored Badger to go to the General Convention “and speak boldly and fearlessly his opinions—to set the wavering right, to make firm the weak, and if possible seek to preserve harmony and peace.”¹²² Young Haigh was in complete accord with Ives as to the critical state of the Church:

The eyes of the world are fixed upon her movements—and if she withstands the shocks lately inflicted upon her—if the public mind shall finally settle down the principles upheld by the fathers of the reformation—if the restless, unsettled tempers of modern reformers do not mislead and deceive by fanciful and novel doctrines—if low Church principles do not prevail, and in her eagerness to avoid aristocracy in religion she fall not into the abominable abyss of mobocracy—if she escapes these evils, her course is a clear and triumphant one. . . . Are there not many who from mere feelings and private opinion have styled essential doctrines of the Episcopal creed, popish heresies—who denounce Pusey and the Oxford Tractarians as Antiprotestant, when in reality they have never read their works, know not what they have said, and can shew no rational cause for their arrogant opinions?¹²³

On the American scene, the General Seminary had to discipline those indulging in such practices as the use of the Breviary, devotions to the Virgin Mary, and private or auricular confession. Rather than forego these practices, seven students and newly ordained priests went over to the Roman Church, followed by six students at Nashotah House, a seminary founded in 1841 in Wisconsin. Though this was an exceedingly small percentage of the clergy and though it has been estimated that not more than thirty Episcopal clergymen entered the Roman Church in the thirty years before 1855, there was still cause for considerable alarm throughout the American Church and in the Diocese of North Carolina.¹²⁴

More particularly, there were rumors of certain Romish practices taking place at Valle Crucis and of certain vacillations in the mind of Bishop Ives. In the spring of 1848 he suffered from a dangerous fever and was confined to his bed for nearly two months in the home of Josiah Collins, Jr., of Edenton. As a result, he was unable to attend the Diocesan Convention at Wilmington in May and was not able to resume his duties until September. Later, Dr. Matthew Page, in a letter to the Convention of 1851, tried to prove that this fever had affected his mind. In accord with this testimony was a committee report to the 1851 Convention stating that written statements in the committee's possession tended to show that the bishop had for several years been in a state of mental excitement, which had impaired his memory and judgment. An oral statement from Josiah Collins further corroborated these conclusions.¹²⁵

Meanwhile, in October Bishop Ives was well enough to make the long journey to Valle Crucis, where he officiated before a large congregation, confirmed five persons, and celebrated the Holy Communion. To allay any false rumors, he reported to the Convention of 1849 the situation there: "For the quieting of some minds disturbed by unfounded rumors, I beg the Diocese to be assured that, at this religious house, no doctrine will be taught or practice allowed which is not in accordance with the principles and usages of our branch of the Holy Catholic Church, contained in the Book of Common Prayer."¹²⁶

In the spring of 1849, Bishop Ives had apparently circulated a letter to the parishes of the Diocese setting forth some of his High Church views. In a letter of 9 April, Mrs. William H. Battle asked her husband whether he had seen "one of the Bishop's letters? I have not, tho' it was circulating around [Chapel Hill] last week. I understand that Dr. [Elisha] Mitchell speaks of answering it. Miss Sally Mallett told me that she could not see any thing so objectionable in it."¹²⁷ Three weeks later Battle replied:

He [William N. Hawks, then rector of Christ Church, New Bern] is high church in his notions, but by no means in favor of our Bishop's new doctrines. By the way the Bishop will meet with great difficulty in his endeavours to indoctrinate the laity, if not the clergy, with his principles of [illegible] absolution, jesuitism etc. I understand that the vestry of the church at Washington have notified Mr. [Ferdinand E.] White, their rector, who is a follower of the Bishop, that they have no further occasion for his services. I have very little doubt that the example will be followed elsewhere, should the same cause for it be presented.¹²⁸

But toward the end of May, Mrs. Battle discounted some of the rumors, writing to her husband: "The Bishop preached us a real good sermon, said nothing or did nothing while here [Chapel Hill] that can have offended anyone—neither did he have on a *cross*—as *I* could see."¹²⁹ And yet the governess of the Ruffin and Cameron children told Mrs. Duncan Cameron that, on their way to the Salisbury Convention, several delegates had passed by the Hermitage, Ruffin's home on Alamance Creek. From them the Ruffins had heard "rumors of opposition to some of our Diocesan's late doings. . . . I am anxious to learn whether a stop is to be put to innovation or if we are to go

on by degrees, till practices that have crept into the church of Rome, are also to have a place in the church of N.C.”¹³⁰

Naturally when the Convention met on 24 May 1849 in Salisbury, there was unrest and agitation. The Committee on the State of the Church was thankful for the addition in the past two years of 11 clergymen, 253 communicants, and 228 baptisms, but it deplored “the existence among its members of great agitation and alarm, arising from the impression that doctrines have been preached not in accordance with the Liturgy and Articles of this Church, and that ceremonies and practices have been introduced either unauthorized by the customs of this Church, or in plain violation of its rubrics.” The committee further stated that it was convinced that most of the clergy were entirely opposed to such departures.¹³¹

The bishop, confined to his bed, sent a written reply, read by the Reverend Cameron F. McRae, in which he urged the delegates, both clerical and lay, to assure their parishes that he would make every effort “to hinder the inculcation of any doctrine or introduction of any practice—come from whatever quarter it may—not in strict accordance with the Liturgy of our Church.” As for the question of auricular confession, which he said had agitated the Diocese of late, the Book of Common Prayer did not authorize any clergyman of the Church “to teach or enforce such confession as necessary to salvation; and that the only confession which it authorizes, is the voluntary confession of the penitent, in accordance with the exhortation in the office for the Holy Communion.”¹³² The Convention in a special resolution expressed great satisfaction over the bishop’s charge and ordered one thousand copies to be distributed to the various parishes, along with the committee’s report and the special resolution.¹³³

All seemed well until Ives rocked the Diocese with an eighty-page publication, entitled *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of His Diocese*, dated 8 August 1849 and issued from Valle Crucis. In his prefatory remarks, the bishop said he considered it humiliating to have given such a charge to the clergy but partially excused himself on the ground that a severe illness had prevented his “writing or even *thinking* intensely without danger of my life.”¹³⁴ He was particularly concerned about the principle set forth in the resolutions of the Convention, that is, “the right of a convention to affirm what a diocese holds, or what the clergy may, or may not teach.” He vehemently opposed such a principle, which was “utterly subversive of the fundamental faith and polity of the Church,” holding that no Convention

so constituted had the right to determine “what is or should be the faith or practice under the faith of a diocese” and that “no such convention *can*, without an unauthorized assumption of power and a dangerous invasion of clerical rights and functions, presume to say, what is held by a diocese, or what its clergy *may or may not teach*.”¹³⁵ Indeed, “Whatever man, therefore, or body of men, take upon themselves the power of dictation, or control, or under any form, the chief direction, in regard to the doctrine, discipline and worship of this diocese, or of any part of this diocese, are guilty of arrogating powers, committed solely to my hands, assuming a trust, for which I alone am made responsible, and resisting the authority of Christ, and the functions of the Holy Ghost with which I only am invested.”¹³⁶

Ives also categorically denied the solemn charge that “doctrines have been preached not in accordance with the Liturgy and Articles of the Church, and that ceremonies and practices have been introduced either unauthorized by the customs of this Church, or in plain violation of its rubrics.” He stood ready, he wrote, to answer “to the One Catholic and Apostolic Church, as represented by our branch of it,” pointing out that all he had taught in the last year had been contained in his *Seven Sermons on the Obedience of Faith, and a Pastoral Letter on the Priestly Office*, which had received a glowing review from the Bishop of South Carolina in the *Charleston Gospel Messenger* of June 1849.¹³⁷

The bulk of his pastoral was devoted to an assertion and defense, fortified by various authorities, of the doctrines of auricular confession, private absolution, prayers for the dead, invocation of the saints, and the “real presence” in the Eucharist. He later denied that by the “real presence” he meant transubstantiation. In the light of later events, the bishop’s observations on the Oxford Movement are revealing. He wrote that, just after the death of Bishop Ravenscroft, the Anglican Church

was roused from her deep slumber, and called up to a consideration of her office and gifts by the stirring voice of a few holy men at the University of Oxford and its neighborhood. The simplicity, earnestness, faithfulness, humility, and adaptedness to the yearnings of many minds, of the Oxford Tracts, gave them ready access to almost every fireside and heart in England, and soon made them welcome messengers of love and hope to our shores. . . . The change promised fair for the cause of holiness

and truth. But as was to have been expected with ardent and honest-hearted young men, errors of judgment were committed, and a check was given to the rising truth. The most violent opposition was awakened . . . and every available influence was brought to bear against the authors and advocates of this fresh revival of the Church-mind to the true CHURCH-PRINCIPLES. . . .¹³⁸

When the re-action against the Oxford Tracts took place, I narrowly and anxiously watched the effect upon my own diocese; which, as I had thought, had, in the main, sympathized with their doctrinal views, simply because these views were considered a faithful and earnest exhibition of the true doctrines of the Church. It was a matter of grief to me, therefore, to find some minds of high order, that had seemed strongly impressed, not only with the *truth*, but *essential importance* of these doctrines, gradually yielding under popular pressure, to the idea of their danger, and ready to acquiesce in the justice of regarding those as *disturbers* of the peace of the Church who continued to advocate them. As your Bishop felt himself bound in conscience to do this, he, of course, fell, more or less, with those who thought with him, under this oppressive censure. How far he has been justly liable to it, he leaves it with the Church to judge.¹³⁹

Reaction to Ives's position differed among the members of his flock. Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin, certainly one of the most judicial and fair-minded laymen of the Diocese, in a letter to his wife, defended the bishop, though at the time of writing, Ives's pastoral had not reached Raleigh. As a matter of fact, it did not arrive until 29 September. Ruffin wrote that Ives had preached an excellent sermon in Raleigh on the morning of 2 September and a most moving exhortation in the afternoon: "both *practical*, earnest, and instructive." The bishop had sat alone with the chief justice the preceding evening and had talked "a great deal and very seriously and zealously: with a full sense . . . of the mischief—temporary, at least, that may come of recent events and a clear perception that trouble is before him and the church." It was Ruffin's opinion that he had not acted at all times "with the grave discretion, appropriate to his office, and has sometimes spoken too lightly of the imperfections, and omissions of our Liturgy and standard of doctrine, discipline, worship and ecclesiastical duties: whereby the Best Book in the world, next to *The Book*, as

I think, has been disparaged in the estimation of himself and some others." Yet Ruffin felt that Ives had "no bad intentions and he avers most solemnly that he has *no Roman* affections or tendencies, and declares that, if driven from the Diocese upon a charge of heterodoxy, and, even, cut off from the Church, he can never, never go to Rome!" At the end of his visit, the bishop told Ruffin he would proceed to Mrs. Ruffin's house at the Hermitage on Alamance Creek if "you are not afraid I shall carry off your family to Rome."¹⁴⁰

On the other hand, Lucy M. Battle wrote her husband in October that, after reading the bishop's last pastoral very attentively, she could not see what would be done. She had heard that both the Reverend Richard S. Mason of Christ Church, Raleigh, and U.S. Senator George Badger intended to reply to it.¹⁴¹

Ives's *Pastoral Letter* produced an outburst of replies. In October, Badger, under the pseudonym of "A Layman of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina," issued a lengthy pamphlet entitled *An Examination of the Doctrines Declared and Powers Claimed by the Right Reverend Bishop Ives*. His chief criticism centered on the bishop's position on auricular confession and on the fact that, according to Badger, Ives had instituted a monastic order at Valle Crucis whose members were bound to him by vows of celibacy, poverty, and obedience and whom he had given a black cassock that extended from the throat to the ankles, similar to that worn by the Jesuits. He also charged that Ives allowed the Roman practice of placing a pyx on the altar, in which the remaining consecrated elements after the communion were kept. Even more indicting was the accusation that he had allowed the use of a manual of devotion containing prayers to the Virgin Mary and to the Saints. Badger conceded that the bishop had removed what he called these objectionable "expressions," not because they were "wrong in principle," but because they were "liable to abuse." Equally serious was the fact that Ives had said in the presence of several clergymen that the Episcopal Church was in schism and that he could not advise "a Romanist to leave his communion for ours in order to obtain greater religious advantages." In conclusion, Badger argued that the laity could not yield its conscience and judgment "in blind submission to any Bishop" nor "consent to have her character changed by infusions from Rome or Oxford." And he denied that "any man has a right by importations from another church or country—Rome or England—ancient or modern—to add to the doctrine, discipline, or worship of her Liturgy, Articles, and Canons,

any thing which she has thought proper to omit, to condemn thereby, or to discard therefrom.”¹⁴²

Perhaps the reaction of Congressman David Outlaw of Windsor to Badger’s pamphlet was typical of the sentiment of the Diocese as a whole: “Mr. Badger’s reply . . . is well written I understand from some who have read it, and is a triumphant reply.” Commenting on the rumored apostasy to Rome of the Reverend John M. Forbes of New York, Outlaw wrote: “Our Bishop would act in a manly way, if he would follow his example.”¹⁴³

Another attack was written by the Reverend Francis L. Hawks in a 130-page booklet entitled *Auricular Confession in the Protestant Episcopal Church; Considered in a Series of Letters Addressed to a Friend in North Carolina*, appearing under the pseudonym “A Protestant Episcopalian.” In this work, Hawks, who had taken orders under Bishop Ravenscroft, deplored the Roman leanings of Ravenscroft’s successor and particularly Ives’s stand on auricular confession. Hawks maintained that auricular confession was not a Sacrament instituted by Christ; rather, it was a doctrine introduced into the Roman Church at the Lateran Council in 1215 and reinforced by canons adopted at the Council of Trent in 1545–63. He argued that a Sacrament was “an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, by Christ himself,” and that baptism and the Eucharist were the only two Sacraments so instituted. More specifically, he attacked Ives for his contention that he alone, and not the General Convention, was responsible for the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Diocese. He also accused him of violating a fundamental principle of the Church’s ecclesiastical polity by the formation of “The Holy Cross” at Valle Crucis, with its attendant vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience.¹⁴⁴

Still other criticism came from the North and from the Deep South. The Reverend Samuel Farmar Jarvis, formerly of the North Carolina Diocese and now of the Diocese of Connecticut, wrote, with the approbation of his bishop, a pamphlet entitled *A Voice from Connecticut; Occasioned by the Late Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of North Carolina*. Here, again, the doctrines of auricular confession and private absolution were attacked, and baptism and the Eucharist were held to be the only two Sacraments instituted by Christ. From Weddington, New York, the Reverend John H. Hanson took issue with Ives in a tract entitled *The Doctrine of Repentance*.¹⁴⁵ And from Mississippi, a layman, George S. Yerger, attacked the same doctrines held

by Ives in *A Letter on the Doctrine of the Church, in Regard to Auricular Confession and Private Absolution*.

Perhaps the most scurrilous indictment of Ives, written "By a Layman," was entitled *Puseyite Developments, or Notices of the New York Ecclesiologists* and dedicated to Bishop Ives. The Romish-leaning New York Ecclesiological Society had as its professed objective the improvement of ecclesiastical architecture, but its official periodical, *The Ecclesiologist*, insisted on an elaborate symbolism throughout all church furnishings, the orientation of churches to the east, the correct plans for cemeteries, and certain rules "for the guidance of Church builders and Church founders in the choice of a PATRON SAINT." Moreover, on 8 January 1849, the society elected Bishop Ives, with his consent, a patron. The pamphlet in question accused Ives and certain other clergymen and bishops of converting the Episcopal Church "into a sort of *tertium quid*, a popish Church without a Pope" and of being in the position of "a minister of the Protestant Church, but a believer of the Catholic faith" who lived in such a "perfect purgatory" that they could have no rest until they escaped from it to the See of Rome. The tract also assigned the authorship of an anonymous pamphlet, *The Voice of the Anglican Church on Confession*, to the Reverend D. C. McLeod, who, it claimed, was a presbyter under Ives and who wrote it at the bishop's request. The author of *Puseyite Developments* also made the prophetic statement that McLeod had "outstripped his Bishop in the race toward Rome, having already arrived at the end of the journey." The veracity of these statements about McLeod might well be questioned as there is no record of his name in the *Diocesan Journal*, though the *Journal of the General Convention* for 1847 does list a "Rev. C. L. McCloud" as a deacon. Also, according to the records of Holy Innocents, Henderson, McLeod was in charge of that parish for a few months in 1846. The publication attributed to McLeod did prompt a reply entitled *The Voice of the Protestant Episcopal Church on Confession*, which stated: "One of the Bishops of our Church is reputed to be the editor [of the earlier publication], and it is said to be the precursor of several discourses which are soon to emanate from the same quarter in favor of Auricular Confession."¹⁴⁶

The final publication, *A Letter to the Bishop of North Carolina*, was written by the venerable Richard Sharpe Mason, D.D., at that time rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, who had also been chairman of the Committee on the State of the Church at the Salisbury Convention.

The pamphlet presented a lengthy defense of the stand taken by the Convention and of the report of the Committee on the State of the Church, and pointed specifically to the past inconsistencies, evasions, and irregular doctrinal practices of the bishop, urging him to further clarify his position. In conclusion, Mason beseeched him “to remove, if possible, our doubts and difficulties; to speak so clearly and fully, that hereafter we cannot mistake you. God grant, that . . . we may again stand with you.”¹⁴⁷ Lucy M. Battle, the avid observer, wrote her husband that, in view of Mason’s reply, she could not see “how the Bishop can get over it—without noticing it in some way—and really I cannot believe that he can vindicate himself if he does attempt it.”¹⁴⁸

In April 1850, Bishop Hobart attempted to come to his son-in-law’s rescue by publishing *A Letter from the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ives in Answer to Certain Questions Concerning Confession and Absolution*. In the preface to this pamphlet, Hobart wrote that he had framed a number of questions and submitted them to Ives to meet the popular misapprehensions of the doctrine maintained by Bishop Ives in respect to confession and absolution, and to make it obvious to the general reader that certain obnoxious opinions attributed to the bishop were not really his; and that he did not advocate a system which was in substance that of the Roman Church. Hobart felt that Ives, who had given twenty years of service in the episcopate, had shown in his answers to Hobart’s questions “a full corrective of the false impressions” concerning his doctrines as set forth in his *Pastoral Letter*, and that his teaching introduced nothing new in the Episcopal Church, which, indeed, allowed him to take such liberty.¹⁴⁹ Ives himself did seek to correct these impressions both in his answers and in a notable letter to Hobart, which goes to the heart of the matter:

When I say that our branch of the Church admits of no other than *voluntary* confession, I *mean* it. And when I say there is a *moral* necessity for confession to a Priest, in certain cases, to be judged of by the Penitent himself, I mean no other cases than such as are indicated by the language of our Exhortation to the Holy Communion, which is as follows: “Because it is *requisite* that no man shall come to the Holy Communion but with a firm trust in God’s mercy, and with a quiet conscience, *therefore*, if *there be* any of you who *by these means* cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but *requireth* further comfort and counsel, let him

come to me or some other Minister of God's word, and open his grief."¹⁵⁰

Suffice it to say that Ives gave an affirmative answer to all sixteen of the carefully worded and perhaps carefully slanted questions by his father-in-law, thereby extricating himself for the time being from his earlier Romish leanings.

Private reaction to the conciliatory position and conduct of Bishop Ives is reflected in a number of comments by members of the Diocese. On 19 January 1850, Thomas Ruffin wrote his wife that the bishop had arrived in Raleigh but was not at church on Sunday, giving Mrs. Ives's sudden illness as his reason. Ruffin hesitated to call on him "as it really seems not to be safe to hold conversation with him upon the subjects uppermost in his mind at present. I am truly grieved for the poor man, as his difficulties seem both to multiply and magnify. But I learn he professes to be unusually well in health and spirits."¹⁵¹ On the twenty-seventh, Ruffin again wrote his wife: "I suppose you will have the Bishop with you today. I hope he will *preach*—not dogmatise nor deal in disputation. He is a *good preacher*, but not a very learned divine, not steadfast in the principles of his Church. Still, attendance on his discourses may be edifying, and I hope he will strive to make it so."¹⁵²

On this same visitation Ives preached at Chapel Hill "one of his best sermons," according to Mrs. William H. Battle, and there was "a good congregation—even the gallery was full! Every one I have seen was pleased with the sermon—even the Presbyterians."¹⁵³ From Hillsborough, however, there was a different report. In the words of a parishioner who had just returned from Chapel Hill:

Our dear Bishop is as much abused and reprobated as ever. You can have no idea of the existing state of feeling towards him. In some places, members of the Church, will not go to hear him. Prayers have been offered in the Roman Church for him, as a persecuted brother. Many of his own people believe him to be a Romanist—other denominations do not hesitate to call him so. It is melancholy indeed. I cannot believe that he has changed his religion, altho' my faith in him is shaken when I know that our oldest and best ministers think him entirely wrong.¹⁵⁴

Congressman David L. Outlaw, commenting in May about a sermon preached by Ives, seemed to put his finger on the gravity of the situation:

The Bishop was wise I think in refraining from introducing any doctrinal points into his sermons. His aberrations are deeply to be lamented on several accounts. He is undoubtedly an able and eloquent man, I dare say of good intentions, but he has been pouring over the old Fathers, until his head is a little turned. But the greatest regret is, it is very much to be feared, his opinions and course however unjustly will very much injure the Church of which he is the head. The Episcopalians had just outlived the prejudices produced by the connection of that church with the colonial government, and was making considerable progress, when it is interrupted by this occurrence.¹⁵⁵

The situation was delicate when the Diocesan Convention met in Elizabeth City during 29 May–3 June 1850. In his address, Bishop Ives at once expressed his deep regret that his pastoral since the last Convention had in any way been interpreted to question the motives or the faith of the clergy of the Diocese, assuring the delegates of his confidence in their affection, charity, and firm adherence to the faith and discipline of the Church. To allay any misconceptions, he declared that he neither taught nor held to “Private Confession and Absolution in the Romish sense,” nor did he believe that they were necessary Sacraments in themselves, as in the case of baptism and the Lord’s Supper. He did not teach or hold to “Christ’s Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist” in the sense of transubstantiation, but only in a spiritual sense, which was “not the less real”; nor to the doctrine that the bread and wine should be “reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped”; nor that the Episcopal Church allows any prayer or invocation to the Blessed Virgin, saints, or angels, because they are “clearly derogatory to Christ and opposed to God’s Word.” Finally, he did not teach or hold to the doctrine “that our branch of the Catholic Church is from any cause either in heresy or schism, or that she is destitute of the true Sacramental system.”¹⁵⁶

In an apparent effort to ensure complete reconciliation between himself and the Diocese, Ives requested that a committee of clergymen and laymen be appointed to investigate all the circumstances connected with the difficulties of the Diocese. Such a committee was established—comprising the Reverends Robert B. Drane, Jarvis B. Buxton, Samuel I. Johnston, and Richard Sharpe Mason from the clergy and Messrs. Augustus Moore, Josiah Collins, George W. Mordecai, and James W. Bryan from the laity. This committee in turn

recommended the appointment of a committee of three clergymen and three laymen to report to the next Convention, this being "the earliest period at which a representation of the Church in the Diocese could be obtained." The composition of the new committee was the same as the previous one, with the omission of Johnston and Bryan.¹⁵⁷ The Committee on the State of the Church reported its "great satisfaction" with the bishop's address, trusting that his explanations would tend to remove "the agitation and distrust" of which he spoke and to restore the peace and harmony for which the Diocese was formerly distinguished.¹⁵⁸

All seemed to be calm on the surface, but Congressman Outlaw thought the postponement of any action until the General Convention in October to be "a strange course." His position on the subject was unequivocal: "Now I think it important we should know at once whether the doctrines taught by the Bishop, are the doctrines of the Episcopal Church. If they are I never can subscribe to them. Auricular confessions and priestly authority I regard with repugnance." Moreover, he feared that the bishop had "too much the heart of a Jesuit, that he is not candid, manly, frank and open as he ought to be. He retracts, and explains, and qualifies his opinions rather too often to suit my favor."¹⁵⁹ Outlaw had visited the Badgers in Washington, where the chief topic of conversation was the Convention's actions regarding the bishop. He reported that Mrs. Badger had heard that there had been a secret conclave (unknown to the laity) between the clergy and the bishop, and that the matter was to be definitely postponed—presumably until the General Convention, at which the bishop would make certain explanations and recantations. Outlaw felt that there was in North Carolina "both amongst the clergy and a large portion of the people, too great a disposition to yield up every things [*sic*] to our spiritual guides."¹⁶⁰

Meanwhile, soon after the Diocesan Convention, the Cameron and Ruffin governess wrote that there was some talk of the bishop's going to New Bern to live, which would have greatly cheered up a "Mrs. B.," who took no pleasure in his society. The bishop also was reported to have passed through Raleigh with "little Forbes," presumably the son of the Reverend John M. Forbes who had apostatized. The writer suspected he would go to Valle Crucis "and there get a fresh *taint*."¹⁶¹

At the General Convention, held in Cincinnati in October 1850, North Carolina was represented by Bishop Ives; the clergy by the

Reverends Richard Sharpe Mason, Jarvis B. Buxton, and Alfred A. Watson; and the laity by John S. Eaton of Henderson. The report on the State of the Church in North Carolina made a brief reference to the Investigating Committee requested by Ives, adding that "whatever may be the result, the Diocese, true to the Prayer Book as the embodiment of the Church mind, remains unshaken on ground hitherto occupied."¹⁶²

Though all may have seemed to have been reconciled before the next Diocesan Convention at the end of May 1851, there were still undercurrents of unhappiness and uneasiness. From Wilkesboro, Judge William H. Battle wrote his wife that he had been to church and heard the Reverend W. R. Gries, whom he described as a young man "of decided talents, a devoted and uncompromising Episcopalian, but unfortunately too fond of the novelties which have of late caused so much agitation and confusion in our church"—a fact which had no doubt "seriously impaired his usefulness in this section of the country." He had given the enemies of the Church occasion "to charge it with having a strong tendency to Romanism, indeed to be little else than Roman Catholicism in disguise." Judge Battle went on to say that even the style of the church edifice in Wilkesboro was considered proof of the allegation, though he himself thought it was "quite a quaint looking building, being the extreme of the Gothic style with quite a sufficiency of crosses on the outside as well as within." Moreover its site was "romantic, and to an unprejudiced eye its appearance, though picturesque, is very pleasant."¹⁶³

Mrs. Battle told her husband that "poor Dr. Mason will probably be compelled to leave Raleigh on account of the prejudice against him on the part of some of his congregation." Though it is not clear, this opposition to Mason might be explained by the fact that he was not at this time taking as strong a stand in regard to the bishop as people felt he should, as evidenced by Mrs. Battle's next reports: "Judge Badger takes up his hat as soon as the service is over and walks out of Church every Sunday—does hardly speak to him when he meets him [,] has withdrawn his support of a Minister for he says he belongs to the church in Washington—he is nevertheless going to the Convention as a delegate from Raleigh—that is queer." She also noted that the parishioners of Christ's Church, Raleigh, wanted to call Mr. Thomas F. Davis, Jr., from the Chapel of the Cross, Chapel Hill, "so soon as they can get rid of the Dr." She lamented that such opposition was due to "the whimsicalities of a few persons who call themselves

‘Christians’” and, especially because of the “secessions” of those in England, she was “alarmed at the state of Church at present.”¹⁶⁴

The Diocesan Convention of 1851 met from 28 May to 2 June at St. John’s Church, Fayetteville. Behind closed doors, the Convention studied the report of the Investigating Committee appointed—at the request of the bishop—to inquire into the causes of the difficulties in the Diocese. According to the report, the chairman, Jarvis B. Buxton, had been instructed to lay the actions of the previous Convention before the pastors of all the churches in the Diocese, with the request that they do the same with their wardens and vestry to consider whatever steps they and the rector thought proper.¹⁶⁵ The full Investigating Committee then met in Raleigh in January 1851 to review the communications from the various parishes. Four parishes (Christ’s Church, Rockfish, Cumberland County; St. John’s Church, Fayetteville; St. Bartholomew’s Church, Pittsboro; and Emmanuel Church, Warrenton) and George W. Mordecai, a prominent Raleigh layman, had charged the bishop with holding and teaching erroneous doctrines, as follows:

1st. It is alleged that the Bishop stated, that he believed the Church to be in schism; and that he would not be Bishop of Maryland for his right arm . . .

In relation to the above, the Rev. J. B. Buxton makes the following statement before the Committee: That he understood the Bishop as applying his remarks to the Diocese of Maryland and to California, as being originally subjected to the See of Rome, and not to the Church at large in the United States.

2d. It is alleged that he declared his purpose to appoint a Penitentiary Priest to visit the different Parishes of his Diocese . . .

3d. It is alleged that he declared that he objects to the Prayers to the Virgin Mary, or to Saints, not because they are wrong in themselves, but because they are liable to abuse . . .

4th. It is alleged that the difficulties in the Diocese have been caused by the teachings of the Bishop on the subject of Auricular Confession and Absolution . . .

5th. It is alleged that these difficulties have been caused by the teachings of the Bishop on the subject of the Real Presence in the

Eucharist; which words are supposed to be used by him in their Romish sense . . .

6th. It is alleged that the Bishop's supposed connection with the publication of the Pamphlet known as "The Voice of the Anglican Church," has been one of the causes of the difficulties of the Diocese.

It is alleged that the Bishop did establish within this Diocese The Order of the Holy Cross, and that he did introduce novel and unauthorized customs and practices within the same.

The committee had felt that the findings were of sufficient importance to be presented to the Convention.¹⁶⁶

At the 1851 Convention, Josiah Collins recommended that, because the Investigating Committee's findings were *ex parte* in character and because the committee had not been empowered to confer with the bishop, the report and documents be recommitted to a committee of twelve, consisting of six clergymen and six laymen, with power to confer with the bishop. His recommendation was approved and a new committee was appointed, with the Reverend Edwin Geer, rector of St. Peter's Church, Washington, as chairman.¹⁶⁷

The next day the chairman reported to the Convention that Bishop Ives had appeared before the committee and had stated that it had been "at one time a very favorite idea with him to bring about a union of the Roman, the Greek, the Anglican, and the American Churches; and that in his zeal for Catholic union, he had overlooked the difficulties in the way, which he was now satisfied were insuperable." Moreover, he attributed these aberrations to "a high state of nervous excitement, arising either from bodily disease or a constitutional infirmity," but that he had now returned "to a more healthy condition of mind and body." He then retracted and denounced the Invocation of Saints "as strongly as anyone." He held that confession to a priest was not necessary to salvation, that he did not believe in judicial absolution or the power of the priest to forgive sins, and that public absolution as contained in the liturgy of the Episcopal Church was the only proper absolution. Though he had had doubts, he was now satisfied that the Episcopal Church was not in schism, but he had never considered the doctrine of the real presence in the Holy Communion as synonymous with transubstantiation; rather, he believed in the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Finally, he dis-

avowed any involvement with the publication "The Voice of the Anglican Church," a pamphlet, as previously noted, that was originally advertised as edited by Bishop Ives. He also maintained that the Order of the Holy Cross had not existed since the Salisbury Convention in 1849 and that Valle Crucis was now only a missionary station.¹⁶⁸

The Reverend Mr. Geer also reported that, in addition to a letter from Dr. Matthew Page, of St. Paul's, Edenton, other written statements and an oral one by Josiah Collins attested to the fact that the bishop's mind had been for the last several years "singularly affected" from the attack of fever that had impaired his judgment and enfeebled his memory, "while other powers of his mind have been rather exalted."¹⁶⁹ George E. Badger introduced a resolution that, inasmuch as he had lost the confidence of the Diocese and his usefulness was "destroyed or greatly impaired," the bishop should resign. This resolution was modified by Robert Strange, of St. John's Church, Fayetteville, to the effect that, instead of asking for his resignation, the Convention should appoint an assistant bishop.¹⁷⁰ Two days later, however, Badger introduced a motion that, of the information contained in the two reports, only that relating to the bishop's religious doctrines be printed in the *Journals* of the Convention. The motion carried unanimously.¹⁷¹

Bishop Ives was thus exonerated, and it seemed as though a permanent reconciliation would now prevail in the Diocese. Moreover, Ives submitted to the Convention two significant documents—one that he had received from the Archbishop of Canterbury and one from the Bishop of Oxford. The archbishop's letter, announcing the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, suggested that it would be most appropriate for all the dioceses in America to join the Church of England in commemorating the event and in this way demonstrate to the world the close communion that bound the two churches. The bishop accordingly asked the concurrence of all the parishes in the Diocese in the celebration on the first Sunday after Trinity, though there is no evidence of any such action being taken.¹⁷²

The letter from the Bishop of Oxford transmitted a protest, signed by 632 clergymen and a large number of laymen, against "the late usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, whereby he assumes the right and power of dividing the territories of this ancient Church and Nation into new provinces and sees, and thrusts new Bishops into them." The approval of Bishop Ives, on behalf of the Diocese, was requested.

Ives expressed his “full, unreserved and hearty” approval of the protest and declared his “conscientious conviction” that the Episcopal Church in America, standing on the same firm basis with the mother Church in England, belongs “to that portion of Christ’s body which is the most scriptural, primitive, and truly catholic in its character; and that no one, embraced by holy baptism within its pale, can depart from it without grievous sin of doing despite to the Holy Ghost.” On his recommendation and that of the Committee on the State of the Church, the Convention approved the signing of the protest.¹⁷³

After the Convention, the bishop continued his ministrations as though no troubles had existed. In Chapel Hill he preached three times in November. Mrs. Battle was ecstatic in her praise: “O! such sermons. I scarcely ever heard before.” She was gratified at the respect shown them and did not doubt that he was also.¹⁷⁴ At the next annual Convention during 19–24 May 1852, again held in Fayetteville, there were no doctrinal disputes between the bishop and the delegates to disturb the tranquility. But by the time of the 1853 Convention in Raleigh, Bishop Ives had apostatized to Rome.

The series of events leading to this denouement began in September 1852, when the Standing Committee advanced the bishop \$912 on his salary and granted him a six-months’ absence to travel abroad because of his health and that of his wife. Soon after his departure, rumors spread through the Diocese that he was proceeding to Rome to apostatize. Some even maintained that he had taken such a step before he left.¹⁷⁵ The latter assertion was corroborated by a Roman Catholic paper published in France, *L’Univers*, which stated soon after Ives’s departure for Europe that he had embarked with the secret and prearranged purpose of going over to Rome. It reported that Ives had given his retraction to Archbishop Hughes of New York and had participated in the sacraments of the Roman Church, but that he had kept it a secret in order to procure from Pope Pius IX “the sweet consolation of himself receiving him into the flock.” However, because of fear of loss at sea, Ives had given the archbishop his abjuration in writing “furnished with the most incontestible characters of authenticity.”¹⁷⁶

The next definite news of Ives came in a letter from Rome, dated 22 December 1852, in which he announced his determination to make his submission to the Roman Catholic Church and, of course, to resign as Bishop of North Carolina. This decision, he wrote, was reached because the doubts that had troubled his mind for years had

grown into "clear and settled *convictions*—so clear and settled, that without a violation of conscience and honor and every obligation to God and His Church, I can no longer remain in my position." Moreover, he promised to return the money he had been advanced.¹⁷⁷

The widespread reaction to this defection was probably best stated by the Right Reverend William Mercer Green, who wrote from Mississippi on 6 April 1853: "I congratulate my dear native Diocese on the *deliverance* it has lately met with; whilst I mourn sorely over the apostasy of one who was once *my* Bishop as well as yr's." He predicted that the Convention would have "a delicate and rather novel work before them. . . . There is in the case of yr. late Bp. such a strange mixture of sanity and insanity of apparent sincerity on the one hand, and of gross falsehood on the other as to leave even one so well acquainted with him as *I* am at a loss what to call him? Where to place him and how to dispose of him."¹⁷⁸

On 28 May 1853, the Convention voted for a new bishop. The clergy cast twenty of its twenty-seven ballots for the nomination of the Reverend Thomas Atkinson, D.D., of Baltimore, who thereby received the necessary two-thirds vote. Of the laity, twenty-five of the thirty parishes represented voted to confirm the nomination of the clergy. Thus Atkinson, having received two-thirds of the votes of each order, was declared by the president as the duly elected Bishop of North Carolina.¹⁷⁹ The Convention also appointed a committee of three clergymen and two laymen to draw up a detailed statement of the difficulties between the former bishop and the Diocese to be laid before the next General Convention. On the committee were the Reverends Richard Sharpe Mason, chairman, A. A. Watson, and A. F. Olmsted and Messrs. Thomas Ruffin and William H. Battle.¹⁸⁰

Meanwhile, the Committee on the State of the Church reported that, from the time of the last Convention until the official end of Ives's episcopate, there had been 438 baptisms, 73 marriages, and 166 burials. The number of catechumens stood at 1,022; the number of communicants, at 1,778. There had been, however, only 41 confirmations, "the smallness of the number being attributable to the peculiar state of the Diocese."¹⁸¹

The committee dealing with Ives's defection reported to the General Convention when it met in New York in October 1853. This body, which held that Ives's resignation did not fulfill the requirement of the canon law of the Church, proceeded formally to vacate his office by a sentence of deposition.¹⁸² It was reported later that "none

who witnessed it will ever forget the solemn scene in the House of Deputies when, with both Houses standing around and before him, the venerable Presiding Bishop pronounced sentence of deposition on the late Bishop of North Carolina.”¹⁸³ To the credit of Bishop Ives, it should be mentioned that he authorized the Reverend John Murray Forbes (a convert to Rome who later returned to the Episcopal faith) to return to the Diocese about \$750, the approximate amount advanced beyond the time when he relinquished his bishopric, though there is no record of such payment.¹⁸⁴

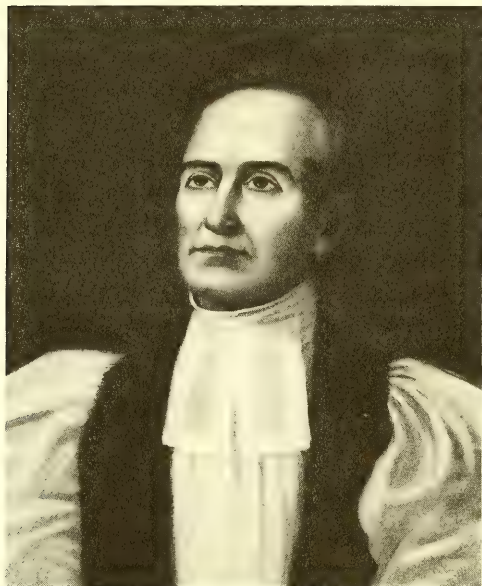
Reactions to Ives’s apostasy differed. The Roman Catholic priest, J. J. O’Connell, in his book, *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia*, maintained that Ives’s submission to Rome was “the most stunning blow that Protestantism ever received in America,” that “the manly step unsettled the faith of many,” that “the institution never recovered from the shock,” and that “it was the prophecy of its dissolution.” According to him, “When a man of Dr. Ives’s social standing, conceded abilities, blameless life and learning, the pride of the aristocratic Anglican Church and the foremost man among its hierarchy, laid down the insignia of a usurped office at the feet of the successor of St. Peter, a blow was dealt at the head of the decaying fabric that felled it to the ground like the idol in the temple of the philistines.”¹⁸⁵ Others, including a fellow at the General Theological Seminary, although conceding that his conversion caused a great deal of excitement, believed that it had no lasting significance.¹⁸⁶ The Episcopal Church historian, Charles C. Tiffany, writing in 1899, admitted that it was the most conspicuous of the secessions to Rome occasioned by the Oxford Movement; though others had gone, Ives’s apostasy had provoked the reaction of making “the ardent souls more sober, and tended to clear the air of much murky sentimentalism, which led to a less partisan and more rational appreciation of one another by members of the different schools [within the Episcopal Church].”¹⁸⁷

More germane to its effect in North Carolina was the later conclusion of Marshall DeLancey Haywood that Ives’s action would have been a great loss to the Episcopal Church if, in the prime of his influence and usefulness, he had suddenly embraced Catholicism at a time when no one suspected his proclivities. But, coming as it did after nearly four years of instability and secret evasion on his part, “with well grounded suspicion and distrust on the part of his people,” it actually benefited rather than injured the Diocese.¹⁸⁸ Of substantially the same opinion was the Committee on the State of the Church,

which reported to the General Convention of 1853: "It would be difficult to find a single person in North Carolina whose allegiance to the Church has been at all shaken by the apostasy of her late Bishop. On the contrary, it is believed that all members, having been tried, have come forth stronger in the faith and stronger in love to the Church."¹⁸⁹

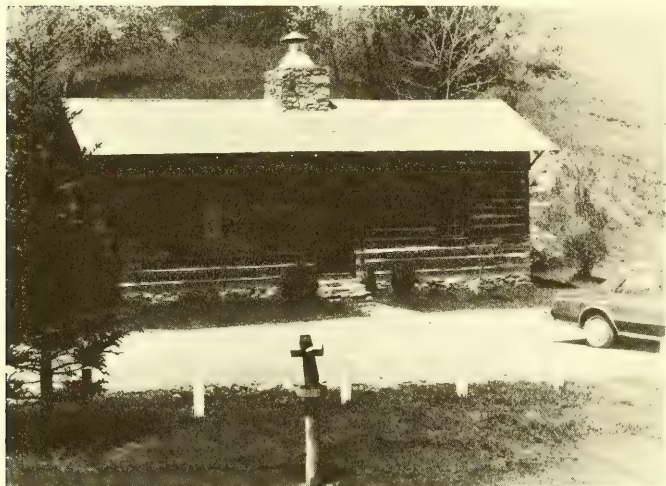
The report to the General Convention three years later, by its very repetition, gives the impression that "thou dost protest too much." It stated that Ives's action produced "far less disastrous results than might have been anticipated from the authority of his office and the love and influence which he once personally enjoyed in his Diocese." Further, it was "probable, indeed, that his open defection, as compared with his former equivocal course, was a relief rather than a blow to the Church, by putting an end to paralyzing fears and jealousies, and restoring confidence and affection among our own household of faith, and on the part of the community towards our entire body."¹⁹⁰

In 1854, Ives published a volume entitled *The Trials of a Mind in its Progress to Catholicism*, dedicated "To His Late Brethren of the Protestant Episcopate and Clergy, to those amongst whom he so long ministered, and to all who pray to be 'led into the way of truth . . . ' in the earnest hope that they may one day find both truth and peace in the bosom of the ONE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH." After lengthy justifications for his action, Ives confessed that the last year and a half of his episcopate had been "the most trying, the most painful, period of my life; although one of apparent quietness, official success, and restored confidence." But, he continued, after the effects of the Convention in 1851 had dissipated and his mind, "long pressed down by a weight of sore trial, had time to react, it came up at once, and to my own surprise, to its former level of Catholic belief: indeed, it was like waking from a pleasant dream to a frightful reality."¹⁹¹ Certainly there was pathos and sincerity in his final words: "I have loved you well; I have labored for you earnestly; and now I feel it to be a privilege . . . to plead that He may ere long . . . make you partakers of the new and unutterable joy which I now feel, when I declare before God that I BELIEVE ONE CATHOLIC and APOSTOLIC CHURCH."¹⁹²



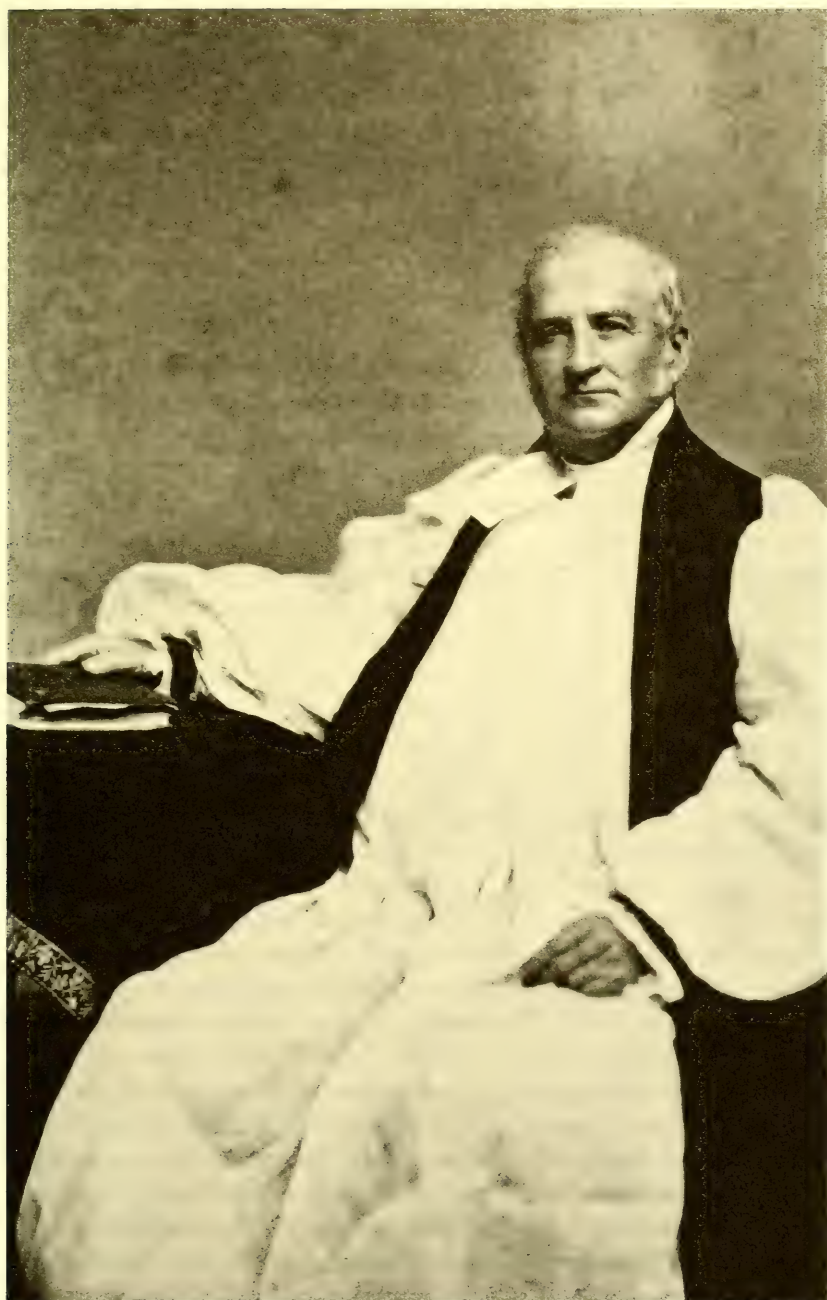
Levi Silliman Ives, second bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, 1831–53.

Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.



Ives used this cabin as his residence during his visits to Valle Crucis during the 1840s.

Episcopal Diocese of Western North Carolina, Black Mountain.



Thomas Atkinson, third bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, 1853–81.

Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.

The Opening Years of Thomas Atkinson's Episcopate

WILLIAM S. POWELL

The Diocesan Convention of North Carolina assembled in Christ Church, Raleigh, on 26 May 1853 without a bishop. The Reverend Richard S. Mason, rector of the host church, was elected president. In his other capacity as president of the Standing Committee, it fell to his lot to read two letters from the former bishop of the Diocese. On 27 September 1852, Bishop Ives had written to ask for a leave of absence for six months because of the state of his and his wife's health and for an allowance of \$1,000 in advance on his salary to be used for travel. A second letter, read at the same time, was dated 22 December 1852, from Rome. It informed the Convention that Ives had determined "to do an act of self-sacrifice, in view of which all other self-sacrificing acts of my life are less than nothing." He was about to make his submission to the Roman Catholic Church.

Although the former bishop's resignation was not properly submitted according to canon law, the Convention agreed that "his final abandonment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina . . . has created a vacancy in the Episcopate in this Diocese." On motion of lay delegate John H. Haughton of Pittsboro, it was resolved "that this Convention will, at 10 o'clock A.M. Saturday, proceed to fill said vacancy." The resolution was reconsidered and the hour pushed back to nine o'clock.

After some brief preliminary business on Saturday morning, the "order of the day" was taken up. Quite early the clergy was granted permission to retire "for consultation." The lay members waited patiently for some time and then, growing tired and having no reason to expect an early report from the clergy, they adjourned until five o'clock. At the appointed time they reconvened and by then the clergy, in accordance with the constitution of the Church in this Diocese, was ready to nominate an individual for the office of bishop.

As the list of the clergy was called, each member deposited his

ballot. It was found that the Reverend Thomas Atkinson, D.D., of Baltimore, had received twenty votes; the Reverend Richard S. Mason, three; and the Right Reverend Horatio Southgate, of Boston, two. Two ballots were blank. Because only eighteen votes were required for nomination, the Reverend Mr. Atkinson was declared duly nominated and appointed by the clergy. Of the thirty parishes represented, twenty-five voted to confirm the action of the clergy. There were three negative and two blank ballots. The Reverend Dr. Mason, as president of the Convention, then declared the Reverend Thomas Atkinson, D.D., duly elected Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina on 28 May 1853.¹

Atkinson was a native of Dinwiddie County, Virginia, and the grandson of a clergyman of the Church of England who had settled in Virginia about 1745. He attended Yale and was graduated from Hampden-Sidney College in Virginia at age eighteen. After further study he was licensed and began the practice of law in 1828. For eight years he was a successful attorney before abandoning the law for the ministry. He was ordained deacon in Christ Church, Norfolk, on 18 November 1836 and was advanced to the priesthood the following May by his bishop, the Right Reverend Richard Channing Moore who earlier had been acting Bishop of North Carolina. Young Atkinson, in turn, served both Christ Church and St. Paul's in Norfolk until 1843 when he became rector of St. Peter's, Baltimore. About 1850 he and some of his parishioners withdrew and built Grace Church, Baltimore, where he remained until he was elected Bishop of North Carolina.

Twice before the Reverend Mr. Atkinson had been elected bishop and twice he refused the call. These came from Indiana, the first in 1843 and the second three years later. Although he had freed all of his own slaves who desired freedom, Atkinson did not feel that his anti-slavery sentiments were strong enough to satisfy the popular feeling on the subject in Indiana. Later it was reported that his opposition to slavery had prevented his being elected Bishop of South Carolina.

Having accepted the call from North Carolina in 1853, Atkinson attended the General Convention in New York and was consecrated on 17 October in St. John's Chapel. Consecrators were the Right Reverend Thomas C. Brownwell, Bishop of Connecticut and presiding bishop; the Right Reverend Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio; the Right Reverend George W. Doane of New Jersey; the Right Reverend Samuel A. McCoskry of Michigan; the Right Reverend James H.

Otey of Tennessee; the Right Reverend George T. Spencer, former Bishop of Madras in India; and the Right Reverend George Medley, Bishop of Fredricton in Canada,² who preached the consecration sermon.

After stopping in Baltimore to bid farewell to his friends, Bishop Atkinson left for Raleigh. There was much work to do. North Carolina had lacked adequate Episcopal supervision for some time. During Bishop Ives's last year there had been only forty-one confirmations in the Diocese. The report that the Committee on the State of the Church made to the Convention in 1853 was optimistic, however. "The present state of peace and confidence of the Church in this Diocese, when we consider the events which have occurred to try her faith and patience," Chairman Samuel I. Johnston said, "exhibits the love and allegiance of the hearts of her Clergy and people to her doctrines, discipline and worship, and is just cause of thankfulness to her Great Head, our Lord Christ."³

After a week in Raleigh during which he confirmed twelve students at St. Mary's School, the new bishop set out on a tour of the eastern half of the Diocese. He spent a week in Wilmington, the largest town in the state, meeting people and making plans for the remainder of his trip. Before returning to Raleigh in the middle of December, Atkinson had visited not only Wilmington but also Fayetteville, Clinton, Halifax, Warrenton, Henderson, Oxford, Williamsboro, and Louisburg. He had laid the cornerstone of a new church and consecrated another one, ordained a priest, confirmed twenty-seven persons, baptized two adults, and conducted a great many services. In two of the towns he visited there were no Episcopal churches but plans for their construction were under way.

The next Sunday after the bishop returned to Raleigh, he preached in Christ Church and confirmed seven persons, one of whom was a black and another a deaf mute. This brief but active trip must have convinced the new bishop that the Committee on the State of the Church had, indeed, been accurate. There were good indications that the Church in North Carolina was on the threshold of great growth.⁴

In 1854 Bishop Atkinson reported 190 confirmations. The next year there were 280, and in 1859 he reported 358. The number of clergymen in the Diocese grew from 36 in 1852 to 53 in 1861. Parishes and missionary stations increased from 51 to 68. There were 1,778 communicants of the Church in 1852; five years later the number had grown to 2,839. The number of communicants fell slightly

during the next two years, and by 1861 the unsettled state of the country was reflected in the drop to 1,973.⁵

Frequently as he traveled about the state, Atkinson made note in his journal of the fact that he held the first services in a town. On 8 November 1854, he preached and confirmed two persons in the Baptist Church in Greensboro. This was the first confirmation in that place, and the Episcopal Church was "almost unknown" in Greensboro. The bishop hoped soon to have a minister officiating there in connection with one or two other stations.⁶ In 1857 the Reverend Thomas G. Haughton reported that he had been holding services in Greensboro since January 1857, but that there was still only one communicant of the Church there.⁷

The bishop's journal for 7 September 1856 recorded that he had preached in Roxboro, the first time the services of the Church had ever been heard in Person County. "Indeed," he wrote, "Person and Caswell counties have both been greatly neglected by us, although one of the most flourishing parts of the State,—the latter especially, I believe, being distinguished for successful agriculture and an intelligent population. Although, indeed, wherever I turn my eyes in this Diocese, I see wide fields, and sometimes few and sometimes alas! no laborers."⁸ Continuing his trail blazing, Bishop Atkinson the following year administered the first confirmations in both Boone and Jefferson.⁹

The old churches were not forgotten by the new bishop. After the Convention of 1854 adjourned in Wilmington, he visited parts of the Albemarle section. At Bath he commented on the church, "venerable from age and association," and offered his encouragement to the small congregation of St. Thomas's in its efforts to repair it. The bishop called upon those whose forefathers had worshipped in Bath to join in the needed work.¹⁰ The ancient Church of St. John's in Williamsboro was to him also a "venerable Church." It was here that "the solemn eloquence of Ravenscroft had so often awed the hearts of multitudes." He was pleased to see that certain needed repairs had been made since his last visit.¹¹ It seems to have given Bishop Atkinson a great deal of satisfaction to have consecrated the little chapel near the modern town of Creswell which Bishop-elect Charles Pettigrew built in 1803. By his will, the Reverend Mr. Pettigrew allowed other services than those of the Episcopal Church to be held in the chapel. This was now no longer necessary and it was consecrated for Episcopal services alone.¹²

With the arrival of Bishop Atkinson in North Carolina, it became necessary for the Diocese to give serious thought to providing an official residence for him. Bishop Ravenscroft for a time had served as rector of Christ Church in Raleigh, and in 1828 he removed to Williamsboro where he was also rector of St. John's Church. Bishop Ives had divided his time between Raleigh and Salisbury and lived for a while at Valle Crucis.¹³ It had not been necessary for the Diocese to provide a residence for either of them. The church in Raleigh was one of only five that owned a rectory.¹⁴

Bishop Atkinson was alone when he reached Raleigh on 8 November 1853, and soon afterward set out to visit a number of parishes in eastern North Carolina. In mid-December he returned to Baltimore for his family but was back in Raleigh a few days before Christmas. The Convention, which met in May, resolved to raise \$10,000 for the purchase or erection of a suitable residence for the bishop to be located in or near Raleigh. Agents were appointed in thirty-one towns to make collections for this purpose, and the Standing Committee was authorized to name other agents. G. W. Mordecai of Raleigh was to receive all funds collected.¹⁵

The Standing Committee could find no suitable house for sale and determined to build a new one. Unfortunately, however, response to the fund-raising campaign was disappointing, and a report made to the Convention of 1855 showed that only about a third of the amount necessary had been pledged. At that time Dr. Armand J. DeRosset, Jr., on behalf of the friends of the Church in Wilmington, offered to convey a house in that city to the trustees of the Diocese as an Episcopal residence. If it should ever cease to be the permanent home of the bishop, the property would revert to the Church in Wilmington. The offer was referred to a Select Committee, which recommended on the next day that it not be accepted but instead that a special agent be employed to visit all of the parishes in the Diocese to seek funds. Thanks were extended to the churchmen in Wilmington. The chairman of the Select Committee, the Reverend Edwin Geer, having made the report for the committee, then spoke in his own behalf. He advocated acceptance of the Wilmington offer for several reasons, among which was the fact that Wilmington was the largest city in the state and from it the bishop could easily move to any part of the Diocese. There was nothing about the offer that would prevent the bishop moving to another city at a later date. In that event, the property would revert to the local parish.

After considerable debate and counter-resolutions, the report of the committee was tabled. A motion to accept the Wilmington offer was defeated. The only resolution on the subject that passed said "That this Convention does not intend, by any action that it has taken in relation to the providing of an Episcopal Residence, to interfere with the unquestionable right which the Bishop possesses, to select any place within the border of the Diocese as his residence, that may in his judgment be best adapted to promote the interests of the Diocese and secure the comfort of his family."¹⁶

Bishop Atkinson exercised his rights in the matter and, in December 1855, moved his family to Wilmington. Nevertheless, the subject of an Episcopal residence was discussed at the next Convention. The report of the Standing Committee showed that efforts had been continued to try to establish a fund for a new residence although the total amount collected fell far short of the goal. On 24 May, as one of the last items of business, the Convention, aware that Atkinson had already moved to Wilmington, resolved to accept the renewed offer of a residence for the bishop there.¹⁷

On a number of occasions in the early years of the nineteenth century, observers commented on the lack of interest in the Church on the part of men. Bishop Ravenscroft took note of this fact in 1828.¹⁸ It was largely due to the interest of the ladies of Salisbury many years after the Revolution that St. Luke's Church was revived.¹⁹ Almost as many women as men signed the Act of Incorporation of Calvary Church, Tarboro, in 1833.²⁰ More than half of those signing the certificate at the consecration of Trinity Church, Scotland Neck, the same year, were women. Among them was "Rebecca, a colored woman," who had been a member of the church before the Revolution.²¹

The same lack of interest on the part of men in many of the parishes seems to have continued for a number of years. The Reverend Richard Hines, rector of St. John's Church, Williamsboro, commented in 1856 that "the male portion of my Parishes, though kind friends and good citizens, appear to think that religion is commendable in women, though not at all desirable for MEN."²²

The antebellum period witnessed a series of religious revivals in North Carolina and elsewhere, the last of which occurred in 1857.²³ There is little tangible evidence that the Episcopal Church took any leading role in this movement, but in 1857 the rector of St. John's, Fayetteville, rejoiced in the recent addition of an unusually large

number of young persons, most of whom were men. "Judging from their earnest and resolute spirit, as evinced upon their examination as Candidates for Confirmation, and their partaking of the Holy Communion immediately, I cannot doubt that these young persons both male and female, by the grace of God, will be ready at the appointed time to receive from their fathers and mothers that solemn trust, the Church of God, and keep it faithfully, and hand it down whole and safe to them that shall come after."²⁴

The following year the rector of Christ Church, New Bern, was undoubtedly pleased to report that "the signs of improvement in this Parish, are . . . a gradual addition to my *Male* communion."²⁵ From Williamston's Church of the Advent came word that "the ordinary attendance upon the Church services by the citizens of the place is proportionately large, and the proportion of male attendants is unusual."²⁶

A Church Building Society, organized in May 1856, was intended to erect or aid in the erection, enlargement, or repair of churches or chapels in the Diocese. The bishop and clergy were members, together with all lay members who subscribed \$1 or more per year. A contribution of \$25 carried with it a life membership in the Society. The constitution set forth the duties of various officers and provided for the work of the society.²⁷ On 13 November 1857, the first meeting of the Committee of Appropriation was held in Wilmington, at which the Reverend Frederick FitzGerald was elected secretary. A form was drawn up and authorized to be printed that would serve as the constitution for Church building societies in each parish desiring such an organization. At this initial meeting, the sum of \$500 was also authorized for the completion of St. Paul's Church in Beaufort.

At its second meeting the next year, the Church Building Society appropriated \$500 for St. Peter's Church, Charlotte; \$100 for St. Barnabas Parish, Murfreesboro, to be applied toward the purchase of windows for the church; and \$150 for the Church of the Redemption, Lexington. A third meeting was held early in 1860, when \$100 was appropriated for Valle Crucis, \$300 for the church in Shelby, and \$100 for the church in Pungo, Beaufort County. The final meeting appears to have been held in May 1860, at which \$400 was authorized for the use of St. Timothy's Church, Wilson, and \$50 for St. James's, Kittrell Spring.

At its first meeting, the Church Building Society authorized its secretary to purchase a book in which to keep his records. The Rev-

erend Mr. FitzGerald subsequently acquired a handsome blank book bound in London in purple leather. He pasted the printed constitution of the society in the front and one of the forms for local societies in the back. Only nine pages of the book contain minutes, however, although minutes of the last meeting appear on two loose pages. The secretary apparently never had time to enter them properly in his book.²⁸ The approaching Civil War undoubtedly quietly put to an end the good work of the Church Building Society.

Education was a subject of much practical concern to the Church before the Civil War. State support of public schools came late and was very inadequate. The first Convention after Bishop Atkinson's arrival provided for a Standing Committee of one clergyman and two laymen to form the Education Committee. This committee was to receive, invest, and disburse funds contributed to it or which it could raise to aid in the education of young men who were determined to enter the ministry.²⁹ This resolution of 1854 eventually became a part of the canons of the Diocese.³⁰

The same year the Reverend Edward M. Forbes, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, introduced a motion designed to encourage the establishment of parochial schools. He called for a committee that would confer with the bishop on this subject. It was his special hope that a boarding school for boys might be established to meet the needs of boys unable to attend a local parochial school. A study committee reported promptly the next day and, after discussing its proposals, the Convention agreed that a High School for Boys should be established. Groundwork was laid for the acquisition of property, the construction of buildings, and the employment of a rector.³¹

A very desirable lot in Pittsboro and \$2,000 were offered to the trustees, but Bishop Atkinson was unable to persuade any of several qualified persons whom he interviewed to become head of the school. He then did what he had been reluctant to do as long as any possibility remained that someone else might be found. He offered the post to the extremely able Reverend Jarvis Buxton of Asheville, whose services were much needed by the Church in that part of the state. The Reverend Mr. Buxton accepted, but his friends in Asheville soon offered the bishop property of like or greater value in that place if the school were established there. To this the bishop agreed, but he continued for a time to try to find a leader for the proposed school in Pittsboro as well.³²

The Convention of 1856 heard from the Reverend Mr. Buxton that the new school, housed in a brick building and with property valued in excess of \$8,000, had been opened. "Our aim is, not only to furnish facilities of study to older youth who may have the Ministry directly in view," he said, "but also to take and educate the boys of the Church, under the method of the Prayer Book, and in all Christian culture."³³

Named Ravenscroft School, this institution filled a real need in the state and it progressed under a series of principals even during the Civil War. Afterwards it was reorganized by Bishop Atkinson into a theological school where many candidates for Holy Orders were received and trained.³⁴

Parochial schools flourished at a number of places in the Diocese. Christ Church, New Bern, reported in 1855 that a daily school for the children of the poor had been open regularly during the year and "the attendance of the pupils, the interest they have manifested, and the improvement they have exhibited, are very encouraging." The school was conducted "by the exertions of several zealous ladies of the Parish" and financial support came from various Church members. A salaried teacher was employed the following year, however. For some time the parish had provided \$600 annually for a teacher of a classical school, but as no suitable teacher could be found classes had not begun. They were begun the next year, however, and by 1857 in his annual report the rector noted that there had been progress and improvement in the free schools under his care. The Reverend J. V. Stryker operated the classical school while Mrs. Stryker had charge of the young ladies's school.³⁵

The Committee on the State of the Church commented with satisfaction on the growing number of parochial schools. The Reverend Richard S. Mason, chairman of the committee, looked forward "with pleased anticipation to the time when the education of the sons and daughters of the Church, of every grade of life, of the rich and of the poor, shall be under her religious guidance and training."³⁶

In Elizabeth City a parochial school operating in a separate schoolhouse was established in 1850.³⁷ The building was enlarged in 1853,³⁸ and by 1855 a second "department" had been added.³⁹ It was reported in 1856 that a third school had been added to the system, and that a new schoolhouse had been erected.⁴⁰

The Reverend C. T. Bland of St. Luke's Church, Lincolnton, re-

ported in 1858 that a parochial school had been established there and "if sustained, I hope to help on the work of the Church in this place."⁴¹

Perhaps one of the most effective parochial schools in the Diocese was St. Paul's School in Beaufort, established by the Reverend D. D. Van Antwerp, rector of St. Paul's Church. To the Diocesan Convention of 1858 he reported the erection of a comfortable schoolhouse just behind the church. It was large enough to accommodate eighty students, but for the first year only thirty attended in both the male and female departments. The church was relatively new in the town so the rector looked forward to the use of the school, plus two Bible classes—one for whites and the other for blacks—as a means of increasing the number of Church members.⁴² Subsequent reports suggest that attendance increased and the school flourished until 1861, when the Convention was told that "the civil war has had a disastrous effect upon its prosperity."

Beaufort was occupied by Union forces quite early in the war, and the rector of St. Paul's was unable to attend Conventions of the Diocese of North Carolina until 1865. At that time, however, he made a full report on activities in his parish during the interval. "The church has made substantial progress in the confidence and affections of the people," he noted. "It has become, indeed, a real power in Beaufort. The prejudice that once existed against it, has so far departed that no visible demonstration of that spirit is now apparent. It has worked its way into the minds and affections of many who were once severely opposed to it." St. Paul's School, he felt, was important in bringing about this change in sentiment. The school had continued to operate during nearly the whole period of the war, even when other schools were closed. It was apparent that "the affections of many children have been won by the teachers; their good will has removed the prejudice of the parents; the freedom thus secured by the children from the restraints of prejudice, has opened their hearts to receive salutary impressions from the sublime and beautiful services of the church with which at school they were made familiar." At St. Paul's School many children of Beaufort learned the creeds, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and they became familiar with the Psalms and other parts of the Book of Common Prayer. After eight years' experience with a parochial school, the Reverend Mr. Van Antwerp explained, he was confident that "a Parish school well conducted, is

one of the most effective agents in building up the church, that has been devised. I heartily commend the fact to the consideration of the Clergy of the Diocese.”⁴³

Many people were concerned about another matter that had proved to be a source of discouragement in many growing congregations. In an extended charge to the clergy of the Diocese delivered at the annual Convention of 1855 meeting in Warrenton, Bishop Atkinson spoke at considerable length against the practice of selling or renting pews in many of the churches in North Carolina. Although of less concern in this state than elsewhere, it was nevertheless another hindrance to the progress of the Church. Only custom, the bishop believed, could make the practice appear tolerable. Such a practice was “opposed . . . to the very nature, and the great objects of the Gospel” and should be discontinued. It resulted in an unnecessary mark against the poor. Very often it kept them away from church. It made the Episcopal Church less attractive to the great “middle and lower classes of our population.” On other occasions Atkinson advocated that churchmen show more concern for the welfare of the working people of North Carolina. He even hoped that young men from that class might be prevailed on to study for the ministry and then work among people with whom they had grown up. In this manner, the Episcopal Church in America might take its rightful place as the Church of all the people. Opening the pews of all churches to all people was an important first step in this direction.⁴⁴

The Committee on the State of the Church expressed “heartly concurrence” with this suggestion, and referred to the importance and necessity of free churches “in which the rich and poor may meet together on equal terms—to the exhibition of the true character, to the advancement and spirituality of our Communion.”⁴⁵ Change came slowly, however. Nearly forty years later it was reported that ten churches in North Carolina still were not entirely free.⁴⁶ In his charge Bishop Atkinson had warned that making all seats free “would often involve an invasion of existing rights that ought to be respected, and a shock to feelings that ought to be spared.” To bring about the desired effect, he called for “the temperate expression of the opinions of those who regard it as a hindrance to the successful working of the Church.”

Beauty in church design and furnishing was a quality that concerned many congregations during this period. Frequently, parochial reports mention the completion of work intended to enhance the

beauty of a local church. In 1857 the rector of St. Paul's, Edenton, noted that his church had been "greatly adorned and beautified by the addition of a chancel window" executed by Owen Doremus of New Jersey. The window had been exhibited in New York when it was completed and declared to be "the finest specimen of its size, of window-staining ever executed in this country."⁴⁷ The next year the Church of the Holy Trinity in Hertford installed four Doremus windows to replace those destroyed in a windstorm the previous autumn. A three-part window in the chancel contained "emblems significant of the great Christian verities," whereas the fourth window, in the west end of the church, was "beautifully ornamented, having a rich border filled with a ground-work of fleur de lis." The rector, W. E. Snowden, reported that the effect of the four windows was "very excellent," adding that "they are quiet but ceaseless teachers: they 'rain a religious influence' in the holy place, and sober and soften and elevate the feelings of those who come to worship there."⁴⁸

Grace Church, Morganton, laid new carpeting and added "some appropriate Chancel arrangements" in 1855, when a stove was also added to make the church more comfortable in winter.⁴⁹ In Louisburg, St. Paul's in 1860 also laid new carpet throughout, including the vestry and gallery. At the same time the chandelier was adapted to the use of kerosene oil and the "brilliant light" that it afforded was a matter for comment.⁵⁰ The Church of the Advent, Williamston, reported in 1855 that it had been recently plastered and that steps had been taken toward building a bell tower. Three years later it was noted that the bell tower was under construction. In the old town of Williamsboro, several members of the parish joined in adding blinds to the tall windows of the church.⁵¹

New buildings were erected and expressions of satisfaction with their appearance were frequently heard. Emmanuel Church, Warrenton, was under construction for several years. "We are assured," the rector reported in 1857, "that when it is finished it will be one of the neatest and handsomest structures in the state." The Convention of 1857 was told that "a really valuable and beautiful Church is now ready for consecration in Gatesville." About a year later Bishop Atkinson consecrated St. Mary's Church, but a few weeks afterward a whirlwind lifted it from its foundations and it was "dashed to the earth and broken into fragments."⁵²

In 1858 the bishop went to some length in commenting on recent events at Trinity Church, near Scotland Neck. A large and handsome

brick building had replaced the older small wooden church. The organ, bell, and spacious churchyard were also mentioned favorably. The congregation had thrown open its church to the whole community. "They have provided good music;—the beauty of our Ritual is made to appear. Aliens from the Church come from curiosity it may be, are received as having equal rights with those who built the house, are struck by a service so different from, and so much more solemn and attractive than any to which they have been accustomed, and resolve to come again." Within three years the congregation had trebled and the church, thought to be unnecessarily large when it was built, was soon found to be too small.⁵³

The services of America's leading ecclesiastical architect, Richard Upjohn, were engaged for several church structures in North Carolina during this period. The most elaborate was Christ Church, Raleigh, built between 1848 and 1854. The chapel on the campus of St. Mary's School, also in Raleigh, was designed by Upjohn. In 1861, Grace Church, Plymouth, was nearing completion, built to Upjohn's plans. Described as being constructed of brick, it had a "tower and spire at the same end with the chancel, and with nave and aisles, the aisles being covered with distinct Gothic roofs of their own."⁵⁴

Parochial reports during the years immediately before the Civil War frequently mentioned organs. Grace Church, Morganton, in 1855, expressed satisfaction with "a handsome and sweet-toned Melodeon" that had recently been acquired. It was said to add "greatly to the interest and solemnity of our worship."⁵⁵ Two years later St. Stephen's, Oxford, noted that it had added "a very neat and sweet toned organ from the factory of Messrs. Pomplitz & Rodewald of Baltimore."⁵⁶ At the same time parishioners of St. John's, Fayetteville, had subscribed \$500 toward the purchase of a new organ. In 1858 the Reverend Joseph C. Huske reported that the organ had been installed. It proved to be "an excellent instrument, with the aid of which the Choir have been able to make the musical services of the Church very impressive."⁵⁷ St. Paul's, Louisburg, perhaps having spent all it could spare in converting the chandelier to kerosene, reported in 1860 that work on its organ had put it "in fine order."⁵⁸

A second edition of *The Works of the Right Reverend John Stark Ravenscroft* appeared from the press of Edward J. Hale & Son in Fayetteville in 1856. Published in two volumes, the *Works* contained the same material as that in the first edition⁵⁹ with the exception of a lengthy tract, "The Doctrines of the Church Vindicated,"⁶⁰ written to rebut

an attack by Dr. John Rice, which was omitted. The will of John W. Wright of Fayetteville, longtime treasurer of the Diocese, dated 19 December 1853, left the sum of \$500 toward this project with the stipulation that any proceeds from the publication then be added to the permanent Missionary Fund of the Diocese. The Diocesan Convention of 1854 referred the matter to a committee composed of the Reverends Robert B. Drane, Jarvis Buxton, and Joseph C. Huske, and of Charles T. Haigh and A. Joyner, laymen. Five days later the members reported that in the time allotted they had been unable to obtain enough information about the cost of publication to make any specific proposal. Following a resolution, the bishop appointed the Reverend Mr. Huske, E. J. Hale, and Edward Lee Winslow to obtain information and report to the next Convention.⁶¹

At the end of a year, the committee returned and gave a full report on the cost of printing and binding based on estimates from two different printers. Estimates were also given on different types of bindings, as well as the cost of transportation and insurance. The plate for the portrait of Bishop Ravenscroft had been lost during the twenty-five-year interval since the first edition was printed and to replace it would cost \$100. The committee had investigated potential sales and felt that, with proper support from churchmen in North Carolina, enough copies would be sold to cover the cost of publication with an additional profit to be transferred to the Missionary Fund. After due consideration by the members of the Finance Committee, the decision was taken to authorize a new edition of Bishop Ravenscroft's work to be prepared under the supervision of the committee that had reported to the Convention the previous day.⁶²

In 1856 the committee reported that 250 bound copies and 250 copies folded and collated were ready for distribution. Only 53 copies were subscribed for by that time, however. The printing firm of E. J. Hale & Son in Fayetteville, the elder Hale being a member of the committee, had printed the two-volume set "at a price somewhat below that offered by either of the Northern Printing houses whose proposals were stated to the last Convention." The Wright bequest of \$500 had been spent, and \$631.58 advanced by the treasurer of the Convention had been required to pay for publication.

Subscription papers had been sent out, but returns were slow in coming back. It was recommended that copies of the book be offered to booksellers at a 25 percent discount.⁶³ During the next several years copies were placed with booksellers and individuals in Philadelphia,

Memphis, Edenton, Elizabeth City, Raleigh, Fayetteville, and elsewhere, but sales were disappointingly few. Apparently no further reference was made to this project in Convention after 1862. By that time only \$568.05 had been realized from an investment of \$1,131.58.⁶⁴ The stress of the times undoubtedly contributed to the failure of the campaign to secure subscribers. Copies placed with booksellers and individuals probably were lost and never accounted for. The second edition of Ravenscroft's *Works*, however, survives in many libraries and in many respects is more useful than the first. It was prepared by men who remembered the state's first bishop and they corrected errors that had crept into the first edition.

The canons by which the Church in North Carolina was governed were compiled from time to time and revised in the light of resolutions adopted by Diocesan Conventions. The first compilation of canons was published in 1834. Others followed from time to time at irregular intervals. The last issued before the Civil War appeared in 1859 and was published with the *Journal* of the Convention that year. In addition to the canons of the Church in North Carolina, the Constitution, the Resolutions Continuing in Force, the Rules of Order for the Convention, and forms of deeds by which property might be conveyed to the Church were also published.

The Constitution and Canons last published in 1854 were relatively brief and had been adopted to govern a much smaller Church body than that which existed in 1859. Of the fourteen canons, three each had been adopted in 1817 and 1819, two in 1824, one each in 1825 and 1827, two in 1830, and one each in 1841 and 1842. However, eighteen resolutions dating from 1832 through 1854 continued in force. The revised canons of 1859 consisted of twenty-eight sections, whereas the Resolutions continuing in force were reduced to a single item—one of 1853 fixing the salary of the bishop at \$2,500.⁶⁵

A Committee on Constitutions and Canons worked for more than four years in drawing up proposed changes and revisions. Progress in general was reported from time to time. Finally, in 1858 a report was made, and the Convention directed that two hundred copies be printed and circulated among the clergy and others in the Diocese at least two months before the next Convention.⁶⁶ Late on Thursday afternoon of 5 May 1859, the report was read in detail before the Convention. Discussion was postponed until Friday when almost the entire day was given over to debating and considering the Constitution and Canons. In the words of the journal for the day, they were

"finally adopted by a unanimous vote."⁶⁷ The committee was composed of three distinguished lawyers, William H. Battle, John H. Bryan, and Thomas Ruffin, as well as Josiah Collins and three clergymen.⁶⁸

The question of the desirability of sponsoring a weekly religious paper came up during the Convention of 1859. The Reverend T. S. W. Mott of Charlotte, who had arrived the year before from Mississippi, introduced a resolution calling for a committee composed of one clergyman and two laymen to investigate the "practicability and expediency" of establishing such a paper. Following the adoption of the resolution, the Reverend Mr. Mott, Haywood W. Guion, and John Wilkes, all of Charlotte, were appointed to the committee.⁶⁹ Bishop Atkinson evidently thought highly of the idea and enlarged on it, and before the summer had passed he discussed it with other southern bishops at a meeting he attended in Sewanee, Tennessee. It was their feeling that such a paper would be of much use "as a means of sustaining the general interests of the Church in these Dioceses, and also as an organ for communicating information, and invoking effort in behalf of the University of the South."⁷⁰

The bishops were aware, of course, that the *Southern Episcopalian* was being published in Charleston, and they spoke of it in most commendable terms. A weekly was needed, however, to serve as a means of more rapid communication among the people of the ten states concerned. At the General Convention in Richmond that year the bishops agreed to support such a paper, and they selected the Reverend Henry F. Greene of North Carolina as its editor. The new editor had been associated with Bishop Atkinson in Baltimore, and the bishop had a very high opinion of his abilities. It was with a deep sense of loss, therefore, that the bishop announced the death of the Reverend Mr. Greene a few days before the first issue of *The Church Intelligencer* came off the press in Raleigh on Wednesday, 14 March 1860.⁷¹

The masthead of the first issue and of all future numbers until 8 April 1864 bore the name of Mott as "Proprietor." Apparently no issues appeared from that date until 14 September, when publication was resumed in Charlotte under the direction of the Episcopal Church Publishing Association.

On the death of Editor Greene, the southern bishops appointed George F. Cashman to the post, but he declined to serve. The Reverend Frederick FitzGerald, who had stepped into service at Greene's death, was then appointed, and he held the position until June 1861,

when he left the Diocese to serve as a Confederate chaplain. Mott thereupon assumed the editorship of the *Church Intelligencer* and continued to prepare each issue until he disposed of his interest in it in April 1864. The fall of a number of the Confederate States had so reduced the list of subscribers that Mott was no longer able to break even. He turned the paper over to the Council of Bishops, and after a delay of five months publication was resumed through the Episcopal Church Publishing Association. Under the joint editorship of the Reverend Fordyce M. Hubbard of the faculty of the University of North Carolina and the Reverend George M. Everhart of St. Peter's Church, Charlotte, publication continued into 1867 when it ceased. Hard times had come upon the Church and the people, but the final issue expressed hope of resuming publication later. In the event this was not possible, the subscribers, numbering about 2,000, were assured that they would be sent another Church paper for the length of their subscriptions.⁷²

The first issue of the *Church Intelligencer* contained a lengthy but timely statement of the purposes of this new periodical which had been prepared by the Reverend Mr. Greene shortly before his death. Among other things it intended "to arouse the churchmen, of the South, to the appreciation of their high privileges in possessing the pure word of God in an uncorrupted branch of the reformed church of Christ, fortified by massive bulwarks of divine and human love, served by a body of clergy, which for character and learning would do honor to any age or any church, and illustrated by the examples of those noble Bishops, who have gone to their rest: Dehon, Ravenscroft, Gadsen and Freeman." As an organ of the Protestant Episcopal Church, it expected to direct its efforts as much as possible against "present practical evils [and] to aid the minister of God in promulgating the faith of the Eternal, . . . to teach men the deepest reverence for the authorized ministers of God, civil or religious, as their powers are regulated by His Holy Word, [and] that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell upon the face of the earth.'" Another important function would be "to forward the claims of the University of the South at Sewanee." Editor Greene also hoped that his paper would "strengthen the communion of our brethren of the church scattered throughout our wide southern territory" by bringing them tidings of others whose situation was not unlike their own. Finally, he would seek opportunities to reach non-Episcopalians and

give them a correct impression of the doctrine and teachings of the Church.⁷³

The Diocesan Convention of 1861 assembled after North Carolina had seceded from the Union. Speaking at the time of the *Church Intelligencer*, Bishop Atkinson said he had heard it described as the best Church paper in the country. It was much needed at the time it was established, but “the South . . . needs it much more now.”⁷⁴ It was destined to serve as a regular spokesman for the Episcopal Church in the Confederacy, and as such it filled a very important need. In addition to such Church news as notices of Conventions, appointments, deaths, and the like, it also published selections from other periodicals. Poetry was a regular feature and letters from readers often appeared. Book reviews, editorials, stories, particularly for young people, and secular news also were a part of the paper.

During the Diocesan Convention of 1860 a motion was approved “That a Committee be appointed, to consist of five members, to prepare a memorial to the Trustees of the University of North Carolina on the subject of allowing the Students of the College to attend such places of worship as their parents may designate in writing to the Faculty of the College.” Two members of the clergy and three laymen were promptly assigned this duty.⁷⁵ One member in each category was an alumnus of the university.

A lengthy memorial addressed to the president and board of trustees recited the fact that students were required to attend the religious services held in the university chapel on Sunday and were not permitted to go to their own church at that time. The university rule requiring chapel attendance, the committee pointed out, deprived the student of the benefit of “that religious worship and instruction to which the parent, and probably the student himself, may be conscientiously attached.” It was also noted that the rule seemed to be incompatible with the right guaranteed by both the state and federal constitutions of “the right for every one to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.”⁷⁶ The committee was most understanding of the position of the university faculty and officers in this matter. No censure of that body was intended. Instead, they were complimented for enforcing the laws of the institution they served. The situation might be remedied by altering the rule to permit students to attend services either at the university chapel or at one of the churches in Chapel Hill. A letter from the parent or guardian (or from the student

himself if he were of age) should be sufficient to accomplish the desired end. In conclusion, the men making the request pointed out that they were acting not only for the members of their own church among the student body, but also for any student who might prefer to attend his own church rather than the university chapel.⁷⁷

The university trustees, meeting the following month, discussed this request at great length and referred the subject to a committee of three which included two judges. Within six months a report was submitted to the trustees and adopted. Its preamble expressed "the desire of the Board to free the institution from just charges of putting constraints on the conscience of any student." The president of the university was henceforth authorized to excuse a student from attending public worship when the parent or guardian lived in Chapel Hill and wanted the student to worship with his family; when a student was a member of a church holding services in Chapel Hill if it was different from that of the university chaplain; when a student was a member of "a religious denomination or Church, and declares in writing that he has scruples against attending Chapel worship"; or when the parent or guardian wrote that he had scruples of conscience against the student attending chapel worship. In all other cases, chapel attendance would remain compulsory. A student excused from attendance entirely was expected to "remain in his room in a quiet and orderly manner."⁷⁸ The faculty, it has been noted, was puzzled as to how to check on church attendance in the village. Finally it was decided just to ask in class on Monday who had been "to church" the day before. Students, interpreting the question very literally, answered yes even though they frequently had only set foot in the door and promptly departed.⁷⁹

The Bishop of North Carolina clearly foresaw the approaching Civil War, and on one occasion he very accurately predicted much of the fate about to befall America. President-elect Lincoln, in an unprecedented move, recommended that Friday, 4 January 1861, be observed as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer. Bishop Atkinson made this the occasion for a sermon delivered in St. James's Church, Wilmington, entitled "On the Causes of Our National Troubles." Mentioning "the political causes which have brought on our present calamitous condition," he dwelt at greater length on a number of personal and national traits that were hastening the country to a horrible fate: the "self-sufficing individualism" of Puritan New England; loss of reverence as reflected in diminished respect for the Church, its

teachings, and its discipline; violence and "deadly rage" in many communities; the cheapness of human life and the frequency of unpunished homicide; and "shameful disclosures of the state of society, especially in our large cities."⁸⁰

"I am afraid," the bishop said, "that our institutions themselves have fostered that spirit of individualism, that sense of the duty and right of each person to judge for himself what he is to do or refuse to do, which is so prevalent among us, and which, if fully carried out, destroys society, being contradictory to the very principle on which civil society is found, that is, that no man shall be judge in his own cause; which introduces anarchy, and which, in due time, consequently throws us back upon despotism, for government we *must* have." He maintained that the country might find peace in the return of "the old feeling which our forefathers brought with them from the mother country." This consisted of reverence for law, for government, and for rightful authority. Thievery, dishonest merchants, divorce, "forward girls, and precocious boys, aping the appearance, and usurping the privileges of men and women," and lack of respect for age were all symptoms of the national illness.⁸¹ Having seen so clearly the sad condition of his country, Bishop Atkinson survived the war and lived to be robbed by Federal soldiers holding a pistol at his head.

Ever the Shepherd of his flock, the bishop preached a sermon on "Christian Duty in the Present Time of Trouble" on the Fifth Sunday after Easter 1861 in St. James's Church, Wilmington. This, in part, was an answer to his earlier sermon. It contained general warnings against the evils that had so recently befallen the whole United States. The South must now beware that those evils not flourish within itself. To avoid this the bishop recommended "repentance, national and individual, by prayer public and private." He admonished his hearers to cherish unity and mutual affection among themselves; to check in themselves and others "the growth of rancorous, vindictive, malignant feeling and the use of bitter, scornful opprobrious language concerning those once our brethren, now, alas, it would seem our enemies;" and not to dwell unduly on the "subject of our national troubles." This last might be accomplished through "the calm, soothing, elevating influence of religion." Some specific suggestions followed, and the bishop finally asked his congregation to remember "that you yourselves are now under trial; that the issues of that trial are for eternity, that though sharp it will be short; and that if you

endure to the end you will be saved, and that the sharper the trial endured the more glorious will be the salvation.”⁸²

When the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina assembled on 10 July 1861, it was discovered that not enough parishes were represented to make a quorum. The Convention then proceeded “to that business which it is now empowered to do under the 5th Article” and that was simply to receive reports and to adjourn.⁸³

*The Diocese of North Carolina,
1861–1883**JAMES W. PATTON*

In a number of respects the Episcopal Church in North Carolina had reason to view the opening of the decade of the 1860s with confidence and optimism. Though weak compared with the total population of the state, the Church was experiencing annually a steady increase in the number of its communicants. The demoralization resulting from Bishop Ives's defection to Rome had been checked and peace and harmony restored under the wise and effective administration of Bishop Atkinson. Raleigh had been selected as the place of publication of the *Church Intelligencer*, a new periodical recently established as a means of sustaining the general interests of the Church in the ten most Southern dioceses and for promoting efforts in behalf of the projected University of the South. And along with other Southern dioceses, that of North Carolina shared in a promise of unprecedented growth and prosperity of the National Church as evidenced by a remarkable manifestation of Christian love and sympathy at the meeting of the General Convention at Richmond, Virginia, in 1859, the first time this body had ever met in the South.

Unfortunately, these encouraging prospects did not materialize. In less than a year, the secession of the Southern states from the Union had set in motion a train of events that resulted in a separation of the Southern dioceses from the National Church, the formation of a separate Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, and four years of internecine war, from the ravages of which the Church in the South was barely able to survive. The organization of the separate Southern Church and its eventual reunion with the National Church are developments that fall outside the limits of this account except for the significant role played therein by Bishop Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina.

On 30 January 1861, four days after Louisiana seceded from the Union, Bishop Leonidas Polk issued a pastoral letter stating that the

secession of the state from the Union had removed that diocese from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America and that an independent diocesan existence had been thus brought about.¹ This view was shared by Bishop Stephen Elliott of Georgia, who on 21 March 1861 joined with Bishop Polk in issuing from Sewanee, Tennessee, a call for a meeting of Southern bishops and dioceses in Montgomery, Alabama, on 3 July 1861 "to consult upon such matters as may have arisen out of the changes in our civil affairs."² Bishop Atkinson dissented from the position taken by Polk and Elliott and in so doing "stood alone among the Southern bishops in his clear and accurate views as to the status of the dioceses thus actually isolated."³

In his address to the Diocesan Convention in July 1861, Atkinson discussed at length the political situation, arguing that the secession of the Southern states did not, in itself, cause a dissolution of the relations existing among the dioceses forming the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He granted that the separation produced by the war might justify, or even require, a separate organization for the Church in the South, but he insisted that the mere action of the states could have no effect whatever ipso facto on the unity of the Church; and, therefore, until the Southern dioceses should take such action, they were still a part of the Church of the United States. If the Southern dioceses formed a union, he intimated that the Diocese of North Carolina should join it; but "he was also fully persuaded that loyalty to Church principles, and therefore regard for the true interests of the Church, required him to recognize no division or separation in the Church, except such as the Church itself should have recognized and sanctioned."⁴

Neither Bishop Atkinson nor any other representative from the Diocese of North Carolina attended the meeting called by Bishops Polk and Elliott and held in Montgomery in July 1861. This session adjourned after three days with the intention of reconvening on 16 October in Columbia, South Carolina.⁵ The North Carolina Diocesan Convention had prepared at its July 1861 meeting in Morganton to unite with the new ecclesiastical body when it was formed, and thus Bishop Atkinson and a full delegation of lay and clerical deputies attended the Columbia meeting at which the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America was drafted and adopted.⁶ This constitution and its accompanying canons were ratified by the North Carolina Diocesan Convention meeting at Chapel Hill in May 1862.⁷

Meanwhile, in conformity with the views he held in regard to the status of the Diocese of North Carolina in the interval before it united with the other Southern dioceses, Bishop Atkinson performed two official acts that were much censured in some quarters. One of these acts was to give his canonical consent to the consecration of William Bacon Stevens as Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania; the other was his refusal to unite in the consecration of Richard Hooker Wilmer as Bishop of Alabama in the newly organized Southern church. In both of these instances, Atkinson justified his action on the ground that until the Diocese of North Carolina had officially withdrawn from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States he was a bishop of that Church, and that, by the same reasoning, until North Carolina had ratified the Constitution and Canons of the newly organized Southern Church, he was not a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States.⁸

Though the Diocese of North Carolina did not join the Confederate Church until May 1862, Bishop Atkinson had earlier espoused the Confederate cause. To the Diocesan Convention of 1861 he reported that he had authorized three new prayers: "A Prayer for the People of the Confederate States," "A Prayer for Those Who Have Gone Forth to War in Defense of Their State and Country," and "A Prayer for the Civil Rulers of the Confederacy." The state, he said, "is always entitled to our prayers and obedience unless it undertakes to set aside the law of Christ, in which case we must obey God rather than man. But the state has a right to frame her own government, and the Church in that state must maintain and respect that government."⁹ The bishop himself was active in promoting the spiritual welfare of the Confederate soldiers in North Carolina and nearby states. On a number of occasions he held services for troops in Virginia and North Carolina. He spent the month of August 1861 in Virginia, "preaching to soldiers in various camps, and also to the congregations in several churches in Richmond." At Yorktown, on 6 August, he buried a soldier from North Carolina. On other occasions he devoted a large amount of time to work among soldiers in the large garrison at Fort Fisher, near Wilmington.¹⁰

The diocesan clergy also contributed much to the spiritual welfare of the soldiers. Out of North Carolina's total of 53 Episcopal clergymen, at least 15 served as Confederate chaplains. This figure was second only to that of Virginia in numbers and actually exceeded that state's proportion of 29 Confederate chaplains from a total of 115

diocesan clergy. Whereas the status of a Confederate chaplain was unattractive at best—no rank assigned, no uniform prescribed, pay of \$50 a month, and the ration of a private soldier—it was particularly hard on North Carolina chaplains, for before being mustered into the Confederate service they had, in the military organization of the state, enjoyed the rank of major and the pay of \$150 a month. Toward the end of the war the pay of a Confederate chaplain was raised to \$80 a month in the depreciated and depreciating currency of the time, and chaplains were allowed forage for a horse if they were so fortunate as to have one. Meanwhile, many of the chaplains, including some of the best, found it impossible to maintain their families on the pay they received and were thus forced to return to parochial work.¹¹ In May 1864, Bishop Atkinson reported to the Diocesan Convention that there remained only three North Carolina chaplains of regiments and two chaplains of posts.¹²

Among the Episcopal chaplains holding commissions in the Confederate service were Alfred A. Watson (in later years Bishop of East Carolina), of the Second North Carolina Regiment; Frederick Fitzgerald, also of the Second Regiment; Maurice Hamilton Vaughan and George Patterson, both of the Third Regiment; Bennett Smedes who, though happily situated in Baltimore, felt it his duty to return to his native state where, until his health failed, he served as chaplain of the Fifth Regiment; Matthias M. Marshall, of the Seventh Regiment and later chaplain of hospitals at Kittrell; Aristides S. Smith, of the Eleventh Regiment; Girard W. Phelps, of the Seventeenth Regiment; Joseph W. Murphy, of the Forty-third and later of the Thirty-second Regiment; John Huske Tillinghast, of the Forty-fourth Regiment; Thomas B. Haughton, of the Fiftieth Regiment; and Edwin Geer and Thomas W. Hilliard, post chaplains at Wilmington.¹³

During the war two North Carolina candidates for Holy Orders—Robert Walker Anderson and James T. Cooke—were killed in battle. The Reverend Aldert Smedes, in charge of St. Mary's School in Raleigh, had four sons in the Confederate Army, two of whom were killed in action. The Reverend Robert Brent Drane, rector of St. James's Church in Wilmington, died in the yellow fever epidemic that swept that city in 1862. Indignities suffered by the clergy at the hands of the invaders included the ejection of the Reverend William R. Wetmore from Christ Church in New Bern and the placing of a chaplain from the Union Army in his pulpit; and the imprisonment of the Reverend Cyrus Waters, rector of St. Thomas Church in Windsor,

“not on the ground that he had committed any offense, but to deter others from offending.” Waters’s release was ordered by the post commander at New Bern, but the cold contracted in prison developed into consumption, from which he later died.¹⁴ Toward the end of the conflict the bishop himself felt the effects of some of the atrocities and losses that war entails on a community. At Wadesboro, where his family was refugeeing in May 1865, some of Sherman’s marauders robbed him of property of considerable value, accomplishing this outrage more speedily and completely by holding a pistol at his head and otherwise showing disrespect for his age and office.¹⁵

Military operations in the eastern part of the state resulted in considerable interference with the Church’s work. The Diocesan Convention of 1861, originally scheduled for New Bern, had to be postponed and changed to Morganton as a result of hostilities in the Sound region. For similar reasons the Convention of 1863, originally scheduled for Wilmington, was changed to Fayetteville, and the Convention of 1865, although meeting in Raleigh as originally planned, was postponed from May until September on account of “the disturbed state of public affairs.” In his address to the Convention of 1862, Bishop Atkinson stated that his official acts had been diminished by the consequences of the war and lamented the fact that “congregations have been dispersed, members driven from their churches, public worship suspended, and the slender maintenance of the clergy diminished or taken away.”¹⁶

The effects of hostilities on individual parishes is graphically revealed in the parochial reports made by the clergy to the various Diocesan Conventions that met during the war. The Reverend Henry A. Skinner reported that his parish, St. Paul’s, Edenton, was “vastly weakened by the fact that most of the wealthiest and most zealous members were compelled to leave their homes upon the fall of Roanoke Island in 1862.”¹⁷ The Reverend William C. Hunter reported from St. Mary’s, Kinston, in 1863, that “the proximity of this parish to the lines of the enemy has had the effect to scatter the regular congregation.”¹⁸ At the same Convention the Reverend William Hodges reported from Immanuel Church in Warrenton that he had under his pastoral care “between thirty and forty communicants during the past year who have been driven from their homes by the enemy.” The Reverend James Moore reported that he had at St. Paul’s, Louisburg, twelve refugees from various parishes in the Diocese, whereas the

Reverend Francis W. Hilliard reported thirty-three in the same category at the Chapel of the Cross in Chapel Hill.¹⁹

In a number of instances the clergymen themselves were forced to abandon their parishes. The Reverend Samuel I. Johnston left St. Paul's, Edenton, after the capture of Roanoke Island; the Reverend Joseph W. Murphy left St. David's, Scuppernong, in Washington County; and the Reverend Maurice H. Vaughan gave up his missionary duties in Camden and Currituck counties. The Reverend Edwin Geer was compelled to suspend services at St. Peter's, Washington, in Beaufort County, and to withdraw from the place and take up residence in the country, from which he was unable to make his financial report to the Convention of 1862 because "the contributions of the Parish during the past year are in the hands of the Treasurer, who is still in Washington, and I can now neither ascertain the amount nor obtain the money, as all intercourse with the town is interdicted to those who live in the country, except on conditions with which I am unwilling to comply."²⁰ The bishop did not "recommend to the clergy generally to remain in their parishes, if unhappily they should be included within the enemy's lines," and where they would not be allowed to continue their public service unless they would pray expressly for the president of the United States, which he thought they could not do "without failing in their duty both to the Church and the country."²¹

The war caused much damage to the Church's property in North Carolina. Grace Church in Plymouth was three times struck by shells and badly damaged during a bombardment. St. Peter's Church in Washington, Beaufort County, was burned, whereas St. James's Church in Wilmington and other houses of worship throughout the state were taken over for Federal hospitals.²² Calvary Church in Henderson County was reported as "no little injured by soldiers, the stained-glass windows nearly all broken, and the carpets and furniture stolen or defaced."²³ In 1865 the Reverend Angelo A. Benton wrote that, since General Sherman passed through the area, the parish of Christ Church, Rockfish, in Cumberland County, "has been so broken as to need almost a new beginning."²⁴

Accompanying and exacerbating the effects of the physical destruction wrought by the war were the hard times resulting from the dislocation of the Southern economy and the collapse of the Confederate financial system. As early as May 1862, the Reverend Israel Harding reported from his missionary station at Pantego in Beaufort County

that the disturbed state of the country has “greatly impeded the growth of church interests in this part of the diocese this year, and if not the true cause, it is made the pretext for the assessments not having been paid.”²⁵ The Reverend Robert B. Sutton, rector of St. Bartholomew’s Church in Pittsboro, reported to the Convention of 1865 that “since the surrender of General Lee, no collections have been made, in consequence of the almost entire absence of money from the community.” To get bread for his family, the Reverend Mr. Sutton had been obliged to accept employment as a teacher and as a result had been compelled to suspend missionary work at Swann’s Station in Moore County.²⁶ At the same Convention the Reverend Joseph C. Huske, rector of St. John’s Church in Fayetteville, had to omit from his annual report “the usual statement with regard to the payment of our assessments” for the reason that, although the contributions in the Confederate currency were amply sufficient to that end, “the events of the war having rendered that money worthless and destroyed the pecuniary ability of his parish, it is now impossible to meet this obligation.”²⁷

Despite the ravages of war, the Church made some progress in North Carolina during this period. New churches were dedicated, members of the clergy continued their labors without complaint about their privations, and the bishop made his regular visitations except in those areas from which he was excluded by the Federal occupation. Insofar as the annual reports of the Diocesan Committees on the State of the Church can be relied on, it appears that there was a decline in the number of communicants in 1861 and 1862, an increase in 1863, and another decline in 1864 and 1865. The number of baptisms and confirmations dropped during 1861, 1862, and 1863, but increased sharply during the last two years of the war. As was to be expected, contributions dropped steadily as the war progressed and the currency depreciated.²⁸

In two instances, the Church in North Carolina participated significantly in the work of the Southern Church as a whole. One of these had to do with the printing of a Confederate Book of Common Prayer, and the other with the publication of a South-wide Church newspaper and the establishment of a Southern Episcopal publishing house.

Of two separate and unrelated plans to secure a Book of Common Prayer for the new Southern Church, the first, originating in Richmond, resulted in failure when all but a few copies of an edition

printed in London were captured and destroyed while headed for Wilmington on a blockade runner. The second plan, put into effect about the same time, originated with a group of five churches in North Carolina, each of which contributed a bale of cotton to be shipped to Liverpool and sold to finance the publication of an edition of the Book of Common Prayer. The cotton ran the blockade and was sold at a good price, and the proceeds were paid to the firm of Eyre and Spottiswood for the printing of a Book of Common Prayer in London. This edition ran the blockade safely on a trip to North Carolina, where the books were distributed among the contributing churches and many were sold to other congregations and individuals. Commonly called the "Cotton" Book of Common Prayer, this one was the only edition of the Confederate Book of Common Prayer to secure any distribution among Southern churches.²⁹

As earlier indicated, Raleigh had been selected as the place of publication of the *Church Intelligencer* when that journal was started in 1859. The Reverend Thomas S. W. Mott and the Reverend Harry F. Green were respectively designated proprietor and editor. Green wrote the first editorial but died two weeks before the first number of the paper appeared in March 1860. He was succeeded by the Reverend Frederick FitzGerald, who resigned after about a year to become a Confederate chaplain. Thereafter Mott assumed the editorship and continued in this capacity until the paper was suspended in April 1864.

By August 1861, the *Church Intelligencer* had a circulation of 3,000, scattered throughout the Confederacy from Virginia to Texas. A local correspondent was appointed for each diocese for the purpose of reporting diocesan news, in addition to the proceedings of the Diocesan Conventions, or Councils as they were called in the Confederate Church, which were published by the paper as they met in their respective states. The paper also carried interesting articles on the lives of the early Church fathers and reprinted some of their epistles. From October 1861 through April 1862, it published serially a history of the Church in England and America by the Reverend Moses S. Royce of the Diocese of Tennessee. The important issues of the day were not neglected. For example, a number of articles were written by the editor and various contributors on the Church's responsibility to provide effective religious education for the slave population. News items from the Northern dioceses, whenever available, were published

from time to time. The paper's editorials were remarkably free from a spirit of animosity to churchmen of the North, though a corresponding spirit of toleration was not so evident in some of the Northern Church publications.

Publication of the *Church Intelligencer* was suspended in April 1864, partly as a result of the loss to the Federal forces of a great portion of the territory served by the periodical, but more directly as a consequence of the lack of support given the paper by members of the Church in general. The editor stated, "It is now certain that the list is so small, even including the three months' subscriptions for the Army, that the income will not meet the expenses." This condition continued for only about five months, for in September 1864 publication was resumed by the newly organized Protestant Episcopal Church Publishing Association of Charlotte, the new editors being the Reverend Fordyce M. Hubbard and the Reverend George M. Everhart.³⁰

The Protestant Episcopal Church Publishing Association was established to meet the pressing need for increasing the supply of "suitable tracts for the Army, and Sunday School literature." Organized in Charlotte in the early part of 1864, with the Reverend George M. Everhart, the rector of St. Peter's Church, as book and tract editor, it began almost immediately to carry out its purpose. Among its publications were such titles as *Death-Bed Repentance*; *Doers of the Word*; *Episcopacy and Confirmation—A Tract for the Young*; *Claims of the Church*; *Letters to a Man Bewildered among Many Councillors*, by Bishop Henry C. Lay; *A Plain Tract on Confirmation*, by the Reverend Charles T. Quintard; *Future Good*, by Bishop Richard H. Wilmer; *Prayers for the Sick and Troubled*; and *Words of Counsel to Confederate Soldiers*. The association issued in all twenty-three different titles, varying in length from a four-page leaflet to a pamphlet of forty-five pages. Its work continued until the end of the war, and its productions were circulated throughout the Confederacy.³¹

The role played by Bishop Atkinson in the events leading to the reunion of the two sections of the Church after the war made the Diocese of North Carolina an important participant in these events. Atkinson himself was a realist who knew that the war was over and wanted to forget about it. "Of all the Southern Bishops," wrote Bishop Cheshire, Atkinson "was the least embarrassed or trammelled by the results of the war." Therefore, when the war ended, and the

union of the states was assured, he felt that no time should be lost in seeking a resumption of organic relations with the Church in the United States.³²

In June 1865, the year in which the first General Convention after the war was scheduled to meet in Philadelphia, the presiding bishop, John Henry Hopkins, of Vermont, addressed a letter to the Southern bishops, urging them to come and resume their places and to see that their dioceses were represented in the House of Deputies.³³ Bishop Atkinson and his kinsman by marriage, Bishop Henry C. Lay of Arkansas, who was currently residing in North Carolina, considered the advisability of attending the Convention and entered into correspondence with Bishop Stephen Elliott, the senior bishop of the Southern Church, in regard to the steps that should be taken. Elliott was in favor of reunion, but counseled "great deliberation, with proper self-respect, and only with the hearty co-operation of the clergy and laity, as well as the Bishops of the Church." To consider the matter further, he summoned the bishops of the Confederate Church to meet in Augusta in September, but the difficulties of travel and the imperative-ness of other engagements caused the summons to be withdrawn and the meeting was not held. Meanwhile, the North Carolina Diocesan Convention had passed a resolution favoring reunion if it could be obtained on honorable terms, whereupon Bishop Atkinson and Bishop Lay, together with seven clerical and lay deputies from North Carolina, proceeded to the meeting of the General Convention in Philadelphia.³⁴

The chief purpose of Bishops Atkinson and Lay in going to Philadelphia was to confer informally with the members of the Convention and ascertain whether objectionable conditions would be imposed on the South as a prerequisite to reunion. The only Southern bishops at the Convention, they were received with cordiality and were invited to join the other bishops within the chancel. On questions involved in the action of the Church in the Confederacy, Atkinson and Lay refrained from voting, being determined to let the responsibility rest with those who represented the Church in the North. It was soon manifest, however, that the main issues that might have caused friction in this respect—the consecration of Bishop Wilmer for Alabama, the establishment of Arkansas into a diocese, and the election of Bishop Lay to that diocese—would be resolved without difficulty. After reviewing the case of Bishop Wilmer, the House of Bishops held that his consecration was valid and decided that he

should be admitted to a seat in the House of Bishops after subscribing to the usual declaration. The Confederate Diocese of Arkansas was transformed into a missionary jurisdiction of the National Church with Bishop Lay as missionary bishop, this solution having been suggested by Lay himself in view of the fact that postwar conditions in Arkansas would make it difficult if not impossible to effectuate a diocesan organization in that state.

On the other hand, certain resolutions offered at the Convention came perilously near causing a permanent division of the Church, and it was in reconciling the issues thus raised that Bishop Atkinson rendered a most conspicuous service to his Church. A resolution offered by Bishop George Burgess of Maine proposed appointing a day of thanksgiving for the results of the war, including “the universal establishment of the authority of the national government; by the complete restoration of peace, and the restoration among all classes and conditions of men of the blessings of freedom, education, culture, and social improvement.” Bishop Atkinson protested that his people could not say that, but intimated that a resolution of thankfulness “for the restoration of peace and the unity of the Church” would be acceptable. Thereupon a substitute resolution, incorporating Atkinson’s ideas, was introduced by Bishop William Bacon Stevens of Pennsylvania and passed by a vote of sixteen to seven, to the effect that the House of Bishops, “in consideration of the return of peace to the country, and the unity of the Church, propose to devote Tuesday, the seventeenth day of October, as a day of Thanksgiving and Prayer to Almighty God for these his inestimable benefits.”³⁵

The significance of Bishop Atkinson’s activities at the General Convention of 1865 would be hard to exaggerate. He himself was told while in Philadelphia that if no Southern bishops and deputies had been present, “there would have been no reunion of the Church, or it would have been accomplished upon terms altogether distasteful, and not very creditable to the South.”³⁶ Bishop Cheshire wrote, “To Bishop Atkinson, more than to any other one man, we owe, under God, the peace and unity which the Church entered upon and enjoyed so immediately upon the close of the great War between the States.”³⁷ Speaking at a memorial to Bishop Atkinson in 1909, Bishop Robert Strange stated, “To him more than to any single man is due the fact that the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is today one, knowing no North and South, no East and West.”³⁸

One result of Bishop Atkinson’s efforts for unity was seen in the

generous aid extended by Episcopalians in the North to the clergy in those sections of the South that were struggling to recover from the ravages of the war. North Carolina was one of these areas and benefited significantly in this respect. To the Diocesan Convention of 1866 the bishop reported that "it is a grateful duty to acknowledge the exceeding abundance of the liberality with which our brethren in more favored regions of the country and especially at the North have contributed to the relief of the suffering clergy of our diocese." He listed cash contributions of \$2,300; boxes of clothing for destitute families of clergymen; and Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, and other donations.³⁹ In 1867 he reported cash contributions of \$2,713; and in 1870, contributions of more than \$4,000.⁴⁰

That there was urgent need of such assistance is well documented by the references to poverty and hard times that appear in the parochial reports made to postwar Diocesan Conventions. In 1866, the Reverend Samuel S. Barber reported that his missionary activities in Hyde County were handicapped by "the extreme scarcity of horses and the consequent want of travelling facilities," a situation he attributed to "the present impoverished condition of our Diocese." At the missionary station at Pungo, in Beaufort County, it was reported that "owing to the low state of finances little has been done yet for the support of the Church," whereas at St. James's mission in Granville County it was said that of the communicants "the larger portion are unable to contribute anything to the assessment." At St. Paul's, Clinton, the Reverend John H. Tillinghast reported the interests of his parish as "somewhat compromised by the unfinished state of the church building, want of a bell, etc.," to remedy which he said "at present funds are wanting."⁴¹ In 1867, the Reverend Joseph C. Huske reported the contributions at St. John's, Fayetteville, much less than usual, "owing not to the want of disposition to give to the cause of Christ, but to the want of means." From the western part of the state, the Reverend George M. Everhart, rector of Calvary Church in Henderson County, wrote that the effects of the war were visible in his parish both "in the impoverishment of once very wealthy persons and the thinning down [of] the number of communicants."⁴² Conditions began to improve after about 1868, but the years immediately following the war were indeed a period of financial stringency for the Diocese of North Carolina.

In common with other areas of the South, the Diocese of North Carolina was faced with the problem created by the emancipation of

the slaves. Bishop Atkinson had always been concerned with the spiritual welfare of blacks, whom he contended were of the same blood as the white race and not a different species of mankind.⁴³ Now that they were free, he emphasized all the more the need for attending to their education and religious instruction. In his opinion the heaviest charge brought against the South by its worst enemies was that of indifference and even of opposition to the welfare of the blacks, and he was unwilling to do anything that would give even the semblance of truth to this charge. To the Diocesan Convention of 1866 he spoke of “an indisputable duty to enlighten them,” and said that “one important means of doing this is to teach them to read the word of God.” To this end he advocated the establishment of schools for blacks “under the authority of the Church, and under responsibility to its Bishops and Clergy.” This injunction, as will be presently explained, was only partially heeded by the Diocese.⁴⁴

Although strongly favoring sound religious instruction for the freedmen, Bishop Atkinson did not believe in mixed congregations, and these were not established in North Carolina during his episcopate. Not only did he advocate separate churches for blacks, but he also recommended that, wherever possible, these congregations should have clergymen of their own race. This principle, he observed, was wisely adopted by the Apostles in appointing elders or ministers belonging to the communities where they were to serve; whereas the failure to make such provision by the English Church in dealing with the Irish people had resulted in a steady decline of the Protestant Church in Ireland. In 1866 he noted that the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists of North Carolina were already training and sending forth, or preparing to train and send forth, such ministers to the black population. The Episcopal Church in South Carolina had made provision for the same object, and he hoped that North Carolina Episcopalianism would not stand alone with regard to the matter.⁴⁵

Bishop Atkinson's desire for the growth of Episcopalianism among the blacks of North Carolina was not fulfilled. The percentage of increase in black communicants did not keep pace with that of whites, and the number of black clergymen was never large. In fact, there seems to have been a certain amount of opposition to the licensing of black ministers. At the Diocesan Convention of 1870, George W. Mordecai entered a protest to the recent action of the Standing Committee in recommending Alexander Bass, a black man, for deacon's

orders. Mordecai said he was "opposed to granting unconditional and unrestricted testimonials to colored persons" and he did not "think the Standing Committee has any authority to grant qualified or restricted testimonials."⁴⁶ An especially important factor militating against the recruitment of black clergymen was the low level of education among the members of that race. Although the Diocesan Conventions from time to time went on record as favoring in every parish the establishment of regular schools, as well as Sunday Schools, for blacks, little was actually done in this respect.

The one instance in which the bishop achieved a degree of lasting success in his solicitude for black education was the establishment of St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute at Raleigh.⁴⁷ Designed "for the purpose of educating teachers for the colored people of the state of North Carolina and elsewhere in the United States," this institution was chartered in July 1867, with the bishop, five clergymen, and five laymen of the Diocese of North Carolina constituting its self-perpetuating board of trustees. The Reverend Joseph Brinton Smith, who had come from New Jersey in 1866 to work with the Freedmen's Commission in North Carolina, was the school's first principal. After Smith's untimely death in 1872, the Reverend John Esten Cooke Smedes, a son of the Reverend Aldert Smedes, assumed the principalship and served in this capacity until 1883. Both Smith and Smedes were enterprising administrators who succeeded in launching St. Augustine's on its career by securing financial and other support for it in the North. Substantial gifts of this nature included a sum from the Freedmen's Bureau to be expended on buildings, an endowment from the Avery and Barry Funds, and other donations from Northern congregations and individuals.

The school site, originally one hundred acres of land one mile northeast of the state capital, was purchased in 1868 and the same year four frame buildings were erected. Four pupils were enrolled when the school opened on 11 January 1868, temporarily housed in a barracks building, which had been used for a Freedmen's Bureau school and where that of the Confederate Soldiers' Home would be later located. Boarding as well as day students, male and female, were received from the first. By 1883 the annual attendance had grown to more than 100, of whom the boarding students numbered 85. During the first sixteen years of the school's existence, 130 of its students had completed a four-year course of study, and 200 had been employed as

teachers in public schools in different parts of North Carolina and neighboring states.

Though it was not until 1883 that the designation “Theological Department” appeared in the St. Augustine’s catalog, the school had for some years previously been enrolling “candidates and postulants for Holy Orders.” By 1883 fourteen of these, to the majority of whom the school had given their entire training and preparation, academic as well as theological, had been ordained to the ministry. Of this number, seven were at work in the Diocese of North Carolina, three in Tennessee, and one in Haiti; one was expecting to be sent to Liberia, and two had died. Most of those going into Holy Orders were enabled to attend St. Augustine’s free of all charges for tuition, board, washing, fuel, lights, and books, in consequence of an annual grant for fifteen scholarships made to the school by the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions.

Another venture of the Diocese into the field of theological education had its location in Asheville.⁴⁸ Bishop Atkinson was of the opinion that “in providing ministers we must look homeward for a supply,” and, further, that “if the Church is to reach and mould the whole community, to carry the Gospel to the hovel on the roadside, as well as the stately mansion embowered among groves and lawns, then it is impracticable to have all the clergy of the learned class, and not desirable if it were practicable.” There was need and demand, he thought, for diocesan theological schools, lower in grade than the existing high seminaries, where a native clergy sprung from the people might be adequately trained and instructed, with especial reference to bringing the laboring classes into union with the Church. Such institutions he contemplated as being nowise in competition with, but rather as supplementary to, the work of the University of the South, in the founding of which he had participated.

An opportunity to put these views into effect was offered to the bishop soon after the Civil War ended. The Ravenscroft School for Boys, established at Asheville in 1856 and successively headed by the Reverend Jarvis Buxton and the Reverend Lucien Holmes, had closed its doors in 1864. In 1868 the school was reorganized by Bishop Atkinson solely as a theological school, where postulants and candidates for the ministry were taught. The Reverend George T. Wilmer was the first principal of Ravenscroft School after its reorganization, but he soon resigned to become a professor at William and Mary College.

He was succeeded by the Reverend Francis J. Murdoch who, for reasons of health, in the fall of 1872 gave place to the Reverend Daniel Hillhouse Buel. Buel remained principal until the school was discontinued shortly after 1890.

Despite Atkinson's hopes, the institution did not prosper, one of the chief reasons being that the principal was also placed in charge of an associate mission covering an extensive area of western North Carolina. The contrariant and incompatible duties of this additional assignment, wrote Buel in his report of 1881, had so utterly prevented his devotion of the requisite time and effort to the training school that "he has for several years not encouraged the many applications from candidates that have been coming to him."⁴⁹ Consequently, only a few students attended at any one time, and the total number of clergymen who were wholly or partially trained at the school during its nearly twenty-five years of existence does not seem to have exceeded fifteen.

In 1874 an effort was made to establish at Morganton a school for boys, to be called Wilberforce School in honor of the great English bishop of that name. Because Bishop Atkinson was not sufficiently strong to supervise the work so far from home, this project was largely under the direction of the assistant bishop, Theodore B. Lyman. Visiting Morganton in July 1874, Bishop Lyman selected a tract of two hundred acres, called Vine Hill, about a mile southeast of the town and initiated a drive in which a fund sufficient to purchase the Vine Hill tract was raised locally, in addition to about \$1,000 being pledged to aid in erecting buildings. Construction of a building was started in 1879 and had progressed as far as the windows of the second story when the work had to be suspended for lack of funds. To make matters worse, reports began to be circulated that the structure was inferior to the extent of being in danger of collapsing. Although an investigating committee pronounced the rumors to be untrue, further efforts at fund-raising proved unsuccessful, and in 1881 Bishop Lyman and the trustees of the school resolved to go no further with the work, but to let the property be sold and the proceeds divided pro rata among the contributors.⁵⁰

A greater measure of success attended an effort to operate an Episcopal school for boys near Washington in Beaufort County. The Reverend Nicholas Collin Hughes, having conducted a parochial school in conjunction with Trinity Parish, Chocowinity, before the war, returned there in 1866 and endeavored to reopen the school, but met

with many discouragements. In 1878 his son, the Reverend Nicholas Collin Hughes, Jr., joined in the management of the institution, afterward succeeding his father as principal. Instruction in the doctrines of the Church and general religious training were always given prominence at Trinity; and, though it was not a training school for the ministry, a goodly number of its pupils subsequently entered Holy Orders.⁵¹

Of the various homes, hospitals, and other charitable institutions that have been operated by the Church in North Carolina, two were established during the period covered by this chapter. St. Peter's Home and Hospital was founded by the Church Aid Society of St. Peter's Church in Charlotte; it opened in that city in January 1876 in a rented house of two small rooms with one elderly woman as its sole inmate. Designed to provide a home for helpless and destitute persons, with a hospital for the treatment of the sick, "it was not intended to be purely local, but by providing a home for our Church people and others in distress and old age, hoped to be of use to the diocese and state." Bishop Atkinson, as well as the rector of St. Peter's Parish, the Reverend Benjamin S. Bronson, took a warm interest in the undertaking, the young women of the parish contributed funds for the purchase of a lot, and support also came from interested persons in the North. The cornerstone of a substantial and convenient brick building was laid by Bishop Atkinson, in the presence of eighty clergymen of the Diocese, on 4 June 1877, and the partly completed building was occupied the following May. The increasing number of patients led to the completion of the building and the construction of an addition, which was opened for use in March 1882. During the ensuing years from fifty to seventy sick people were cared for annually, only a few of whom were able to contribute to their own support while there.⁵²

St. James's Home in Wilmington was the outgrowth of a day school and Sunday school organized by the ladies of that parish and conducted in a large dwelling house which, together with the entire square upon which it was located, was in 1867 presented by Dr. Armand J. DeRosset to St. James's Church, to be used for charitable and religious purposes. In 1878, with the consent and cooperation of Bishop Atkinson, two workers from the Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, one of whom had previously taught in the school, were sent by the Bishop of New York to participate in the work at Wilmington. Under the Sisterhood the school flourished and grew; at

one time the day school numbered 135 and the Sunday school 193 pupils, all of the poorest class. In 1880 as many as four members of the Sisterhood were at work in the home, and in 1882 additions were made to the building in order to accommodate the increased attendance. Instruction in the school, which was entirely free, was not aimed at teaching the higher branches or accomplishments, but only the plainer and more necessary parts of a sound English education.

The home also did the work of an associate lay mission, in which the poor, the sick, and the penitent were visited and comforted. In one month alone, when there was an unusual amount of sickness, 235 visits were made. Industrial training was given in the home itself—sewing, needlework, and cooking for the girls; wood carving and similar accomplishments for the boys. The home was also described as a refuge for the aged and orphans, as well as a hospital for the sick and dying. Among its spiritual fruits were large numbers of children and adults baptized and confirmed, and, so it was said, a raising of the whole moral tone and even the improvement of the appearance of that part of the city in which the home was located. The home was a part of the work of the Parish of St. James, from which it drew its entire support. The rector of the parish was its head, and the bishop's consent to the employment of the Sisters was requisite, although always freely given. A Sister and a visitor usually resided at the home, and with them was associated a teacher from the parish.⁵³

The two issues that evoked the most lengthy and perennial discussion in the Diocese of North Carolina after the Civil War were that of providing for an assistant bishop and that of dividing the Diocese. To understand the difficulties involved, it is important to keep in mind the rules and regulations then in effect with regard to these two procedures. As of 1862, Canon 13, Section 5, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America provided that one assistant bishop might be appointed when a bishop of a diocese was unable, by reason of old age or other permanent cause of infirmity, to discharge his Episcopal duties; that the person thus appointed should, in all cases, succeed the bishop in case of surviving him; that no person should be elected or consecrated a suffragan bishop; and that there should be no more than one assistant bishop in a diocese at the same time. According to article 5 of the constitution of the National Church, no new diocese could be formed if it contained less than fifteen self-supporting parishes or less than fifteen presbyters who had been for at least one year canonically resident within the bounds

of the new diocese, regularly settled in a parish or congregation, and qualified to vote for a bishop; and that no new diocese could be formed if it would reduce any existing diocese to less than thirty self-supporting parishes, or less than twenty presbyters who had been residing therein and settled and qualified as stated above.⁵⁴ It should be noted that not only would it be difficult to secure the number of parishes or presbyters necessary to divide a diocese or create a new one in North Carolina, but also that the requirement of “self-supporting” would interpose an additional obstacle in that state.

Soon after the war the state of Bishop Atkinson’s health began to pose something of a problem for the Diocese, and in June 1866 a spell of illness that had greatly enfeebled him during the spring of that year led him, along with his wife, to go for a six-month visit to Europe. Before leaving North Carolina he addressed a communication to the Diocesan Convention, asking that it consider the advisability of electing an assistant bishop or of dividing the state into two dioceses. With reference to electing an assistant bishop, the Convention, meeting at New Bern during 30 May–4 June 1866, decided to hold such an election and adjourned to meet for that purpose in special session at Goldsboro the following November. Before that time, however, Bishop Atkinson wrote from England that his health was so improved that he did not think his case one that allowed the appointment of an assistant, and consequently the projected Goldsboro meeting was not held.⁵⁵

At the Diocesan Convention of 1867 the bishop again discussed the election of an assistant bishop. Although his health had greatly improved in consequence of his visit to Europe, he did not feel that it would permit him to visit every parish each year, a duty he considered especially important in the Diocese, “where the clergy live too far apart to render each other much assistance.” Because no division of the Diocese was possible under the existing constitution of the National Church, the next expedient would be the appointment of an assistant bishop, which he believed to be authorized in the existing situation by Canon 13. The only obstacle, as he saw it, would be the difficulty of providing for the support of two bishops; and if this could not be accomplished, he was willing to resign his office and allow the election of a younger and more vigorous man. The latter step, he said, would be painful to him personally, and he had been assured that it would be painful to the Diocese, but he was willing to make the sacrifice if the interests of the Church demanded it. The

Committee on Increase of Episcopal Services, to which the matter was referred, unanimously refused to entertain the suggestion that the bishop resign and recommended instead that an assistant bishop be chosen as soon as provision could be made for his support.⁵⁶ Although his health was much improved in 1868, Bishop Atkinson reiterated to the Convention of that year his belief that the progress of the Church in the Diocese would be promoted by the appointment of an assistant bishop. However, the members of the Committee on Increase of Episcopal Services were of the opinion that the necessity contemplated by Canon 13 of the National Church “does not seem to exist, and therefore they recommend that no action shall be taken in the matter for the present.”⁵⁷

With further reference to the need for an increase of Episcopal services in the state, the Diocesan Convention of 1867 passed a resolution instructing the North Carolina delegation to the next General Convention to urge that body to relax the rule for the division of dioceses. At the same time, the Convention provided for the appointment of a committee of three clergymen and two laymen to prepare an address on this subject to be laid before the several Diocesan Conventions, inviting their cooperation. This committee, composed of the Reverend Alfred A. Watson, chairman, the Reverend Joseph E. Cheshire, the Reverend Benjamin S. Bronson, Armand J. DeRosset, and Richard H. Smith, made a 55-page report to the Diocesan Convention of 1868, surveying the history of episcopacy and diocesan organization from apostolic times down to the period immediately following the formation of the American episcopate, stressing the need for more bishops, and criticizing the number of presbyters and self-supporting parishes that were necessary to permit the division of a diocese. Emphasis on numbers rather than territory, said this report, made no allowance for the fact that the Diocese of North Carolina was spread over an area of 45,000 square miles, while the requirement of “self-supporting” would create an especial difficulty where less than one-fifth of the parishes were in such condition. Thus, in North Carolina it would require five times the stipulated number of parishes to effect a division of the Diocese; and further, there was no necessary relationship between the degree of self-support enjoyed by a parish and its need for Episcopal supervision.⁵⁸

The report of the committee appointed in 1867 was submitted as a memorial to the General Convention of 1868. It resulted in no changes in the canon on assistant bishops but did lead to the initiation

of procedures for changing “the law for the killing of bishops,” as the existing rule on the division of dioceses was sometimes called. An amendment to article 5 of the constitution was adopted whereby a new diocese could be created with six parishes and six presbyters, provided the old diocese was not thereby reduced to less than twelve parishes and twelve presbyters; and the “self-supporting” provision was eliminated. This amendment would have to be made known to the several Diocesan Conventions and could not go into effect until ratified by the General Convention of 1871.⁵⁹

No reference to the matter of increased Episcopal services was made by Bishop Atkinson in his address to the Diocesan Convention of 1869, but a resolution was offered and passed to the effect that a committee of three clergymen and two laymen be appointed to consider the subject and report to the next Convention.⁶⁰ At the Convention of 1870 the bishop alluded to the problem and proposed a new solution in the appointment of one or more suffragan bishops.⁶¹ Up to this time, however, the appointment of suffragan bishops had been forbidden in the United States by Canon 13, article 5, of the National Church, and only by the repeal of this provision of the canon could their appointment be legalized. The committee appointed at the Convention of 1869, to which was referred that portion of the bishop’s 1870 address relating to increased episcopal services, reported in favor of requesting the General Convention to enact legislation enabling the dioceses to elect suffragan bishops, recommended that the General Convention be petitioned to assume a portion of the Diocese of North Carolina as a missionary district, and proposed the appointment of a committee of three clergymen and two laymen to draft a memorial defining the boundaries of the proposed missionary district and setting forth its spiritual needs. When taken up on the floor of the convention these proposals were recommitted, amended, and finally adopted to read “that a committee be appointed to report to the next Convention upon the subject of suffragan bishops.”⁶²

To the Diocesan Convention of 1871 Bishop Atkinson made his usual references to the need for increased episcopal services, remarking that “that necessity becomes greater from year to year, as the field enlarges continually, and my own strength wanes.” On motion of the Committee on Suffragan Bishops, appointed at the preceding Convention, it was voted that the North Carolina delegates to the next General Convention be instructed to introduce into that body such measures as may authorize the dioceses to elect suffragans, and that a

committee be appointed to confer with experienced canonists on the forming of a canon in relation to the appointment of such bishops, to be submitted to the next General Convention for consideration.⁶³

The General Convention of 1871 showed no disposition to authorize the election of suffragan bishops but did ratify the amendment of 1868 relaxing the rule for the division of dioceses. It also made easier the election of assistant bishops by amending Canon 13 to allow the election of an assistant when by reason of the extent of the diocese the diocesan was unable to discharge his episcopal duties.⁶⁴ To Bishop Atkinson's mind the way was now unquestionably clear for the election of an assistant bishop, and this view was shared by the Convention of 1872, which voted to take steps for securing an assistant bishop on "the ground of the extent of the diocese," and directed the secretary of the Convention to apply to the bishops and standing committees of the various dioceses for their consents to the procedure.⁶⁵

The North Carolina Diocesan Convention, meeting in Fayetteville in May 1873, and having secured the consent of a large majority of the dioceses, proceeded to the election of an assistant bishop from a total of fifteen clergymen who were placed in nomination. Of these, however, only three—the Reverend Alfred A. Watson, rector of St. James's Church in Wilmington, the Reverend Theodore B. Lyman, rector of Trinity Church in San Francisco, California, and the Reverend William Stevens Perry, rector of Trinity Church in Geneva, New York—ever had any real chance of election. Lyman was chosen on the thirty-fourth ballot, with Bishop Atkinson casting his vote to make the required majority of all the clergy in the Diocese entitled to seats in the Convention. The choice was then submitted to the laity and approved, with twenty-seven parishes voting for and five against concurrence. The necessary testimonials, prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose and consisting of the Reverend Alfred A. Watson, the Reverend Benjamin S. Bronson, William Ruffin Cox, and Armand J. DeRosset, were then duly signed by the members of the Convention, and notification, which he later described as having come to him unforeseen and unexpected, was dispatched to Lyman three thousand miles away on the Pacific Coast.⁶⁶

The consecration of the Reverend Dr. Lyman as Assistant Bishop of North Carolina took place in Christ Church, Raleigh, on 11 December 1873. It was the first ceremonial of this kind to occur within the Diocese, Bishops Ravenscroft, Ives, and Atkinson all having been

consecrated in other states. The venerable Bishop of Maryland, William Rollinson Whittingham, under whom Lyman had been made deacon and priest, presided over the solemn and impressive service.⁶⁷ The Right Reverend Henry C. Lay, who had some years previously been transferred from the Missionary Jurisdiction of the Southwest and made Bishop of Easton in Maryland, delivered the consecration sermon, a discourse of great power, pleading for Christian unity, which afterward was published by order of the Diocesan Convention.⁶⁸ Thirty clergymen were in attendance, as well as a large congregation which completely filled the church.

Theodore Benedict Lyman, fourth Bishop of North Carolina and one hundred and third in the succession of the American episcopate, was born in Brighton, Massachusetts, on 27 November 1815.⁶⁹ He sprang from a family of English origin and one of the oldest in America, being seventh in descent from a Richard Lyman of High Onga, Essex, who arrived in Massachusetts in 1631. His parents were Mary Benedict, who also descended from an old colonial family, and the Reverend Asa Lyman, a Congregational clergyman who at times was compelled by ill health to retire from the ministry and take up educational work. The future bishop graduated from Hamilton College at Clinton, New York, in 1837 and from the General Theological Seminary in New York City in 1840. Immediately after graduation from the seminary he went to Maryland where he was ordained deacon in Christ Church, Baltimore, in September 1841 and raised to the priesthood at Hagerstown fifteen months later. From 1841 to 1850 he served as rector of St. John's Church in Hagerstown and while there was closely associated with Bishop Whittingham in founding the College of St. James, from which he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity several years later. In June 1845, he was married in Baltimore to Anna Margaret Albert, a wealthy young woman of that city, whose ample means enabled him throughout his career to maintain a scale of living considerably higher than that enjoyed by most clergymen.

Also while in Hagerstown Lyman received and declined three calls from North Carolina, including one from St. James's Church in Wilmington. In the spring of 1850 he accepted a call to Trinity Church in Pittsburgh and remained there until 1860, when he resigned to spend some time in Europe. His original plan was to remain in Europe for two years, but because the Civil War made it unpleasant for him to return home and his wife's patrimony was sufficient to main-

tain himself and his family abroad, his stay was prolonged for ten years. During this period he aided in building up missions of the American Church in Roman Catholic countries, being for a time in charge of a church in Florence, Italy, and later fitting up at his own expense and serving a small chapel in Rome which eventually developed into St. Paul's Episcopal Church. He also traveled extensively, making two trips through Egypt, Syria, and the Holy Land, as well as spending some time in England. Returning to the United States in 1870, he accepted a call to become rector of Trinity Church in San Francisco, one of the strongest parishes on the Pacific Coast, where he was officiating when elected Assistant Bishop of North Carolina in 1874.

Although Bishop Lyman was fifty-eight years old when he arrived in North Carolina, he was yet strong and vigorous, and he set about his work with zeal and energy. On the evening of the day of his consecration and in the same church, he preached and administered the rite of confirmation to a class of six persons. As had been true of Bishop Atkinson, Lyman manifested great interest in the spiritual and educational enlightenment of the blacks, especially in his relations with and supervision over St. Augustine's School in Raleigh; and, as already related, he labored, though unsuccessfully, with equal enthusiasm for the establishment of the projected Wilberforce School for white boys in Morganton. As Bishop Atkinson grew older and progressively weaker in body, the assistant bishop naturally assumed an ever larger share of the episcopal visitation and other duties connected with the diocesan office. Constantly traveling from one end of the state to the other, Lyman gradually acquired a wide circle of acquaintances in North Carolina and achieved a position of great respect and popularity both among Episcopalians and among members of other churches.

Unlike Bishop Atkinson, whose episcopal seat had always been in Wilmington, Bishop Lyman selected Raleigh as his place of residence and purchased a large dwelling on the northeast corner of North and Wilmington streets. This house he beautified and enlarged—among the additions was a handsome gallery in which were displayed many paintings and other objects of art he had gathered during his residence in various parts of the world. Being a man of means, he was able freely to indulge in his love for the fine arts and to continue his travels abroad on several occasions. While in England in 1867, Bishop Atkinson had attended the first Lambeth Conference of bishops of the

Anglican Church throughout the world, but, being too feeble to make the trip when the second conference met in 1878, he arranged for the assistant bishop to go in his stead. Sailing from New York in June 1878, Bishop Lyman attended the conference in July, after which he traveled extensively and preached at various places in England and spent three months touring France, Spain, North Africa, and Italy. At Rome he conducted services in the Episcopal church that he had been instrumental in organizing during his earlier residence in that city.

Arguments for a division of the Diocese did not end with the election of an assistant bishop in 1873, but continued to be advanced at later Diocesan Conventions. There was a fairly general agreement that a division was necessary and that the requirements set up by the constitution of the National Church in this regard could be met in North Carolina, but there was lengthy debate on the methods that should be employed in creating the new dioceses and locating their boundaries. One plan that was put forth with considerable persistence envisaged a division in such a way as to retain the whole state under the government of one Convention. A specific application of this plan called for the division of the state into two dioceses, to be known respectively as the Diocese of Raleigh and the Diocese of Wilmington, with a third, to be known as the Diocese of Asheville, to be set off as soon as practicable; and the ultimate union of these three dioceses, for legislative purposes and mutual consultation, in one Convention or Council consisting of a House of Bishops and a lower house composed of the Standing Committees and other administrative officials of the respective dioceses. When it was learned that such an arrangement would violate a canon of the National Church, it was proposed that a petition be sent to the next General Convention to change the canon; however, there is no record of such a petition having been sent.⁷⁰

The most serious disagreement, and the one that halted temporarily any prospect of dividing the Diocese, arose over the question of what boundaries should be assigned to the new divisions. Failing to reach a consensus on this point, the Diocesan Convention of 1877, meeting at Charlotte in May, adjourned to meet in special session in Raleigh in September to consider the matter further. At the Raleigh meeting, after various motions and votes had been made and taken, it was moved and passed that, “for want of such general consent in the minds of the members of this convention as would render advis-

able the division of the diocese," it would be "inexpedient" to proceed further in this direction at this time. Thereafter, the question remained in abeyance until it was taken up again at the Diocesan Convention of 1882.⁷¹

At the 1882 Convention the Reverend Matthias M. Marshall offered a resolution setting forth that the welfare of the Church in North Carolina demanded a division of the Diocese; specifying that the line separating the new diocese from the old should run along the western boundaries of the counties of Northampton, Halifax, Nash, Wilson, Wayne, Sampson, Bladen, and Columbus; and instructing the North Carolina deputies to the next General Convention to obtain that assembly's sanction to the proposed change. These resolutions were referred to a committee appointed for the purpose, with the Reverend Joseph C. Huske as chairman, and were submitted to the Convention by that committee as its majority report. A minority report was filed by James S. Battle claiming that the action was premature on the grounds that there was no evidence that the bishop had been consulted, that it was not mentioned in his address to the Convention, and that the parishes had not been informed that it was to be brought before the Convention at this time; that the Diocese was too weak for a division; and that it needed missionaries more than an additional bishop. Another member of the Convention, Colonel William L. DeRosset, dissented from the majority report on the ground that the proposed line of demarcation would place the new diocese almost wholly in a section of the state where the enervating climate would sorely test a bishop's power of endurance during the spring and summer months. As an alternative, Colonel DeRosset proposed that the Diocese be divided by a line running roughly east and west from Oregon Inlet to the Tennessee border. Those in favor of the majority report were in the ascendancy, however, and it was adopted on 12 May 1882 by a clerical vote of 41 for and 9 against and a lay vote of 22 for and 9 against, with two parishes divided.⁷²

Bishop Atkinson died on 4 January 1881. In view of the fact that this event would seem to have substantially increased Bishop Lyman's duties and responsibilities, it would have been logical to expect that he would welcome the reduction of his labors that would presumably result from a division of the Diocese. Such was not the case. When the committee appointed by the Diocesan Convention of 1882 to confer with the bishop about dividing the Diocese met with him in Raleigh in February 1883, it found him strongly opposed to such a step.

It was, he said, unnecessary and impracticable: unnecessary because one bishop in good health could perform all needed episcopal services; impracticable because the Diocese was financially unable to bear the burden of two bishops and two diocesan organizations. He elaborated these views in his address to the Diocesan Convention in May 1883. North Carolina, he said, was not a large diocese, only a large territory, in which there were no large cities and where the population was increasing very slowly. More than half of the parishes were either in need of mission aid or must be united with two or three others under one rector. Therefore, a division of the Diocese, he contended, would only result in the creation of two weak and feeble ones. As for episcopal services, he stated that no diocese had been more thoroughly visited than this one; that nearly every parish and mission station had been visited since the last Convention, and more than twenty of them had been visited twice.⁷³

Nevertheless, on this occasion, as well as at his meeting with the committee in Raleigh during the previous February, he agreed that, if a large majority of both orders expressed a preference for division of the Diocese, he would not withhold his consent, provided that the line of division was satisfactory to him, and that the “permanent funds” were equally divided between the two dioceses. A vote on the question of division was then taken, with these results: clerical, 42 for and 11 against; lay, 29 for and 10 against, with one parish divided. A committee appointed to work out a line of division finally obtained, after various resolutions and substitutes, agreement on a line following the western boundaries of Hertford, Bertie, Martin, Pitt, Greene, Wayne, Sampson, Cumberland, and Robeson counties. To this arrangement Bishop Lyman gave his canonical consent on 26 May 1883.⁷⁴

Though in later years the Diocese of East Carolina would lag far behind the rest of the state in number of communicants, and the Diocese of North Carolina would at times be charged with arrogating to itself an unduly large proportion of the state’s Episcopal population, the two dioceses resulting from the division of 1883 were not then greatly disparate in communicant strength. Of the 5,889 Episcopal communicants reported in the state in 1883, approximately 2,376 were in the counties remaining in the Diocese of North Carolina.⁷⁵ By 1960 the number of communicants in the eastern diocese had grown to 9,379, while the number of those in the rest of the state had reached 27,185, which included 6,305 in the Diocese of Western

North Carolina.⁷⁶ It was both the greater rate of population growth in the Piedmont and western counties and a greater percentage of increase in Episcopal church membership in these areas that created the disparity between the eastern diocese and the rest of the state. Between 1880 and 1960 the population of the area comprising the Diocese of East Carolina increased 160 percent, whereas that of the rest of the state increased 253 percent.⁷⁷ During the same period communicants in the Diocese of East Carolina increased 295 percent, compared with a 673-percent increase in Episcopal communicants in the rest of the state. Even more significant is the fact that during this period the percentage of Episcopalians in the total population of the counties comprising the Diocese of East Carolina increased from .56 percent to .86 percent, compared with an increase from .36 percent to .75 percent in the rest of the state.

As already stated, Bishop Atkinson died at his home in Wilmington on 4 January 1881, thus ending an episcopate of nearly thirty years. Though the consecration of Dr. Lyman as assistant bishop had greatly lightened the labors of Bishop Atkinson, the health of the latter declined steadily during the last few years of his life. When the Diocesan Convention met in May 1880 at Winston, the aged prelate was too infirm to attend its sessions, but sent his annual address to be read before that body. This was his last message to the Church in North Carolina, and quite appropriately its closing words dealt with a phase of morality that he had long emphasized for the good of his people. This was the question of temperance. By "the use—frequently the excessive use—of intoxicating liquors," he said, "our people impose upon themselves a burden more than ten times as great as all the taxes of which they complain so much." To "this giant adversary to all righteousness and to all human happiness" he also attributed "ninetenths of all the crimes that come before our courts of justice," as well as so much of the misery of private life as "none but God himself can tell." To resist "this sin so deadly in itself and so prolific of other sins," he advocated societies for this special purpose, and to those who objected to such societies on the ground that they interfered with the proper work of the Church, he asserted that, on the same ground, missionary societies, tract societies, Bible and Prayer Book societies, associations for the relief of the poor, and indeed most charitable and religious organizations would have to be renounced.⁷⁸

To Episcopalians less opposed to ritualism and more ecumenical in outlook, certain views held by Bishop Atkinson would probably ap-

pear to be extreme in nature and possibly unjustified in implication. These were his strong disapproval of such “High Church” practices as genuflection, incense, candles other than for light, elaborate vestments, Sacraments for the dead, and auricular confession, and his equally vigorous antagonism to the claims of the Church of Rome. In his address to the Diocesan Convention of 1867, following his visit to England, and again in 1869, he spoke out against “usages symbolizing doctrines which the Church, since the Reformation, has held to be erroneous and strange, or usages which, at best, have been rejected by her and thereby become obsolete.” Many of these, he said, “have prevailed very little, if at all,” among the impoverished people of North Carolina, but “are found chiefly in great cities where wealth and idleness produce a pruriency of feeling and taste, demanding to be gratified with novelties and cravings for highly spiced seasonings, not only in men’s feasts, but also in their amusements or even in their religion.” He hoped that such sensuous, ornate, and exciting practices “may never be known to Churchmen in this diocese, except by report, and not long by report.”⁷⁹

To the Diocesan Convention of 1874 he delivered an eleven-page charge condemning sacramental confession on the ground that it is not authorized by Scripture, was unknown to the primitive Church, is disallowed by the Church of England, except in some few jealously guarded cases, and even in these cases disallowed by the American Church except in the single instance of a criminal about to be executed; that it was never required, even by the Church of Rome, until the thirteenth century; that it has been found by large and long experience to be pernicious to morals and injurious to the peace and happiness of society; and therefore, “ought by all who love this church of ours and this country of ours to be resisted and rejected.”⁸⁰

Bishop Atkinson’s opposition to the Church of Rome was characterized by undoubted sincerity along with a certain amount of naïveté. During the meeting of the Vatican Council that proclaimed the dogma of Papal Infallibility in 1870, he included in his address to the Diocesan Convention of that year various strictures upon this dogma as well as upon the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary and upon the belief in her Assumption. The doctrine of the Assumption he denounced as “one of the most incredible and least sustained of the medieval legends,” while Papal Infallibility he considered to be the ultimate result of adding dogma to dogma “until the reason and conscience of mankind are thoroughly alienated from

the entire system," following which "the Church of Rome will become more and more a sect, and efface from its system, line by line—more and more completely—the marks and characters by which a true church is known." The bishop's failure to gauge correctly the course of history was further demonstrated by his belief that Romanism was doomed, that it "may do harm to individuals, and therefore, is to be watched and checked, but that its power over mankind has passed away. France, Austria, Spain, and Italy have renounced its exclusive authority, and it is not at all impossible but that a few years hence the Pope will be seen quietly living under the protection of a Protestant power."⁸¹

Bishop Atkinson was buried beneath the chancel of St. James's Church in Wilmington. During the years of his episcopate he had taken part in the consecration of ten bishops and had attended every General Convention that assembled during this period except the wartime session of 1862, when no Southern bishops were present, the special session of 1875, and the session of 1880 which was held during his last illness. Trinity College at Hartford, Connecticut, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1846 while he was rector of St. Peter's Church in Baltimore. After he became bishop he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of North Carolina in 1862 and by Cambridge University in England in 1867.⁸²

During the generation following the war the Church in North Carolina passed through many trials and experienced many hardships. It suffered from the effects of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the general hard times that prevailed in the state after the war and into the 1880s. Indeed, it might be said that the most characteristic feature of North Carolina Episcopalianism during this period was its poverty. To a twentieth-century investigator it is almost incredible that the Church could have existed, much less progressed, on the meager resources it had at its disposal. Yet progress was made. During Bishop Atkinson's episcopate, the Church increased the number of communicants from 1,778 to 5,672 and the number of clergymen from 36 to 76. In 1860 there were 2,792 communicants, 616 baptisms, 247 confirmations, and 48 clergymen; contributions amounted to \$25,897. A noticeable decline occurred during the Civil War, bringing the figures for 1866 down to 2,451 communicants, 266 confirmations, and \$13,754 in contributions (the number of baptisms was

not reported). In 1883, the last year in which the whole state was contained in one diocese, there were 5,889 communicants, 1,018 baptisms, 513 confirmations, and 76 clergymen; total contributions were \$61,817.⁸³



A view of the campus of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, in 1899, showing the four-story Lyman Building built in 1886 and the school's chapel constructed in 1896.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.



St. Ambrose's Church, Raleigh, one of several black congregations established after the Civil War, met for many years in this frame church building.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.



*Easter morning processional at Thompson Orphanage, ca. 1920s.
Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.*



*This Gothic Revival chapel has served as the spiritual center for St. Mary's
College, Raleigh, since its completion in 1857.
North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.*

*The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1883-1900**JAMES S. BRAWLEY*

Parishes may have been the backbone of the Church in North Carolina during the decades following Reconstruction, but missionary work was its keystone. From 1880 until the turn of the century, as many as fifty-eight new churches and chapels were erected in the Diocese of North Carolina and twenty-five missionaries were laboring in the field, introducing the faith to many who were wary of, if not hostile to, its ritual. Hundreds more in the scattered sections of the state where these missionaries worked had never attended a confirmation service and still more had never heard of an Episcopalian.

That the Church in North Carolina needed more missionaries to care for the unchurched population was evident when the Reverend Francis J. Murdoch reported to the Convention of 1883 a resolution allowing the bishop to call any layman to the diaconate, without being a candidate for Holy Orders, to serve in his parish at his own expense. Such laymen would be approved by a group of three clergymen and six laymen selected by the Standing Committee.¹ By this means many were selected to serve the growing Church. These missionaries covered large areas—sometimes as many as a half-dozen counties—in their quest for communicants and at ridiculously low pay even for that day. Average annual salaries of \$250 were not uncommon and even this was not paid in some cases. When the Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire was given an assistant for work in the Charlotte area, he had to supplement the missionary's \$200 annual salary from his own pocket besides keeping him in his own home and feeding him.²

But hardships failed to dint the enthusiasm with which many were imbued. This was reflected in the growth of the Church during the twenty-year period covered by this study. From 1884 to 1895 the number of clergymen increased from 54 to 71, congregations more

than doubled, and communicants increased from 3,000 to 5,350. This growth was the fruit of the missionary clergy despite the fact that an average annual income of \$2,500 for this work was divided among 22 missionaries.³ For example, when the Reverend W. R. Wetmore went to the scattered congregation in the three counties of Lincoln, Cleveland, and Gaston in 1857, there were only 48 communicants. By 1885, there were 131 members of the Church.⁴

Each successive Convention was concerned with raising funds for missionary work. In order to accomplish this, diocesan missions were put under the control of the bishop and the executive committee of the Convention, a method employed until 1901. At best, this approach fell far short of providing adequate support for missions and missionaries.

In 1884 the Executive Missionary Committee reported to the Convention that only \$1,575 was collected for use in the Diocese, \$633 less than the preceding year, making it necessary to reduce by 25 percent the amount appropriated for 23 clergymen doing missionary work in the Diocese. Only 41 parishes and mission stations out of 124 contributed.⁵ To alter this situation, the Convention of 1884 changed the canon on convocations, which were first established in 1875 to aid itinerant missionaries within their boundaries. In 1884, four convocations were specifically created at Raleigh, Charlotte, Morganton, and Tarboro to oversee the missionaries and missions within their jurisdictions. The convocations were intended to strengthen the evangelistic work without interfering with the rights of the bishop.⁶

Bishop Lyman in 1885 suggested that each convocation enact by-laws to impel members to look after the interests of missions within their own territorial limits, to inquire where missionary work was needed, and to give financial assistance. The results of their work was to be reported at the next Convention.⁷ To further ensure mission support, the Convention of 1886 directed that each parish be apportioned a certain amount for missionary work, a plan copied from the great societies in England. This approach was underlined again in 1898 when each parish was instructed to pledge what it could give for the diocesan missions.⁸

The Executive Missionary Committee came in for some criticism at the Convention of 1885 when it was referred to as nothing more than an auditing group. Its chief purpose was thought to be raising money.⁹ But even with a small annual budget the committee man-

aged to hold together widely scattered stations and missions, assuring that services were continued where there was interest in the Church and, in some cases, helping to build schools and church structures. For instance, the Reverend John A. Deal, missionary to three western counties that in 1888 comprised only twenty-eight communicants, traveled in that year more than 4,000 miles—often 20 or more on the same day—in order to hold three different services. On one occasion he drove over the mountains at night with only the light of a torch and lantern to guide him.¹⁰

During the 1880s an average of sixteen missionaries served the Diocese, with most concentrated in the western part of the state. In 1890 new emphasis was placed on this important work of the Church when the Convention passed a resolution by the Reverend Mr. Murdoch calling for greater evangelistic work on the part of the deans of convocations. That year the deans were instructed to visit all missions in their convocations, search out scattered members, examine promising points to start missions, and inform parishes about the possibilities.¹¹

By 1893 the general financial condition of the state was more favorable to the Church than at any time since the Revolution. “Prejudices of the past” were rapidly disappearing among the people in regard to the liturgical Church, and missionaries encountered fewer resentments among other denominations for their attempts to establish the Church in outlying sections. This was especially true of the mountain regions. Although none of the missions in that area had strong congregations, a good foundation had been laid, valuable property acquired, and excellent buildings erected, including schools.¹²

An attempt to employ an executive secretary for mission work failed in 1894,¹³ but four years later the Reverend Edwin A. Osborne assumed this position on 1 December 1898. This energetic, devoted missionary, who more than anyone else had aided in the establishment of the Thompson Orphanage in 1886, brought to the mission field new purpose and life. In 1898, before he assumed his new post, twenty-two missionaries—amounting to one-third of the clergy in the Diocese—worked in the outlying stations. Yet, although there were no vacant parishes, there were many vacancies in the mission field. To remedy this, the Reverend Mr. Osborne urged the adoption of the pledge system in each parish to support mission work. The Executive Missionary Committee’s main reason for appointing him executive secretary was the hope that his efforts might increase the

contributions to this work.¹⁴ But Bishop Cheshire, in his diocesan address of 1900, admitted that such had not been the case. He therefore recommended to the Convention that an archdeacon under the bishop be provided to oversee the missionary operations of the Diocese. The idea was not new to him, he admitted, for in 1893 Bishop Lyman had wished to appoint Cheshire to a similar post just before the election of a bishop coadjutor.¹⁵

Missionary work was not entirely confined to the diocese. In 1883 Bishop Lyman conceived the idea that each communicant in the United States give, between October 1883 and October 1886, \$500 for Church missions. The 200,000 communicants could thereby raise \$1 million during the three-year period.¹⁶ The funds collected in the Diocese of North Carolina were sent to the General Convention meeting in Chicago on 9 October 1886. The Tarboro Parish contributed the largest sum, followed by St. Matthew's at Hillsborough with eighteen subscribers.¹⁷

Auxiliaries for women were first organized in 1872. In some parishes the branches contributed to missionary funds both locally and worldwide. At the thirteenth annual meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary in 1885, it was reported that money had been presented to the Board of Missions for the education of children of foreign missionaries. Money was also donated for the restoration of the burned art building at St. Mary's School, Raleigh.¹⁸ At the next meeting of the auxiliary in Tarboro, 50 women were present. A Mite Box plan was adopted whereby each woman communicant would give one cent a week to raise \$1,000.¹⁹ By 1885 the Woman's Auxiliary had 175 members in 9 branches located at Asheville, Charlotte, Elkin, Hillsborough, Lincolnton, Pittsboro, Tarboro, Salisbury, and Leaksville. Two years later the organization had increased to 390 members in 19 branches. That year (1887) it gave \$815 to missions, both foreign and domestic.²⁰ Miss Mary E. Horner, of Oxford, secretary of the Woman's Auxiliary, reported to the Convention of 1900 a total of 596 members in 36 branches. St. Peter's, Charlotte, had the largest number (48), followed by St. Philip's, Durham (34); Holy Innocents, Henderson (34); Christ Church, Raleigh (30); and St. Luke's, Salisbury (30). Of the \$2,111.30 collected in that year, Thompson Orphanage received the largest share. Lesser amounts were allocated to the United Thank Offering as well as to general, foreign, domestic, and diocesan missions.²¹

Just before the turn of the century, music became a matter of con-

cern to churchmen. Bishop Cheshire, though his standards of Church music were high, did not approve of arrangements of old chants and hymns that were too elaborate. He wanted them sung properly, but also in such a way that at least part of the congregation could join in with the choir. On several occasions while rector of St. Peter's in Charlotte, he would stop the organist and choir in the middle of a hymn or chant because the tune was either too difficult or too decorative.²² The editor of the *Church Messenger* criticized choirs, which performed "with too scientific accuracy while the congregation remained hushed." In 1884 St. Luke's, Salisbury, had its organ moved from the gallery, where it had been for forty years, to the floor of the nave near the chancel "to improve congregational singing."²³

Two significant publications during the decades before 1900 established the literary quality of the Episcopal Church in the state. The first of these was the *Church Messenger*, begun in 1879 by the Reverend Edmund N. Joyner, rector of St. Bartholomew's, Pittsboro, who had worked in a printing office before entering the ministry. In 1883 he became rector of the church in Rock Hill, South Carolina. Before leaving North Carolina he moved the paper to Charlotte, only twenty miles from his new parish. The paper had the honor of the name "Diocesan" and the privilege of printing the bishop's appointments and other Church notices. But it enjoyed no financial diocesan emoluments. The editor and publisher paid his own way, so to speak. And, according to Bishop Cheshire, "his way was usually by way of the deficit." On establishing the office in Charlotte, Joyner secured the services of Cheshire, then rector of St. Peter's, who helped to raise funds for the paper through advertising and solicitations. Cheshire wrote to a dozen or more men of means in the state explaining the financial burden the publisher was bearing in the service of the Church and asking them to contribute \$10 each to this work. Through these and other methods, the paper managed to publish weekly until 1888.²⁴

A much needed history of the Diocese appeared in 1892 with the publication of *Sketches of Church History*, edited by Joseph Blount Cheshire. Cheshire introduced the idea at the Convention of 1889, when he proposed that the next Convention be held in May 1890 at Tarboro to celebrate the first efforts to reorganize the Church in North Carolina at that town in 1790. The delegates agreed, and the Diocese of East Carolina was invited to participate. At the 1890 Convention valuable historical addresses were delivered on the history of

the Church from its Anglo-Saxon beginnings to the colonial Church and on attempts to reestablish it after the Revolution. The work of colonial laymen and institutions as well as the lives of the first three bishops were covered.²⁵ But because of time limitations, all of the addresses prepared for the joint Convention were not delivered. These and other papers written for the centennial celebration were presented in Cheshire's *Sketches*. Besides editing the work, Cheshire wrote the introduction and three papers that were included.²⁶

Beginning in 1881 the General Convention considered several liturgical revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, including an introduction of a lesson to the confirmation service, the shortening of the communion service of the sick, and verbal changes in the consecration of a church. It took many years of work to incorporate these changes, all of which were given to the several dioceses to consider. When the Diocese of North Carolina took up the matter in the 1886 Convention, a committee was appointed to examine the revisions and present recommendations.²⁷ On this committee were some of the best theological minds in the Church: the Reverend W. R. Wetmore, a frequent contributor to newspapers on Christian subjects; the Reverend Mr. Cheshire, who had done research for Colonel J. B. Saunders in his compilation of the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*; John Wilkes, for years senior warden of St. Peter's, Charlotte; and John S. Henderson, who had written the history of St. Luke's Church for the Reverend Jethro Rumble's *History of Rowan County*.

In its report to the Convention of 1886, the committee on the revision of the Book of Common Prayer stated that, although the proposed changes had many good features, there were so many defects that they should not be accepted. It suggested that the General Convention rework the revisions to make them more universally acceptable. The report was adopted and the committee was dismissed. In 1892 the General Convention finally approved the fifty-five alterations to the Book of Common Prayer that had been under consideration for the past nine years.²⁸

Though the early bishops used signet rings emblematical of their office, it was not until the Convention of 1890 that the first official seal was adopted. A pointed oval formed by two circles intersecting each other's centers represented the intersection of the spiritual and secular worlds. At the top of the seal was a Maltese cross with eight points representing the eight Beatitudes. The present seal was adopted in 1914.²⁹

After long years of war and reconstruction, the Church entered a period of expansion and division in which old institutions and parishes grew, flourished, or failed. New ones sprang up; these either prospered or were caught up in a sweeping realignment of interests and efforts. Among the institutions that came of age during this time was St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute, for blacks, founded in 1867 in Raleigh by North Carolina churchmen and built and maintained by northern churchmen and agencies. Although the school was not a diocesan institution, it was under the aegis of the bishop.³⁰

In 1883 St. Augustine's had grown to include 80 boarders, 43 day students, 7 teachers, and 14 postulants for Holy Orders despite the fact that on 6 March of that year fire had consumed five buildings on the campus.³¹ By 1885 plans had been approved for a new and larger central building to replace those burned.³² In 1886 a four-story brick building housing classrooms, a chapel, a library, and a dormitory was erected at a cost of \$12,000, which was donated by northern friends. Through the munificence of Mrs. C. R. Beare of Montclair, New Jersey, the library's holdings were trebled.³³ Interested northern friends also established a scholarship fund for six students in 1889. At that time the school boasted 132 students, 2 candidates for orders, and 11 postulants. The addition of a four-story brick building for the girl's department erected by the students in 1892 increased the enrollment to 174 by 1894. In the latter year, St. Augustine's was chartered as a Church school and the theological department was closed.³⁴

Progress on all fronts continued to bless the school after 1894. In 1896 student enrollment climbed to 225, a new chapel was erected, the cornerstone for a new library building was laid, and an industrial building was under construction. The following year the former principal's home was converted to a hospital called St. Agnes Hospital and Training School, where six student nurses began their career. A kindergarten was begun in 1897 with 60 children; the number of students soon increased to 308.³⁵ On 18 March 1898, the new Benson Library was completed, built with funds donated by Miss Mary Benson of Brooklyn, New York. In the same year a new chapel erected by the students was consecrated by Bishop Cheshire. Contributions totaling \$11,000 from Emmanuel Church, Boston, made possible a five-story brick addition to the men's dormitory.³⁶ With the acquisition of a brick machine in 1899, 200,000 bricks were made to erect additional buildings for the school including a house for the industrial

teacher, a brick laundry, and a new reservoir and pump house for the waterworks. In 1900 Principal Aaron Burtis Hunter reported that the board of managers had appropriated \$5,000, making it unnecessary for him to travel north seeking support for the school.³⁷ One of the greatest benefits to the Diocese accrued from the graduate deacons who labored in the black missionary field. Bishop Cheshire cited the good work done by St. Augustine's alumni, whom he called "the most faithful, unassuming, upright and effective men to be found among our colored clergy in this Diocese or elsewhere."³⁸

Connected with the school was the Parish of St. Augustine, located in Raleigh under the care of the school's principal. But in 1896, at the request of Principal Hunter, the parish was put under the charge of the Reverend J. E. King. This was done because the students who formerly attended St. Augustine's Parish now had their own chapel on the grounds of the institution, and the name of the parish was changed to St. Ambrose to prevent confusion. In connection with the parish, the Reverend Mr. King opened a parochial school in October 1896, whose enrollment rapidly increased to 210 students by 1900.³⁹

An institution even older than St. Augustine's was the Ravenscroft Associate Mission and Training School at Asheville, first established in 1856 as a school for boys and reorganized in 1868. The bishop retained control until 1884 when all school funds and endowments were transferred to the Diocese.⁴⁰ That year five students were enrolled in the school, which was located on a 13-acre campus in the city of Asheville and operated on an endowment fund of \$7,000 plus emoluments from the Hix Fund and lands in Detroit and Canada. The 1,500-volume library was valued at \$3,000, most of which was donated by Bishop Atkinson in his will.⁴¹

The Convention of 1885 provided for a board of fellows to consist of seven members—the principal, three clergymen, and three laymen—elected by the Convention. Those elected were the Reverend Daniel H. Buel, principal, the Reverend Jarvis Buxton, the Reverend W. R. Wetmore, the Reverend W. S. Bynum, Richard H. Smith, Hamilton C. Jones, and Richard H. Battle.⁴² As required by the Convention, the board held its first meeting on 22 May 1885, at which time a regular annual meeting date and place were chosen. At the next regular meeting held in July in the library of Ravenscroft, the organization of the school was completed with the election of the Reverend Mr. Buel as principal and secretary of the board, and Battle as treasurer. Among the bylaws adopted at this meeting was one divid-

ing the school into two departments: a training school for the ministry, and a high school for classical and academic education.⁴³

Inability to find a suitable headmaster and financial problems delayed the opening of the boys' school until October 1887, when six boarding scholars and nine day students registered for classes. Henry A. Prince, a recent graduate of Hobart College, was retained as headmaster, and the gift of \$11,000 by John J. Schoenberger of New York made possible a new building for the theological department. Schoenberger Hall was completed in 1888 and postulants moved into their new quarters after the Christmas recess, leaving the old quarters for the boys' school.⁴⁴ During the year Prince resigned as headmaster; his assistant, Haywood Parker, was named to replace him and L. P. McGhee was appointed as Parker's assistant.

Several things were considered to boost the enrollment of the boys' school, which had not fulfilled the expectations of either Bishop Lyman or the board of fellows. First, it was proposed to sell the downtown property and locate the boys' school in more spacious accommodations outside the city, but keeping a liberal tract as the permanent domain of the theological school. This, however, was not considered feasible and another proposal was adopted instead. To increase the possibility of putting the school on a sound financial basis, it was decided to lease the school buildings and property to Ronald MacDonald without charge for five years; he, in turn, would operate the boys' school under the bishop's supervision.⁴⁵

Under this arrangement the school for boys progressed for a time, and the Convention of 1894 was told that under MacDonald the school had earned an excellent reputation. The Convention, thus encouraged, offered to renew MacDonald's lease for another five years. But MacDonald declined the offer and J. H. F. Wright was named headmaster in his place. However, when the school opened in October 1894, no students were enrolled and even Schoenberger Hall was vacant. With no other prospects in view, the Diocese decided to rent the building for one year. In 1896 Bishop Cheshire recommended that Schoenberger Hall and the property on which it stood, together with the Ravenscroft endowment fund, be conveyed to the new Missionary District of Asheville and the remaining thirteen acres be retained by the Diocese. In 1897 a transfer of all rights and titles was effected.⁴⁶

Failure to establish on a permanent basis a first-rate boys' school in Asheville was due in part to the fact that too few boys were enrolled, possibly because Ravenscroft was expensive, although ministers' sons

were admitted without charge. Not to be discouraged in its effort to establish a school for Episcopal youths, however, the Diocese made another attempt in Salisbury.

Largely through the efforts of the Charlotte Convocation and the special work of the Reverend Francis J. Murdoch, rector of St. Luke's Church, Salisbury, a new school for boys was opened in Salisbury in September 1891. That year Murdoch had secured several lots from the estate of Samuel R. Harrison, including a fine mansion house for use as a school. Although the property was valued at \$6,000, only half of the amount had been paid, leaving an encumbrance on the property of \$3,000. The school was designed to provide a Christian education within the reach of many who could not afford more costly schools. It was hoped that "many generous supporters" would help to finance it.⁴⁷

Financial support for the school came principally from Salisburyans; other liberal subscriptions were received from persons in Charlotte, Ansonville, Winston, and Morganton. Notices about the school were published in Church papers, and an average of nearly thirty pupils was maintained during the first year of operation. James M. Hill, the sole teacher, trained many scholars including the late Dr. Archibald Henderson, Kenan Professor of Mathematics at the University of North Carolina, whose father, John S. Henderson, was one of the school's trustees. Other trustees were the Reverend W. R. Wetmore, the Reverend Francis J. Murdoch, and the Reverend Joseph B. Cheshire.

The original idea to establish the Episcopal School for Boys at Salisbury as a boarding school was continued throughout its existence. In 1896, in an effort to help solve some of its financial problems, the school property was transferred to the Diocese by the Charlotte Convocation. Shortly afterward \$800 from the Permanent Episcopal Fund was applied toward the school's debt and \$1,000 was obtained from other sources. However, the school operated only as a day school. The Reverend Mr. Murdoch, in expressing the hope that a boarding department could be maintained, stated that "if the number and interest of those who want to help the school was equal to those who want to be helped by it, it would be very prosperous."⁴⁸ The Convention of 1897 accepted title to the property and considered selling off part of it to help reduce the debt. One of these lots was set aside in 1898 for the use of a new church for St. Paul's Parish, the older one having burned the previous year.⁴⁹

By 1898, the Episcopal School for Boys, with forty students and two teachers, (Mr. Murdoch had by this time assumed some of the teaching duties), seemed destined to take its place beside that of St. Mary's School and the Thompson Orphanage as a diocesan institution. But all hopes were dashed the next year when the school was forced to close for lack of patronage due to the great improvement in the free public schools in Salisbury. In his report to the Convention of 1900, Dr. Murdoch stated that the trustees deemed it best not to open the school in September and to rent the building. Although no report was made after 1900, trustees continued to be appointed until 1909, the year of Murdoch's death.⁵⁰

In striking contrast to the continuing struggle to establish a successful boys' school in the Diocese stood the proud institution of St. Mary's School for Girls in Raleigh. Established by Dr. Aldert Smedes in 1842, this institution had been nurtured in good times and bad by the founder and by his son and successor, Dr. Bennett Smedes. St. Mary's was not strictly a Church school but it was operated by Episcopal clergymen and therefore the influence of the Church was felt. By 1896 Dr. Bennett Smedes found, as Dr. Murdoch would two years later in the Salisbury venture, that improved public education made it difficult for private institutions to compete. Succumbing to the change in times and stringent financial difficulties, Dr. Smedes made it known that he could no longer operate St. Mary's as a private school.

The Alumnae Association took the initiative to preserve the school by sending a memorial to the Diocesan Convention of 1896 asking that the Church "either endow the School, or to erect for it suitable buildings in Raleigh or elsewhere, and thus relieve it of one great drain, its heavy rent."⁵¹ After careful consideration the Convention adopted a resolution appointing a committee of six, including the bishop, to either purchase the school buildings or sell any property to provide funds for buildings in a new location. The committee thought it best to first procure a charter from the state legislature incorporating the school in a board of trustees, which was done during 1897.⁵² Next, the board contracted to purchase the twenty-five acres on which St. Mary's was then located for \$50,000, of which \$10,000 was paid at the time of purchase. In order to raise funds with which to pay off the remaining debt and to get the school on a firm financial basis, Bishop Cheshire laid aside an entire month from his usual visitation schedule to travel about the Diocese in an attempt to

interest the people in the school's potential. These efforts were not in vain. In 1897 the bishop informed the Convention that he had raised a substantial amount through his "Order of the Patrons and Daughters of St. Mary's."⁵³

In its first year of operation as a Church school, St. Mary's nearly doubled its enrollment of boarding students from the previous year. "But we have not succeeded," Bishop Cheshire told members of the 1898 Convention. "We have only shown that it is possible to succeed. Instead of 60 boarding pupils we should have at least 80." He then proposed that the remaining debt of \$40,000 be paid off as soon as possible to relieve the burden of paying rent. By doing so, he said, "We can give the Churchmen of the Carolinas and the South the advantage of the School at a price which will better enable them to enjoy its benefits."⁵⁴

Bishop Cheshire had noticed that many students attending St. Mary's were from South Carolina and that churchmen there had been loyal and generous supporters of the school. In August 1898, after acquiring the consent of the school's trustees, he and members of the board met with representatives from South Carolina at Saluda, where it was resolved that St. Mary's School should be placed under the "control and patronage of all the Carolina Dioceses."⁵⁵ The Diocese of South Carolina, meeting in Convention in the spring of 1899, approved the Saluda resolution unanimously and appointed Bishop Capers, two clergymen, and two laymen to represent that diocese on the board of trustees. Thus, the Church in two states was united in support of St. Mary's, which in a comparatively short time became the largest Episcopal school for girls in the country.⁵⁶

Meeting the needs of the people, whether members of the Church or not, seems to have imbued churchmen with an evangelistic fervor that resulted in the formation of many diocesan institutions between 1880 and 1900. The greatest of these was the Thompson Orphanage, founded in 1886.

Just beyond Sugaw (pronounced "sugar") Creek on the southern boundary of Charlotte was located a rather shabby brick building called "The Thompson Institute." Here the Reverend Benjamin S. Bronson had operated a school from 1869 to 1873 when the project was abandoned. Bronson held title to the property, which had an encumbrance of \$1,000 secured by a note from St. Peter's Church. Shortly after the Reverend Joseph B. Cheshire arrived in Charlotte to become the rector of St. Peter's Parish in 1881, Bronson offered him

the building and land, but Cheshire refused it. A year later Bronson approached the Reverend Edwin A. Osborne with a similar offer. At that time Osborne had charge of St. Mark's Mission outside Charlotte and St. Paul's in Monroe. As this work required little of his time, the offer, in the words of Cheshire, "set him on fire with a fine benevolent scheme." There was at that time only one orphanage in the state, St. John's Masonic Orphanage at Oxford. Osborne approached Cheshire with the proposition that the two of them should accept Bronson's offer and establish another orphanage in North Carolina. Although Cheshire was receptive to the idea, he declined to take any but a purely subordinate part in the enterprise and suggested that Bronson, Osborne, and himself meet before the 1885 Convention in Tarboro to arrange for the transfer of the property. There the three clergymen and Hugh A. Murray of Wilson hammered out the terms of a deed to be executed by Bronson. The deed provided that the trustees of the Diocese would hold the land and buildings in trust for an orphanage, with its control vested in a board of managers.⁵⁷

Soon after the 1886 Convention, Bishop Lyman appointed a committee on motion of Murray to study Bronson's offer. This committee recommended that the trustees of the Diocese accept the real estate and relieve Bronson and the vestry of St. Peter's of all obligations and the \$1,000 mortgage debt. On motion a resolution to that effect was adopted, and the following were named managers of the orphanage: Bishop Lyman, the Reverend Edwin A. Osborne of Charlotte, the Reverend W. R. Wetmore of Lincolnton, F. M. Garret of King's Mountain, Baxter H. Moore of Charlotte, and James F. Payne of Monroe.⁵⁸

The first meeting of the board took place in Charlotte on 10 August at the home of Captain John Wilkes, senior warden of St. Peter's Church. The managers selected Osborne as superintendent at a salary of \$300 a year and named the institution the Thompson Orphanage in honor of Lewis Thompson, of Bertie County, whose widow had originally given Bronson the funds with which to start his school in Charlotte.⁵⁹ It was decided at this meeting to remodel the building in time to open the orphanage the following fall. When the board met again on 23 September the managers adopted bylaws and appointed an executive committee to be composed of the rector of St. Peter's, the superintendent of the orphanage, and the physician who would care for the children. It was further decided that the institution would be financed by renting part of the property; by appeals, through

pledges and alms boxes; and by the Thanksgiving Day Offering.⁶⁰ Later it was suggested that church guilds be formed to help raise the \$5,000 needed for new buildings, as the existing facilities could care for only twenty-five or thirty children.⁶¹

The grounds covered seventy acres on which was located a main building and several outbuildings. Because this was more land than the orphanage needed, part of it was rented for \$350 a year. The Thompson building, which could accommodate about thirty children, was not large enough to begin such an ambitious enterprise. Moreover, plans to open the institution in the fall went awry. The following March Superintendent Osborne toured the Diocese to appeal for support. The response was so gratifying that the orphanage opened its doors on 13 May 1887, with Miss Lizzie Mackey as matron.⁶²

From this beginning the Thompson Orphanage grew steadily, gradually gaining more recognition as an outstanding institution. By 1890 39 children were cared for by 6 employees, a publication called “The Messenger of Hope” was established by the children, a farm was in full operation, Bronson Hall had been fitted out to house smaller children, and a two-story apartment had been erected for the superintendent. Within another two years a chapel had been added, the gift of Judge William P. Bynum.⁶³ Contributions increased from \$3,700 in 1890 to \$5,400 in 1894. Important donations included the Bishop Atkinson Memorial Fund worth \$2,500, procured through the efforts of Rebecca Cameron of Hillsborough and the children of the state as “Messengers of Hope,” which was used to erect an annex to Thompson Hall; an interest in lands given as a legacy by Mrs. M. A. Southerland of Pittsboro; and part of Bishop Lyman’s legacy. By this time, the orphanage had 50 children in residence and the circulation of the “Messenger of Hope” had climbed to 1,200. Sixteen guilds in as many parishes helped support the institution.⁶⁴ The year 1896 witnessed the addition of new dining rooms, a dormitory for girls, and a matron’s room attached to the main building. This was made possible through the gift of St. John’s Guild of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh.⁶⁵ Two years later half of all the churches in the Diocese were contributing a total of \$1,340 a year. An infirmary was added in 1897 through the munificence of St. Peter’s Guild in Charlotte. From 1887 to 1897 a total of 169 children had been cared for.⁶⁶

In the summer of 1898 the Reverend Mr. Osborne, founder of the

Thompson Orphanage, felt it necessary to lay down his burden after twelve years as superintendent. Reluctantly, Bishop Cheshire accepted his resignation. On 2 June 1898 he was succeeded by the Reverend Walter J. Smith, who had been most zealous in cooperating with Osborne.⁶⁷

As a newcomer, Smith could see many things that would escape the observation of a longtime resident, and he immediately began a regimen of improvements to repair the wear and tear of eleven years. Among these was the piping of city water to the buildings, which was made possible through funds donated by the children of the Church as a memorial to the wife of the Reverend Benjamin S. Bronson. A telephone connection was also made to the city. During Smith's first year the orphanage cared for sixty-two children, an increase of 24 percent over the preceding year.⁶⁸

The period closed with the Thompson Orphanage firmly established in the hearts of the people, but not before the institution received its share of suffering and losses. From June to December 1899, more than forty cases—an unprecedented number—of malaria and eight of typhoid fever were reported. During this sickness there were four fatalities, one caused by cerebrospinal meningitis. Dr. Pressly and his successor, Dr. Capehart, did all they could for the relief of the sufferers. A trained nurse, Miss Elizabeth Sims of Maryland, was employed to help the regular matrons, Miss Mackey and Miss Capehart. After the siege the health of the children improved and the crisis passed. Through many generous gifts, the schoolroom was made comfortable and compartmented, and the floor of the reception room was relaid and wainscoting installed. This was made possible by gifts, legacies, and memorials from Mrs. E. G. Muse of Rocky Mount and Mrs. M. E. Cowles of Los Angeles; by the Woman's Auxiliary of St. Mary's School; and by a gift of \$2,000 from Frank Wood of Edenton.⁶⁹

As the century ended there were sixty-two children in the orphanage—thirty-four from the Diocese of North Carolina, twenty-two from the Diocese of East Carolina, and six from the Missionary District of Asheville. The institution was supported and sustained by the entire Church in the state. It had met a great need, as shown by the fact that Superintendent Smith had sixty-one applications for admission in 1899 when only fourteen could be accepted.⁷⁰ Perhaps no diocesan work was dearer to the people than the Thompson Orphanage and Training Institution. It was due to the Reverend Edwin A. Os-

borne that the institution was conceived and established at the Convention of 1886. Bishop Cheshire told the Convention of 1899: "His exertion and diligence and unremitting labors, his ceaseless journeys back and forth, and his extensive and minute correspondence with persons all over the State made the work known. He laid the foundation of this noble charity in the hearts of the people of North Carolina and thus created the means of its support and continuance."⁷¹

Other noteworthy achievements during this period were St. Peter's Home and Hospital and the Good Samaritan Hospital, both in Charlotte, which were established and sustained by the men and women of St. Peter's Church. Their rector, the Reverend Benjamin S. Bronson, was an enthusiast for institutional service and had infused his people with this spirit. The work was begun by several women of the parish who became interested in caring for a feeble and destitute old woman. The Reverend Mr. Osborne offered to secure a lot for them at a modest price on which to erect a small building where such cases could be attended. A society known as "The Busy Bees," organized by Miss Hattie Moore who taught a small school in Charlotte, raised \$50 for the lot where St. Peter's Home and Hospital was established in 1877. Eight years later the hospital aided and sheltered 47 patients a year, at an average daily cost of 68 cents per patient.⁷² From this modest four-room beginning, it grew during the next twenty years into an imposing structure with 15 rooms and enough beds to care for 118 patients. A two-story building was begun in 1896 and completed in 1899.⁷³

The year 1898 witnessed a great change in the hospital when a large, convenient new building was occupied; although much still remained to be done, it was dedicated by Bishop Cheshire on 15 July 1899. During the year heat, light, and plumbing were installed; surgical instruments and furniture for the operating room were acquired at a cost of \$8,000; and, through the kindness of Dr. Register, one of the house physicians, an X-ray apparatus was placed in the hospital.⁷⁴ The next year the old building was thoroughly renovated to make it as neat and attractive as the new one, appliances for surgical and medical work were added, and modern electric aids were installed. A third story to the new building was completed to house nurses and 10 students who attended the new School of Nursing established in 1899. The 171 patients treated that year came from twelve different states and many different church connections.⁷⁵

Equally important was the establishment of the Good Samaritan

Hospital by the wife of the senior warden of St. Peter's Church, Mrs. John Wilkes. In 1889 the Reverend Joseph B. Cheshire, Jr., the rector, had helped Mrs. Wilkes purchase a lot for a hospital for blacks and three years later officiated at its formal opening on 23 September 1891. This was the first hospital for blacks to be established in North Carolina and its doors remained open until 1960.⁷⁶ During its first four months of operation, Good Samaritan cared for 4 patients; by the next year the number of patients had increased to 27. The hospital was supported entirely by the voluntary offerings of the black Woman's Auxiliaries from many places and from churches of different denominations in Charlotte.⁷⁷ An effort to establish a training school for nurses failed in 1896.⁷⁸ At the 1900 Diocesan Convention Mrs. Wilkes, president of the hospital, reported that 117 patients had been served—more than in any previous year. The most pressing need was for an operating room, but funds to provide one were not available by the end of the reporting period.⁷⁹

In Raleigh, the Church of the Good Shepherd operated a non-sectarian hospital under the auspices of St. John's Guild, which had purchased the former home of Governor Charles Manly for that purpose. The hospital property consisted of a large front yard and sufficient buildings on the grounds to carry out the institution's mission. The main building was under the management of Sister Eliza, ordained deaconess. The hospital depended almost entirely on voluntary support.⁸⁰

Given the Church's growth and the many parishes and mission stations that had to be regularly visited, Bishop Lyman became concerned about his failing health and the need to conserve his strength. He therefore suggested to the Convention of 1893, meeting in Christ Church, Raleigh, that he be given some assistance. After due consideration, the delegates resolved to convene again in Raleigh on 27 June to elect an assistant bishop.⁸¹

On the appointed day, the Convention doors were closed and members of the clergy proceeded to nominate an assistant bishop. Those nominated were the Reverend Nathaniel H. Harding, the Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., the Reverend T. M. N. George, the Reverend Dr. Francis J. Murdoch, the Reverend Matthias M. Marshall, and the Reverend R. S. Barrett.⁸² Of this group, only Barrett of Atlanta was not from North Carolina. It is interesting to note that in North Carolina a bishop had never been elected from among the clergy within the state. Murdoch first nominated Cheshire, and

later in the nominations Cheshire reversed the compliment. As early as 1891 Cheshire had declared to a friend that Murdoch was his first choice for bishop, characterizing him as a learned, noble, and lovable man.⁸³ In his nominating speech for Cheshire, Murdoch said: "The good shepherd knows his sheep. This is pre-eminently true of Dr. Cheshire. He knows the people of North Carolina, their history and their relationships better, perhaps, than any other person living."⁸⁴

Under Convention rules, the clergy elects a bishop by a two-thirds vote of its number. Its choice is then submitted to the laity, which either concurs or rejects it. At this particular Convention twenty-nine clerical votes were necessary for election. On the first ballot Cheshire received fourteen votes, Murdoch received thirteen, and the rest were scattered. By the third ballot Cheshire had increased his lead to seventeen and Murdoch had lost one vote. The voting continued to see-saw back and forth between Cheshire and Murdoch through the day and night until, after the twenty-ninth ballot, the Reverend M. N. Turner proposed the name of the Reverend Arthur S. Lloyd of Norfolk, Virginia. After this Murdoch led the balloting with Lloyd gaining strength. Before the thirty-seventh ballot the Reverend Mr. Barrows moved that, if election was not achieved in the next two ballots, the clergy should retire to the chapel for a conference. The motion passed and the conference took place after the thirty-eighth ballot. Here it was agreed that the clergymen should arrive at a choice by the process of elimination. After several votes were taken, the selection lay between Cheshire and Murdoch. The supporters of both men then agreed to vote in the Convention for the one who received the highest vote in this conference. When the votes were counted, Cheshire led by a majority of one. The clergy then reentered the church. The results of the thirty-ninth ballot were twenty-nine votes for Cheshire, seven for Lloyd, and five scattered. The laity quickly confirmed the choice of the clergy by a vote of twenty-four to seven, whereupon Bishop Lyman declared the Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., elected Assistant Bishop of the Diocese.⁸⁵

There were some interesting sidelights on the election. First, Cheshire, who nominated and voted for Murdoch through twenty-four ballots, excused himself from the Convention, explaining that he had made a prior promise to perform the marriage ceremony of his friend Stephen B. Weeks in Randolph County, thinking that the Convention would last only one day. This left Murdoch one vote short. Then, a small minority of the clerical delegates who opposed

electing anyone from the Diocese of North Carolina held the balance between the two strongest contenders. All attempts to mollify this minority with a candidate other than Cheshire or Murdoch failed, and thus a conference of the clergy was called in order to effect an election.⁸⁶

Bishop Cheshire was consecrated at Calvary Church, Tarboro, where his father had served for a half-century and in which he himself had been brought up and ordained to the diaconate.⁸⁷ After his consecration Cheshire toured the mountain regions that he loved, visiting missions and chapels. His visitations were cut short in order for him to attend special services at the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, celebrating the twentieth anniversary of Bishop Lyman's consecration.⁸⁸ "I was much shocked to see the Bishop in what seemed to me a very serious condition of bodily weakness," Cheshire noted when he arrived in Raleigh. Although determined to attend the services on Sunday, 10 December, Bishop Lyman was persuaded to let Cheshire send for a doctor. Cheshire left the following day to resume his visitations in Rowan County, but on his arrival in Salisbury he found a telegram informing him of Bishop Lyman's death.⁸⁹

Now the assistant bishop was in full charge of the church and had the sole responsibility for episcopal guidance of the Diocese. Cheshire wasted little time in taking over. Arriving in Raleigh on the fourteenth, he consulted with the clergy and laity, dispatched telegrams to the clergymen who could attend the funeral, and generally arranged for the last rites in Christ Church, Raleigh.⁹⁰ On returning from the cemetery, he held a meeting in Christ Church where arrangements were made for preparing resolutions on Bishop Lyman to be presented at the next Convention, made inquiry into the affairs of the Diocese, and reviewed the character of his new duties. For the next week he met with committees, seeking their advice to enable him to "gather up the threads which had dropped from the more experienced and stronger hands of my predecessor."⁹¹

At his first Convention as bishop meeting at St. Paul's Church, Winston, in 1894, Cheshire stressed three subjects that were to become the focal points of his administration: the necessity for regarding the Diocese rather than the parish as the unit of the Church, the need for missionary work, and greater support for diocesan institutions.⁹² His first diocesan project was to implement his suggestion for expanded missionary work. This took the form of reviving the old mission of Valle Crucis established by Bishop Ives about fifty years

before, as well as reviving the missions he had established along the Watauga River. For this task Cheshire needed a man who was rough, plain spoken, and equipped with a faculty for understanding and winning the confidence of the mountain people. Such a person was the Reverend Milnor Jones, whom he had met in 1883 and who had impressed him with his knowledge of mountain people. Jones had been trained at Sewanee. After working in South Carolina, he had gone to Polk County, North Carolina, where the Church was practically unknown. There he labored from “the summit of Tryon Mountain” to the “Black Hill Distillery.” Jones was sent to Valle Crucis where in 1896 he erected a mission house from which “preachers and teachers should go out and keep up the work of evangelizing, instructing and educating wherever an opening might be found and made.”⁹³

With letters of introduction from his bishop, Jones visited northern states in the fall of 1895 to raise money for his mountain missions. With these funds he established mission schools at Valle Crucis and Beaver Dam. During the next two years he erected a mission home at Valle Crucis to accommodate a teacher, a missionary, and several pupils. From this small beginning, the work of the station grew steadily through the years. Jones left the state in 1897 but not before he had laid a foundation for missionary work that would be a credit to the Church.⁹⁴

Although Bishop Cheshire was deeply attached to the mountain missions, he did not oppose a movement begun in 1894 to create a missionary district from the western counties of the Diocese of North Carolina. Many felt that the present Diocese was too large to be adequately administered and supervised by one bishop. This sentiment was first expressed by General James G. Martin in his minority report to the adjourned meeting of the 1877 Convention in September. He proposed that an eastern diocese as well as a missionary jurisdiction of Asheville be established, and that they—with the Diocese of North Carolina—convene under one legislative assembly to be called the Synod of the Province of North Carolina and presided over by the senior bishop. This plan was never adopted.⁹⁵

The idea of creating separate jurisdiction in the west reappeared in the Convention of 1894 when the Reverend McNeely Dubose offered a resolution to consider the advisability of requesting the General Convention to set apart the western portion of the Diocese as a missionary jurisdiction. A committee was appointed to study the pro-

posals and report to the next Convention.⁹⁶ When the Diocesan Convention of 1895 met in Grace Church, Morganton, the committee on the proposed jurisdiction offered a resolution "that it is advisable to request the General Convention to set apart the western part of the Diocese of North Carolina as a missionary jurisdiction," and that "the line of division be the eastern boundary of the counties of Alleghany, Wilkes, Alexander, Catawba, Lincoln and Gaston."⁹⁷ The resolution was adopted without dissent, for Bishop Cheshire himself had recommended the line of division. Accordingly, the Convention instructed its deputies to present the recommendations to the General Convention for approval.⁹⁸ Bishop Cheshire presented the memorial for separation to the Committee on Domestic Missions at the General Convention in the fall of 1895. Although some objected to the legal and constitutional requirements of separation, the memorial was finally adopted, but Cheshire's motion to the House of Bishops to proceed to the election of a missionary bishop met with stronger opposition and was postponed to a future meeting. In the meantime the separate jurisdiction, to be called the Missionary District of Asheville, was temporarily placed under the episcopal care of Bishop Cheshire.⁹⁹

On 12 November 1895, at the first Convention of the Missionary District of Asheville, Bishop Cheshire spoke of the District's great opportunity to extend its influence to an area where people were almost wholly ignorant of the Church. Meanwhile, the Diocese of North Carolina appropriated money from the Missionary Fund to enable the new jurisdiction to carry on this work, but concluded that a complete separation should begin on 1 September 1896. In accordance with Bishop Cheshire's recommendation to the Diocesan Convention of 1896, the next year the Ravenscroft property and all securities and monies belonging to the Hix and Ravenscroft Fund were turned over to the Asheville District.¹⁰⁰

In the fall of 1898, after Cheshire had stressed the importance of providing a bishop for the new division, the House of Bishops elected the Reverend Junius Moore Horner, a native North Carolinian, as Bishop of the Missionary District of Asheville. He was consecrated on 28 December 1898 in Trinity Church, Asheville, by Bishop Cheshire. Following this service Cheshire formally turned over the duties of the District to the new bishop.¹⁰¹

Probably no other period in the Church's history witnessed such an extensive building program as the 1880s and 1890s. As pointed out

earlier, more than 58 new churches were erected, many more were refurbished and improved, and buildings were added to diocesan institutions. Where two or three Episcopalians resided, there was interest in providing a church building; with the aid of the Missionary Fund and a few missionaries like Buel, Murdoch, or Deal, a church soon appeared. For the most part these churches followed the classic Gothic style of architecture and were cruciform in construction, seating approximately 250 people. Although small and widely scattered over a large territory, they attracted many to the Church who otherwise would have never become interested. Of these 58 churches not a few passed out of existence before the mid-twentieth century, but by then their work was done. Many members of these mission stations received their first indoctrination into the Church here, and their descendants today are communicants of many of the larger parishes in the Diocese.

Often a small church was erected through the efforts of the clergyman in charge on a budget as small as \$400. And more often than not it took several years to complete the structure. The Reverend C. T. Bland, who had charge at one time or another of churches at Rutherford, Shelby, and Lincolnton, planned and erected the 18-by-40-foot St. John's Mission at Marion on less than \$400 and had the pleasure of seeing Bishop Lyman consecrate it on 17 May 1891.¹⁰² Of his efforts here, Bland wrote in his diary, "I have begun work and do not propose to abandon it." St. John's was begun in 1883 and was finished three years later. Bishop Lyman, much gratified, said only a man like Bland could have done it with so little encouragement. Bland personally made the font and other church furniture including the pews. He was succeeded by the Reverend Gerard W. Phelps in 1892.¹⁰³

The Reverend Daniel H. Buel, principal of Ravenscroft School, was alone in the missionary field in the west in 1883. St. Philip's Church at Brevard, which he began on 7 August 1883, was erected on land donated by Mrs. Robert W. Hume. It took eight years to build and was consecrated on 20 October 1891. Buel had charge of the churches at Waynesville, Mica Dale, and Cullowhee, which he founded with the help of D. D. Davies, a mining Welshman. Given the opposition and hardship he faced in his work, it is little wonder he noted that "the church was a stranger in this land."¹⁰⁴

Sometimes, however, outside help was needed, as in Franklin where the Reverend John A. Deal was able to erect St. Agnes Mission in 1888 only through the timely gift of Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Bell of

New York. In 1891 St. Agnes School for Young Ladies was established in a building behind the church.¹⁰⁵ Again help came from the North when St. Cyprian's Church, under the rectorship of the Reverend J. T. Kennedy, was constructed in 1887. A timely gift from a Philadelphian made possible the erection here of a building for a day school, the first attempt to do anything for blacks in Franklin.¹⁰⁶ Later, an addition to the school made possible the establishment of an industrial training department.¹⁰⁷

Calvary Church, Hendersonville, was consecrated on 3 September 1885 by Bishop Lyman, who credited the Reverend Edwin A. Osborne with being "instrumental in the establishment of the mission and in the erection of the building during his rectorship of Calvary Church." Osborne was also responsible for greatly enriching the Mount Calvary Chapel, which he helped to establish in 1885. This church was located about nine miles north of Fletcher at Pinners Cove. It served the area until it burned in 1920; it was never rebuilt. As rector of Calvary Church at Fletcher from 1877 to 1883, the Reverend Mr. Osborne established a mission at Edneyville where a church was built; the church still enjoys a growing and active congregation. Osborne's church at Fletcher, erected in 1859, was burned in 1935 but another soon was raised to take its place. This church, whose Confederate graveyard nestled close to the ivy-mantled tower of the original church, attracts many visitors throughout the country (between 10,000 and 15,000 annually) and has been cited in newspaper and magazine articles as one of the most beautiful country churches in the United States.¹⁰⁸

Much of the work on St. Luke's Church in Lincolnton was done by Silas McBee who, in the words of Bishop Lyman when consecrating the church on 12 August 1886, was "responsible for the striking reverent and churchly qualities of the building." The bishop noted that McBee fashioned the chancel with his own hands.¹⁰⁹ Members, too, aided in the construction of St. Luke's. John Cobb made the bishop's chair, and the credence table was built by Dr. T. C. Wetmore. The church was Gothic in style and cruciform in construction. "No one can enter the building," Bishop Lyman observed, "without being impressed with its sacred character." Although only a frame edifice and by no means costly, it impressed the bishop with what could be done with limited means when good taste was employed.¹¹⁰ The congregation had built its first church in 1842, and the corner-

stone of the new church was laid on 2 February 1886 using the tower of the old church as the south transept of the new.¹¹¹

The Reverend W. R. Wetmore, rector of St. Luke's for 42 years (1862–1904), extended his missionary spirit beyond the limits of his parish. He helped to erect the Church of the Redeemer, Gothic in style and seating 250 members. He also served St. Paul's Church three miles from Lincolnton, built in 1873, and he held services at St. Stephen's Chapel, erected for the factory people; St. John's at High Shoals, built by the Freedmen's Bureau; the Church of Our Saviour, one mile from Lincolnton; and St. Cyprian.¹¹² Wetmore married Mary Bingham of Mocksville after receiving his training at the General Theological Seminary in New York City. He was first a lawyer before becoming a priest. He also served the church at Shelby, but noted in 1885 that the church as well as the congregation was dilapidated. The following year, however, he was careful to observe that Shelby's prospect for growth was much improved.¹¹³

When Bishop Lyman visited the western part of the Diocese in 1883, he found that three new churches were being erected in the counties of Haywood, Jackson, and Macon. The whole region, he thought, was full of promise. In August he laid the cornerstone of St. Philip's Church at Brevard; visited St. Mary's at Micadale, which was subsequently consecrated on 17 May 1891; and held services in the partly constructed church at Cullowhee, which was consecrated on 2 August 1892. All these churches were erected under the guidance of the Reverend Mr. Buel, who received assistance not only from the diocesan Missionary Fund but also from churchmen in the North.¹¹⁴

Indicative of the interest in the Church's growth in the west, the first Diocesan Convention ever held in Asheville met in the new Trinity Church on 14 May 1885. Here the delegates must have been greatly impressed with the tasteful and attractive interior that could accommodate quite a large congregation.¹¹⁵ Trinity's rector, the Reverend Jarvis Buxton, a pioneer missionary in work west of Asheville, nourished St. Matthias Chapel for blacks in Asheville. (Buxton had gone to Asheville from Rutherfordton in 1847 and before that had helped Bishop Ives at Valle Crucis. He started Ravenscroft Training School and Trinity Church in Asheville.¹¹⁶) The church was under the direction of the Reverend S. V. Berry until 1885 and "to the very last he retained the confidence and love of the whole community," Bishop Lyman noted in his diocesan address. In 1887 the Reverend Mr.

McDuffy was in charge of St. Matthias; under his leadership a new church was built in 1896.¹¹⁷

Missionary work beyond Asheville—west and south—was made no less difficult for these early missionaries by the stigma attached to the former Church of England, which the mountain people had come to fear and hate. Then, too, other denominations had followed the pioneers whereas the Episcopal Church, in the words of the Reverend John A. Deal, “appeared on the scene of action at least sixty years too late.”¹¹⁸ This feeling of hostility was vented against Bishop Cheshire when he visited Milnor Jones’s school in the Watauga Valley in 1896. He was prevented from conducting a service by a crowd of men 50 to 100 strong because “they didn’t like Mr. Jones’ doctrine” and they thought Cheshire “taught the same.”¹¹⁹

About 1882, a colony of three English families led by George Holmes established the nucleus of a congregation at Bowman’s Bluff on the French Broad River ten miles from Hendersonville. They were served by Osborne and Buel until the arrival of another Englishman, the Reverend Richard Wainwright, who had gone to the mountains of North Carolina from Honolulu for his health. After Wainwright’s arrival in 1885, Gethsemane Mission at Bowman’s Bluff, Henderson County, was begun in 1886 and consecrated in 1887. This frame cruciform building with an open arch and timbered roof rafters was described by Bishop Lyman as a “model of neatness and good taste.” The mission was disbanded in 1907.¹²⁰

Other churches in the west were springing up. At Boone the first service in the new St. Luke’s Church was held on 9 September 1883; though not completed, the church was described as “quite a neat building.” Tryon, Walnut Cove, and the Church of Our Saviour in Lincolnton’s suburbs all were built in 1884. In Henderson County, the congregation of St. Paul’s held its first service in 1885 in an unfinished building. The congregation at Blowing Rock secured a lot and collected \$400 toward a new church, which opened in 1891 and was called the Church of the Holy Spirit (now St. Mary’s of the Hills).¹²¹ In 1885 the Church of Our Saviour, Jackson County, was enlarged and beautified with a graceful tower and ceiled in native pine.¹²² In 1888 St. Clement’s in Canderville occupied a building for worship, and the following year St. John’s in Hot Springs was consecrated on 28 July.¹²³ The Chapel of Rest in Yadkin Valley near Patterson was consecrated after many years of work,¹²⁴ and a black church in Morganton was consecrated in 1892.¹²⁵

In the fall of 1885 Bishop Lyman, accompanied by the Reverend Mr. Buel, toured the missionary stations west of Asheville to lend encouragement and to take a firsthand look at the prospects there for the growth of the Church. They visited Grace Church at Waynesville and the new chapel and school three miles away at Webster, the county seat of Jackson. From there they traveled into Macon County, the missionary field of the Reverend Mr. Deal, visiting St. John's at Castoogegay and the valley of Cullowhee where they inspected St. David's, just completed. In Cashiers Valley they attended services at the Chapel of the Good Shepherd, which was being built. This church was completed in 1887 through the assistance of Governor Wade Hampton of South Carolina. Deal called it "one of the most beautiful buildings in the Diocese."¹²⁶

Through the missionary zeal of the Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., then rector of St. Peter's, Charlotte, St. Michael and All Angels in Charlotte was erected in 1882. Within a year it proved too small to accommodate the large congregation, so in 1883 the cornerstone for a new and larger church was laid. It was of Gothic design, large enough to allow for considerable growth in the congregation and, according to Bishop Lyman, "built in admirable taste." It stands today as a testimonial to Cheshire's missionary efforts among his black brethren.¹²⁷

While engaged in this work, Cheshire discovered that a number of Episcopalians who lived in the Mechanicsville section of Charlotte had no place to worship. Beginning with a Sunday school, he soon launched a mission which shortly afterward was consumed by fire. With funds from his own pocket and from other sources he constructed a chapel, which he named St. Martin's. The fact that it became one of the larger parishes in the Diocese attests to its steady growth since 1883.¹²⁸ Another missionary effort of Cheshire was the formation of St. Mark's Mission in the Long Creek Community of Mecklenburg County, which marked the first attempt to extend the Church beyond Charlotte. The cornerstone of the 22-by-10-foot building was laid in 1886. Cheshire also helped to secure a new church for Ansonville and encouraged parishioners in Monroe, where a lot and building had been purchased for use as a church.¹²⁹

Also active in the missionary field was the Reverend Francis J. Murdoch, rector of St. Luke's Church, Salisbury, who organized twelve missions both inside and outside of Rowan County. He was, in the words of Bishop Cheshire, "a pioneer in parochial missions."¹³⁰

Murdoch organized the "Evangelistic Brotherhood"—consisting of the Reverend William J. Bynum, the Reverend Charles J. Curtis, and himself—to carry on the aggressive efforts of the Church in preaching missions. But the most striking aspect of his work was his success in discovering and training ministers, eleven of whom Bishop Cheshire ordained. They included Benjamin S. McKensie, Sidney S. Bost, Robert Bruce Owens, Thomas L. Trott, Locke W. Blackwelder, Walter S. Loflin, John L. Saunders, S. M. L. Brown (Deacon), John H. Crosby, Thomas N. Brincefield, and Francis Arthurs.¹³¹

Education in the Church was part and parcel of Murdoch's makeup. It was not enough that he trained ministers at home, but in 1886 the Convention adopted his resolution to form a committee for Christian knowledge that would prescribe a course of reading and promote through correspondence a study of Church principles. Those who successfully completed the course would be awarded certificates. By the end of the year he had enlisted thirty students in his Church Chautauqua.¹³²

With the successful beginning of St. Mary's Memorial Chapel in the southern part of his parish and its consecration by Bishop Lyman in 1883, Dr. Murdoch and his corps of lay readers, postulants, and deacons went on to establish other missions.¹³³ Eliza Marsh Murdoch, his sister, had a large share in the building of St. Matthew's Mission in western Rowan, six miles from Salisbury, which Bishop Lyman called a plain and inexpensive frame building.¹³⁴ She also had a hand in erecting a church building in China Grove and the mission of St. Peter's for the black congregation in Salisbury.¹³⁵ In 1893 St. George's Mission at Woodleaf was erected to care for the congregation that had moved to that town from old St. Andrew's Chapel in the country. In 1892 St. John's Chapel near the Vance Cotton Mills (now Cartex Mills) was erected on land donated by Mrs. Mary S. Henderson.¹³⁶ On 14 October 1886, a contract was let for St. Jude's mission chapel; this caused the editor of *The Church Messenger* to comment, "Thus the faithful pastor at Salisbury is gradually lengthening his cords as well as strengthening his stakes."¹³⁷

Murdoch had gone to St. Luke's from Asheville in 1872. Almost immediately on his arrival in Salisbury, he became interested in secular affairs. When the Reverend Mr. Pearson held a revival there in 1883 and told the people that what the town needed most besides religion was a good cotton mill, Murdoch took the lead in organizing the Salisbury Mill (now part of the Cone Mill Corporation) and be-

came its secretary-treasurer. He later organized a building and loan office, believing its success in Charlotte would be repeated in Salisbury. In a measure his business life and financial enterprises did increase his usefulness as a pastor, but Bishop Cheshire, always understanding, stated in a memorial address on Murdoch that “this secular side of his interests grew out of a high and unselfish desire and effort for the good of others.”¹³⁸

Although the west occupied much of Bishop Lyman’s attention, he did not neglect the growth of the Church in other parts of the Diocese. In 1884 he gave particular encouragement to the church at Henderson, then being erected. Work had been temporarily halted due to a lack of funds, but it was expected to be completed in a short time. Indeed, the Reverend Julian E. Ingle preached his first sermon in the new Holy Innocents Church in July 1885.¹³⁹ Bishop Lyman was impressed with the beauty of this church and said that “it promises to be one of the most graceful and churchly edifices in the Diocese.” From its commanding site, he thought, it would become one of the greatest ornaments of the town. “It reflects no little credit upon the zealous rector to whose refined and correct taste the congregation will be indebted for many of the attractive features of the building. It is a great step forward in illustrating the true ideal of a church edifice.” He concluded hopefully that “the day had gone by for any more barn-like structures in this Diocese.”¹⁴⁰

At Scotland Neck Bishop Lyman urged the congregation of Trinity Church to push forward with the construction of its new church, begun in 1884, which in 1885 had only a roof and brick walls. On his next visit there in April 1886, he held the opening service in the completed church. The new building, he said, was larger than the old one, neat, and solidly constructed. The original structure, to be known as “Trinity Mortuary Chapel,” was restored for use “on all funeral occasions,” on the First Sunday after Easter, and on All Saints Day.¹⁴¹

During the next few years much progress was noted in the construction of new church buildings. St. James Chapel in Pittsboro, erected for blacks through the efforts of the Reverend F. L. Bush, was consecrated on 25 May 1890 and thought by the bishop to be “a very neat and commodious edifice.” At its consecration on 12 June, St. Luke’s, Gaston, was described as “one of the most chaste and attractive of rural churches.” But Bishop Cheshire reported in 1897 that the prospects for St. Luke’s were dim.¹⁴² St. Peter’s in Charlotte expanded

to such an extent that by 1889 the congregation began making plans for a new church. Within the next two years, the old church was taken down to make room for the nave of the new structure. The new St. Peter's Church was consecrated in 1899.¹⁴³

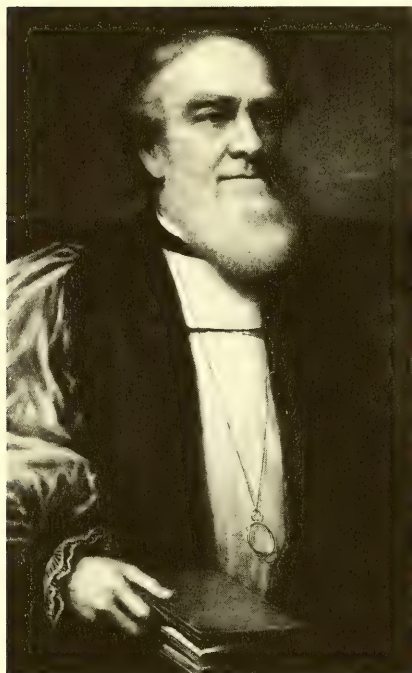
When the congregation at Concord outgrew its small chapel, the little church of All Saints was sold in 1890 and a new one erected on a different site through the generous gifts of other denominations in the city. It was nearly completed by 1892.¹⁴⁴ Further to the east a new church was erected in 1891 at High Point, the cost of which was borne by Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Hammer. In the 1895 Convention a resolution was passed to sell the property and divide the proceeds equally between the Hammers and the trustees of the Diocese to be held in trust for the congregation toward the erection of a new St. Mary's Church. However, the Hammers refused to accept the settlement of \$800, claiming that the Diocese owed them \$1,350 for the erection of the church. At the end of the period, the claim and the status of the church remained unsettled.¹⁴⁵

Other churches and chapels erected during the 1890s were St. John's, Madison, consecrated in 1892; Chapel of the Cross, Littleton, 1891 (its name was changed to St. Albans in 1901); a new St. Andrew's Church, Greensboro, 1892; St. Luke's Church, Tarboro, for blacks, 1893; St. Philip's, Germanton, 1894; St. Matthias, Asheville, for blacks, 1896; a black church in Louisburg and another in Tarboro; St. Michael's and All Angels, Charlotte, for blacks, 1898; and Galloway Memorial, Elkin, 1899. St. Philip's in Mocksville, Emmanuel Church for blacks in Statesville, and Grace Church in Mayodan were all completed or consecrated in 1899.¹⁴⁶

Churchmen faced the turn of the century with mixed feelings. In all the Diocesan Conventions, much concern had been expressed about the pitifully small amount of money set aside for missionary work. Delegates felt that, in a territory embracing 20,000 square miles and 800,000 people, there was an urgent need to spread the Church. But as late as 1899 the average gift was less than 50 cents per communicant. Even this amount was largely contributed by a small minority, who gave from \$3 to \$100, leaving vast numbers who gave little or nothing. This condition was a result of the times in which churchmen lived. Money was scarce, an agricultural depression had descended on the state, and manufacturing in North Carolina was still in its infancy. Yet with the means available, the Church did a remarkable job in helping to meet the needs of others through schools, hos-

pitals, and an orphanage. Missionary work did not stand alone but was vitally connected with the establishment of schools wherever a mission station sprang up.

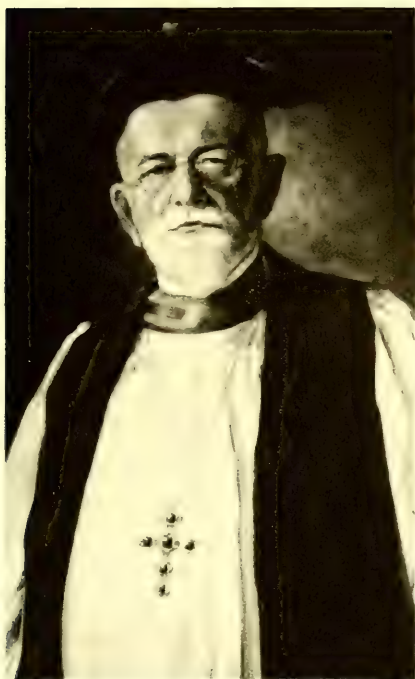
Prejudices of the past were gradually disappearing as missionaries and those with regular parishes went out into the field to introduce the Church to thousands who otherwise would never have attended an Episcopal service. In fact, the real work of the Church was performed by devoted clergymen who, despite their small subsistence, went far beyond their obligations as ministers. Working with the clergy was a core of helpers comprising the Woman's Auxiliary, the Juniors, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, and the Daughters of the King, all of whom helped to widen the influence of the Church in North Carolina. A sound foundation had been laid during this period for the greater growth of the Church that was to come in the twentieth century.



Theodore Benedict Lyman, fourth bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, 1873-93. Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.



The Reverend Reginald N. Willcox preparing to leave for one of the several Episcopal missions under his care in Henderson County during the early 1900s. Episcopal Diocese of Western North Carolina, Black Mountain.



*Joseph Blount Cheshire, fifth bishop
of the Episcopal Diocese of North
Carolina, 1893–1932.*

*Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina,
Raleigh.*



*Henry Beard Delany, Suffragan
Bishop and Archdeacon for the
Colored Convocation, 1918–28.*

*Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina,
Raleigh.*

*The Diocese in the First Decades of
the Twentieth Century, 1901–1922**LAWRENCE FOUSHEE LONDON*

At the beginning of the twentieth century Bishop Cheshire initiated a diocesan program that he called the Twentieth Century Fund. The bishop wrote to each clergyman in the Diocese requesting that he be sent the name of every baptized person in the particular parish or mission. He explained that, at "this opening year of the Twentieth Century," he proposed to make a record of all baptized persons in the Diocese. Many clergymen found it difficult to supply the desired information because their records had not been kept up to date. Nevertheless, over 8,000 names of baptized members were sent to the bishop, who entered them in a register especially designed for this purpose. When he received the information, the bishop sent a card to each member asking for an offering for the diocesan missionary work. The offerings resulting from the request were presented at a special service during the Diocesan Convention of 1901.¹

The Convention authorized the bishop to administer and dispose of the Twentieth Century Fund at his discretion. The Committee on the State of the Church reported an increase of contributions for all purposes of \$7,376 and an increase of 1,026 baptized persons. The committee believed that these encouraging figures were due to the bishop's enrollment program.² In 1902 the Executive Missionary Committee stated that the missionary work in the Diocese had been greatly assisted by a grant of \$880 from the Twentieth Century Fund.³

Another significant event occurring at the beginning of this century was the reorganization of the Diocese's missionary work. Until 1901 the work had been administered, under the direction of the Bishop, by the Executive Missionary Committee of the Convention and the Archdeacon of the Convocation for Work Among Colored People. At the Convention of 1900 Bishop Cheshire asked that he be permit-

ted to appoint an archdeacon of the Diocese to direct missionary work under his supervision, stating that the work in this field had become too extensive for him to manage alone. The Convention approved his request, and Bishop Cheshire appointed the Reverend Edwin A. Osborne as archdeacon for missionary work.⁴

After this plan had been tried for a year, it became apparent that, to promote successfully the missionary work of the Diocese, more than one archdeacon for the white congregations would be necessary. Accordingly, the Convention of 1901 enacted a canon dividing the white congregations of the Diocese into two convocations, each presided over by an archdeacon and designated the Convocation of Charlotte and the Convocation of Raleigh.⁵ The Convocation for Work Among Colored People, which included the whole Diocese, was continued. The canon called for annual meetings of the convocations, whose membership would be composed of all the clergymen and treasurers of each parish and mission. Each convocation would have the power to appoint its officers, to prescribe their duties, to require annual reports from them, to raise and disburse funds for diocesan missions, and to take such action as it thought appropriate to further the missionary program. The canon also provided that any mission or parish partially or wholly supported by missionary funds would be required to make quarterly reports of its activities to its respective archdeacon.⁶

It was generally felt by the clergy and the laity that placing the responsibility for missionary work in the hands of the convocations would develop a stronger local interest in and support of that work.⁷ Three years after the convocational system was established, Bishop Cheshire thought that the support of missions had been brought closer to the average parishioner and that there was "evidence of real progress and of a response on the part of the people to the demands of the work."⁸

During the twenty-two years the convocational system was in operation, the Diocese was fortunate in having able and industrious archdeacons. In the Convocation of Charlotte, the Reverends Edwin A. Osborne and William H. Hardin served as archdeacons in 1901-11 and 1912-22, respectively. The Reverend John H. M. Pollard was Archdeacon of the Convocation for Work Among Colored People from 1900 to 1908, followed by the Reverend Henry B. Delany who served until 1918. During this period the Convocation of Raleigh had

six archdeacons, only one of whom served for more than three years; the Reverend Nicholas Collin Hughes was archdeacon from 1908 to 1917.

When the plan for setting up the convocations was under discussion, the Executive Missionary Committee reported that many communities in the Diocese with from one to eight Episcopal families were without the services of the Church. There were some communities, and in a few cases entire counties, where "the teachings of the Episcopal Church are unknown."⁹ Under the leadership of the archdeacons the clergy labored valiantly to correct this situation. These efforts were often hampered by insufficient financial resources and by inadequate support of the laity. An attempt was made in 1905 to secure the cooperation of the laity by organizing a Men's Missionary League in each parish. Two years later only ten parishes had organized leagues. Archdeacon George M. Tolson of Raleigh believed that the movement had failed to live up to expectations because the laity had been given nothing definite to do. In his opinion, the men's missionary movement was "too strongly inoculated with the disease that afflicts many men in our Church, 'do-nothing-ism.'"¹⁰ In an effort to revive this movement, the Convention of 1909 authorized the bishop to call a conference of laymen to discuss "methods and means for furthering our Church work" through more active participation of the laity. The conference met in Raleigh at the Church of the Good Shepherd on 24-25 January 1910. It was well attended and produced many enthusiastic speeches on what the laity could and should do to promote the growth of the Church at home and abroad.¹¹ Although no definite programs for Church expansion resulted from this conference, it seems to have made the laity aware of the need for more systematic contributions of time and money to the Church's work.

A beginning was made in this direction in 1912 when the Diocesan Convention adopted the plan of an Every-Member Canvass for all parishes and missions "for the purpose of pledging the individuals to the support of the entire work of the Church." The object of the plan was not only to increase giving but also to bring the individual into closer touch with all phases of the Church's programs in and outside the Diocese. The Missionary Apportionment Committee was set up to promote the annual canvass and to keep the bishop informed of its activities.¹² It was several years before the Every-Member Canvass was tried by more than a few congregations, but where it was attempted it met with success. Bishop Cheshire urged all parishes and

missions to adopt the plan, and in 1915 he appointed members of clergy and laity to oversee its operation. During the next year a group of clergymen and laymen visited congregations throughout the Diocese to explain the importance of the Every-Member Canvass and emphasize that it was a part of the whole "Forward Movement" of the National Church. Their efforts resulted in "a notable increase" in contributions for missions and local needs. The program also stimulated in the laity a spirit of personal interest in and responsibility for the work of the Church on the national as well as the diocesan level.¹³ The financial position of the Diocese was strengthened by the greater and more systematic participation of the laity. Members of the clergy now had a reasonable idea as to what funds would be available for continuing and expanding their parochial and missionary work.

Industrial Work

One of the most challenging fields of missionary work carried on through the convocations was centered in industrial communities. Although some work in this field had been undertaken earlier, fuller development occurred in the first two decades of this century. In 1901 the Executive Missionary Committee brought to the attention of the Convention the fact that there were in the Diocese over 100,000 persons living in cotton mill villages "in much spiritual destitution" who needed the sympathy and aid of the Church.¹⁴ An early effort to bring the Church to industrial workers was made in the mill village of Cooleemee, where Dr. Francis J. Murdoch, rector of St. Luke's, Salisbury, began a mission in 1899. With the assistance of the cotton mill owners, a church was built for the mill workers three years later. The building, given the name Mission of the Good Shepherd, had a seating capacity of 280 persons.¹⁵ In 1906 the Reverend Simeon J. M. Brown, a permanent deacon prepared for the ministry by Dr. Murdoch, was placed in charge of the Cooleemee mission. Until then there had been no resident minister in charge. After only two years Archdeacon Osborne stated that, under Mr. Brown, the work in Cooleemee had developed "more strength and vitality" than it had experienced in several years.¹⁶ In addition to this work, Mr. Brown was put in charge of the churches in Cleveland, Woodleaf, and Mocksville. But his primary work continued to be centered in Cooleemee where he remained until his death in 1920. At that time

Good Shepherd had a congregation of 100 baptized persons, 54 communicants, and a church school of 85 pupils.¹⁷

In 1901 similar missionary work was begun in the industrial town of Spray, Rockingham County, by the rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Leaksville. Services were held in a schoolhouse until 1906 when a small chapel was begun and completed two years later. It was given the name St. Luke's Chapel. The work in Spray grew very slowly until the arrival of the Reverend William J. Gordon as rector of Epiphany, Leaksville, and priest in charge of St. Luke's. In 1910 he began a long and fruitful ministry in the area. At that time St. Luke's congregation consisted of four communicants and five families. For the first several years he was assisted in his missionary work by his sister, Miss Betty Gordon, and a parish visitor who was supported by a stipend from the United Thank Offering. In 1913 Mr. Gordon married Miss Anna Barrow Clark, who became his staunch supporter and helper in all his missionary endeavors. During the first five years of his ministry in Spray, Mr. Gordon lived in a mill cottage "in the midst of his people." When Bishop Cheshire visited St. Luke's in 1912 to confirm thirty-two persons, the service had to be held out-of-doors because the chapel was too small to hold the congregation. The bishop noted that during the summer months Mr. Gordon had held his services outside because "his chapel would not hold more than the Sunday School." The congregation continued to use its inadequate building until after 1922. In his address to the Convention of 1913, Bishop Cheshire cited the conditions in Spray, which existed in several other places as well, as an example of the clergy's need for more and better physical facilities.¹⁸

Mr. Gordon did not confine his activities to Leaksville and Spray. At St. Luke's he organized a chapter of the Junior Brotherhood of St. Andrew under whose leadership a mission was begun in a part of Rockingham County not served by any church. The mission, located on the Galloway Farm about six miles from Spray, was given the name St. Andrew's. Miss Lillie H. Hill, who had come to St. Luke's as a parish visitor in 1914, left there after one year to teach in the public school on the Galloway Farm. Because the school ran for only six months each year, she devoted the remainder of her time for the next several years as a lay worker at St. Andrew's, teaching Sunday school and Bible classes, visiting the sick, and holding prayer meetings in a nearby prison camp. Mr. Gordon said that her "presence on the Galloway Farm has been the largest factor in the work done

here.”¹⁹ The missions of St. Luke and St. Andrew made steady progress under the ministry of Mr. Gordon. By 1922 St. Luke’s had 65 communicants and 160 baptized persons, while St. Andrew’s mission had 18 communicants and 99 pupils in the church school.²⁰

Also in Rockingham County in the village of Mayodan a mission for mill workers had begun in the late 1890s, with visiting clergy holding services there once or twice a month. In 1900 Bishop Cheshire organized the mission under the name Church of the Messiah. By that time a church seating 200 persons had been built. It was not until 1904 that a resident clergyman, the Reverend Alfred R. Berkeley, was established in Mayodan. He was then the only minister of any denomination living in the village. Mr. Berkeley was assisted by a layman and laywoman whose salaries were paid by the Board of Missions. A five-room building was purchased and enlarged with an auditorium for community gatherings as well as for church functions, the only facility of its kind in the village. The Church’s work in Mayodan grew more rapidly than in the neighboring industrial communities. In 1909 the mission had 85 communicants, over 200 Sunday school pupils, and a night school for children who worked in the mills.²¹

Among other industrial centers where the Church had an active missionary program were those of Durham, Roanoke Rapids, China Grove, and Duke (now Erwin). In Durham, St. Philip’s Church began a mission in 1898 for the workers of the Erwin Cotton Mills located in West Durham. Under the leadership of the Reverend Sidney S. Bost, rector of St. Philip’s, the mission made steady progress, particularly in the Sunday school department. From its beginning, William A. Erwin, president of the Erwin Cotton Mills, took an active part in the mission, teaching Sunday school and Bible classes. As further evidence of his interest in contributing to the religious life of the cotton mill workers, Erwin donated the funds for building a handsome stone church in West Durham in memory of his parents. The church was consecrated in 1908 and given the name St. Joseph’s Mission.²² It continued under the supervision of St. Philip’s Parish, whose rector and curate provided the mission with regular services.

The work of the Church in industrial towns received strong support from Bishop Cheshire. In his address to the Convention of 1907, he pointed out that “the great increase of manufactures in North Carolina had developed a new and interesting class of missions, demanding our intelligent and liberal support.” He said that he had found a

generous and sympathetic interest in this type of mission work among many of the factory owners of the Diocese. In response to his appeal for better salaries for missionary clergy, the Convention authorized the convocations to raise the stipends of their missionaries by 30 percent. This generous gesture of the Convention left to the convocations the problem of raising the additional funds, which they were unable to do in the next several years. It is interesting to note that in 1907 the average salary of the clergy nationwide ranged from \$600 to \$1,000 a year.²³

Despite inadequate salaries and an insufficient number of missionaries, 16 missions had been established in industrial towns by 1912. When the Missionary Council of the Department of Sewanee met in Charlotte that year, the Diocese of North Carolina was cited as leading "its Church in the number of churches and chapels in mill districts." Two years later the 16 missions had 600 communicants, 1,200 pupils in the church schools, an average of 100 mill workers confirmed each year, and 12 branches of the Woman's Auxiliary.²⁴

This field of mission work was emphasized by the Conference of Church Workers in Industrial Communities held at the Church of the Holy Comforter, Charlotte, in January 1915. Here clerical and lay workers from the Dioceses of North Carolina and South Carolina, and a few from the Missionary District of Asheville, met to discuss their common problems. Among the topics covered at the three-day conference were Church schools, the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and proper training of teachers for industrial missions.²⁵ Although no definite results growing out of the conference can be documented, it probably gave some impetus to the Church's industrial programs. Nevertheless, the growth of congregations in most mill towns was slow and a few missions experienced losses. This condition can be partially explained by the lack of any widespread commitment of the laity and the lack of enough clergy in the field. The decade 1912-22 witnessed the peak and leveling off of the Church's work in industrial communities.

Deaf Work

One of the most unusual fields of missionary work undertaken by the Church was that of ministering to the deaf. In 1905 the Diocesan Convention adopted a resolution requesting the clergy

to take an annual offering on the Twelfth Sunday after Trinity for the "Mission to the Deaf Mutes in the Southern States."²⁶ The Episcopal Church in the United States was a pioneer in its mission work for adult deaf mutes. Thomas Gallaudet, a teacher in the New York Institution for Deaf-Mutes, began a Bible class for the deaf in his parish in 1849. After his ordination to the priesthood in 1852, he organized and became rector of St. Ann's Church for deaf mutes in New York City.²⁷ In North Carolina the Church's work for the deaf began in 1906 with the arrival in Durham of the Reverend Oliver J. Whildin, missionary to the deaf for the southern dioceses. With the assistance and encouragement of the Reverend Sidney S. Bost, Whildin prepared a group of deaf persons for confirmation. When Bishop Cheshire made a special visitation to St. Philip's in May 1906, the Reverend Mr. Whildin presented a class of seventeen adults to be confirmed. He interpreted the entire service in sign language.²⁸

After this promising beginning, the Reverend Mr. Bost held services for the deaf at St. Philip's once a month. In addition, a church school was conducted for them each Sunday afternoon. The services and classes were interpreted by a layman of the deaf congregation. In the fall of 1910 the deaf work was expanded when St. Philip's Parish and the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese employed Miss Robina Tillinghast, of Morganton, as "Mission Teacher to the Deaf." Miss Tillinghast, the daughter of deaf parents, had a keen appreciation of the problems and needs of deaf people. Although most of her time was spent with the mission in Durham, she organized Sunday school classes in Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, High Point, and Raleigh. She also organized a class for the black deaf at St. Titus, Durham, which she taught herself, and another at St. Michael's and All Angels, Charlotte. The latter was taught under her direction by an "intelligent colored deaf-mute woman." By 1913 the mission in Durham had sixty-two adult members, twenty-one hearing children of deaf parents, and three deaf children of hearing parents. Four years later Bishop Cheshire confirmed fifteen deaf persons at St. Philip's, the largest class since the beginning of the work there. In addition to organizing, overseeing, and teaching church school and Bible classes, Miss Tillinghast visited the sick and assisted the deaf of the Diocese in many of their problems in daily life.²⁹ After seven years of devoted service, she resigned her position. In estimating the value of her services to the deaf, a layman wrote: "To no one belongs more credit for the permanent establishment of this work than to Miss Tillinghast."³⁰

Miss Tillinghast was succeeded by Roma Coxey Fortune, of Durham, who had been assisting in the deaf work at St. Philip's as a lay reader and Sunday school teacher since the mission was begun. Fortune, who was himself deaf, was a graduate of the North Carolina School for the Deaf in Morganton. He and his family had moved to Durham in 1906 to join other deaf persons who had gone there seeking employment in the textile and tobacco industries. Fortune had been a member of the confirmation class of seventeen deaf persons prepared by the Reverend Mr. Whildin in 1906. From that time he began to take an active part in the development of his church's work among the deaf.

One of Fortune's chief duties in assisting the Reverend Mr. Bost was to interpret the services in sign language. He found that the liturgy of the Episcopal Church appealed to the deaf because it enabled them to participate in the services. They read the psalter, made all the proper responses, and sang the chants and hymns in sign language. After assisting Mr. Bost for several years as a lay reader and Sunday school teacher, Fortune decided to study for the ministry. He and Mr. Bost felt that the deaf congregation needed one of their own to serve them. For several years he studied theology under Mr. Bost and on 13 February 1918 was admitted as a candidate for Holy Orders. On 5 May he was ordained deacon by Bishop Cheshire in St. Philip's Church.³¹

The bishop assigned Mr. Fortune to continue his work in Durham under Mr. Bost and to have charge of the deaf work in other parts of the Diocese. He was also authorized to work in neighboring dioceses if his services were requested.³² Two years after his ordination Mr. Fortune reported that he had held services in Durham, Burlington, Greensboro, Kannapolis, Winston-Salem, Concord, Charlotte, Selma, Kenly, and Princeton, preaching to 290 deaf persons. In Greensboro he had a congregation of 15 communicants who worshipped in St. Andrew's Church. His largest mission was in Durham where, in addition to religious services and instruction, the deaf had literary and debating clubs which met during the week in the parish house of St. Philip's.³³ After working with deaf people for thirteen years, Mr. Bost said that he found them to be "liberal contributors to Church work, conscientious in the observance of Church duties, and desirous of the highest possible development of themselves and their children." Bishop Cheshire believed that the adaptation of the Church's services to meet the needs of deaf people was "very gener-

ally appreciated by them whenever they are approached with understanding and sympathy.”³⁴

Black Work in the Diocese

In 1901 the Reverend John H. M. Pollard, Archdeacon for the Convocation for Work Among Colored People, in a report on the state of work among blacks in the Diocese, revealed the slow progress the Church was making in this field. He pointed out that there were 14 missions with 545 children in the Sunday schools and only 71 teachers, and 9 parochial schools with 710 pupils and 19 teachers. Four of the missions had no church building. The 14 congregations were served by 7 clergymen, including the archdeacon who had charge of 7 of them himself.³⁵

Archdeacon Pollard believed that one of the most effective ways of promoting work among blacks was to increase and improve the parochial schools. The children in these schools were under the influence of the Church for eight months of the year. Mere preaching, in his opinion, was not enough. The children needed systematic instruction in the teachings of the work of the Church for “neither the State nor the Church can be safe in the hands of ignorant people.” It was the duty of the Church “to remove the cloud of ignorance now hanging over this large class of our population and at the same time fill them with gospel truth.”³⁶ Archdeacon Pollard continued to emphasize the importance of parochial schools until his death in 1908.

The most successful parochial schools for blacks were those operated by St. Michael’s and All Angels, Charlotte; St. Matthias’s, Louisville; and St. Luke’s, Tarboro. St. Michael’s Industrial School was organized and operated by the rector of St. Michael’s and All Angels Church, the Reverend Primus P. Alston. He not only raised funds for the erection of a two-story brick house, but also raised the salaries of his teachers. At the time of his death in 1910 the school had two hundred pupils and a teaching staff of seven. Because the management of the school had been entirely in Mr. Alston’s hands, his death left the problem of how the work could continue. Bishop Cheshire met this situation by organizing a group of citizens in Charlotte, some Episcopalians and some not, into a board of managers, which would operate a nondenominational school for the benefit of the whole community but under the official administration of the bishop

of the Diocese. The title to the school's property was retained by the Diocese. Bishop Cheshire was able to effect this solution for preserving the school because the people of Charlotte recognized its value to their community. It was the only institution in that area that provided practical and industrial training for black youth. St. Michael's Industrial School continued to operate under this plan until 1917, when it was closed "because of the development of the public school system in Charlotte."³⁷

St. Matthias's Church, Louisburg, had an established parochial school for blacks at the beginning of this century. George C. Pollard, son of Archdeacon Pollard, was its principal from 1902 until the end of the period covered by this chapter. In 1911 he reported that the school building, consisting of two rooms, was badly overcrowded.³⁸ Despite this problem, a vocational department was added to provide instruction in sewing, cooking, and music. A few years later a new schoolhouse was built at a cost of about \$1,500, \$200 of which was contributed by the school children. By 1919 the school had an enrollment of 298 pupils, making it the largest parochial school in the Diocese.³⁹

In Tarboro, the Reverend John W. Perry established a parochial school for blacks shortly after he took charge of St. Luke's Church in 1881. At the beginning of the twentieth century the school had one hundred pupils and three teachers, consisting of the Reverend Mr. Perry, his wife, and his daughter. Twelve years later Archdeacon Delany reported that the school in Tarboro, under Mr. Perry's direction, "still holds its reputation for the quality of its work." When Mr. Perry died in April 1918, he left to the Diocese of North Carolina the schoolhouse that he had "built by his own personal efforts." In a tribute to his memory, the Diocesan Convention adopted a resolution stating in part that the school he established in Tarboro was "of untold blessing to the colored people of the town and surrounding country, and was the means, under God, of leading many of them into the communion and fellowship of the Church which he loved and served."⁴⁰ The school continued to function for several years after Mr. Perry's death, but it, as well as most of the other parochial schools, gradually ceased to operate as the public schools of the state expanded and improved. Although of less importance than the three schools described above, weekday schools were also provided by the missions of St. Titus, Durham; St. Anna, Littleton; St. James, Pittsboro; St. Ambrose, Raleigh; All Saints, Warrenton; and St. Mark's, Wilson.

Although the founding and development of St. Augustine's School has been discussed in previous chapters, mention will be made here of its growth in the first two decades of this century. The American Church Institute for Negroes, organized in 1906, lost no time in interesting itself in the welfare of St. Augustine's. In the fall of that year a committee from the institute, headed by Presiding Bishop David H. Greer, visited the school to make a thorough investigation of its condition. The following year the institute made an agreement with St. Augustine's to supply it with annual grants for the improvement of its physical and academic programs. The first grant was for \$5,000, which was increased in subsequent years.⁴¹ The enrollment at St. Augustine's for 1907-8 was 428 students, of which over 25 percent were day pupils in the primary department. The complete program consisted of 11 grades in the academic department. The industrial department offered courses for boys in carpentry, masonry, and printing, whereas the girls had training in sewing and cooking. In addition, the normal department trained both girls and boys for the teaching profession.⁴² Because of the growth of the student body, a building program was begun in 1911 and continued through 1915. It resulted in the construction of a large dormitory for girls, a building for the industrial department, and a hall for practice teaching.

A significant event in the history of St. Augustine's in this period was the resignation in 1916 of the Reverend Aaron Burtis Hunter, D.D., as principal of the school after twenty-five years of devoted and constructive service. Dr. Hunter was succeeded by the Reverend Edgar H. Goold, who had been vice-principal of the school since 1912. Under his administration the school made a significant advance by establishing a junior college department. For the academic year 1919-20 St. Augustine's offered a full curriculum for the first two years of college work.⁴³

Although St. Augustine's was not a diocesan institution, Bishop Cheshire gave it his full support. Realizing that the Diocese of North Carolina benefited more than any other diocese from the school, he regularly urged his clergy and laity to give it every encouragement and financial assistance possible. A few parishes and some individuals made modest contributions toward the school's support.

Before leaving the subject of Church institutions for blacks, mention must be made of the progress of St. Agnes Hospital, which had been established in 1896 on the campus of St. Augustine's. By 1906 the hospital had outgrown its original building. In that year the cornerstone of the new hospital was laid and the building was dedicated

by Bishop Cheshire in 1909. It was "largely built" by the students of St. Augustine's at a cost of about \$30,000, excluding the value of the students' labor.⁴⁴ Following the construction of the new hospital, the number of patients grew steadily. In 1922 eight hundred persons were admitted for treatment. The nursing school, operated by the hospital, had an enrollment of forty-four students. In the same year a campaign for the expansion and improvement of both the hospital and its nursing school was begun in Raleigh as a community project. A total of \$40,000 was raised in pledges, \$25,000 of which was pledged by blacks of the community.⁴⁵

From the beginning of his episcopate Bishop Cheshire actively supported the work of the Church among blacks. In an address to the Conference of Church Workers Among Colored People, held at St. Augustine's School in October 1900, he expressed some of his views on how best to help blacks. Cheshire observed that, if the black is to play an important part in the future of his nation, it will be because he will have equipped himself for the role. He believed that mere legislation seeking to reform certain evils would not suffice to remove the disabilities under which blacks labored. In his opinion, the solution was to change "the actual conditions of the race itself." All who were interested in improving the condition of the black must work for the elevation of his ideals of living, of working, and of self-restraint. The bishop stressed the necessity of developing a spirit of self-reliance and self-help among the black clergy and laity as the best means of strengthening their economic and social position.⁴⁶

The establishment of the Convocation for Work Among Colored People in 1901 was a step forward in the development of initiative and self-reliance on the part of black churchmen. In their annual meetings they had the opportunity to discuss freely problems of common interest and to participate in the administrative affairs of the Church. They had not previously had this kind of experience in the Diocesan Conventions.⁴⁷ Archdeacon Henry B. Delany observed that "these annual gatherings in Convocation are growing in the appreciation of the Colored laity, and are fast proving to be . . . training schools for the Colored clergy in conducting intelligently the business affairs of the Church."⁴⁸

Work among blacks in the Diocese was aided by the mutual faith that black churchmen shared with their bishop. On the tenth anniversary of Bishop Cheshire's consecration to the episcopate, they honored him with a special service at St. Ambrose's Church, Raleigh.

At the service Archdeacon Delany, Professor Charles H. Boyer, and the Reverend Primus P. Alston made addresses expressing the affection and confidence of the clergy and laity for their bishop. They noted the spiritual and material development of the Diocese, especially "in our Archdeaconry."⁴⁹ Bishop Cheshire later observed that nothing in his ten years in the episcopate gave him more genuine satisfaction than the "unvarying respect, courtesy, and loyal support" that he had received from his black clergy and congregations.⁵⁰ Black trust in the bishop continued to grow as evidenced by a statement of one of their clergymen, the Reverend James K. Satterwhite, who in 1918 wrote: "The race claims no more true and zealous friend than Bishop Cheshire. In the Diocese and in the General Convention of the Church he has been a champion of the race's cause."⁵¹

Work among blacks in the Diocese of North Carolina received national recognition when in 1911 Bishop Cheshire was elected to the American Church Institute for Negroes and was made chairman of its advisory council.⁵² The institute was established in 1906 by the Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions to provide financial assistance to Church schools for blacks and to encourage them to raise their academic standards. St. Augustine's School was one of the chief beneficiaries of this policy. During the next decade, Bishop Cheshire was invited to speak to various groups in the Northeast on the Church's work among blacks in the South.

The Racial Episcopate

The question of whether a separate organization should be set up for black congregations was one that agitated the Church for many years. There was genuine division of opinion among the whites as well as among the blacks on this issue, which would involve a radical change in the ecclesiastical organization. Archdeacon Pollard, in his report to the Diocesan Convention of 1904, declared that he had "given much thought to the question of work among the colored people and has not yet felt convinced that any further separation than we now have would lead to any better results." He believed that the unity of the Church was of far greater importance "than any temporary expediency."⁵³ Bishop Cheshire said that, although he was satisfied with the present arrangement for work among blacks, he realized that many clergymen and members of the laity were not. For

example, a conference of black clergymen meeting in New Haven, Connecticut, in the fall of 1903 called for a separate organization for black congregations to be administered by black bishops. Some of the southern bishops believed that such a separation was necessary to ensure the success of the black work. Because the question was being debated throughout the Church, the Diocesan Convention of 1904 appointed a committee of clergy and laity to study the whole subject of work among blacks and empowered it to correspond with similar committees in other dioceses.⁵⁴

At the next Diocesan Convention a majority of this committee recommended that membership in the Convention be limited to white clergy and laity and that the black congregations be organized separately with the rights and duties of a missionary district. Both groups were to be under the authority of the bishop of the Diocese. The Convention rejected this proposal by a vote of thirty-four to fourteen.⁵⁵

A majority of black churchmen evidently approved this decision. At their annual convocation in August 1905, they adopted a resolution commending Bishop Cheshire for his stand opposing the separation of the black congregations. In addition, the resolution declared that "we feel that this great Church ought to be sufficiently broad or charitable to encourage her weaker brethren by at least tolerating this one link of unity handed down from the Fathers."⁵⁶ A year later the convocation of black clergy and laity reiterated its opposition to a separate organization for blacks and called for an end to the agitation. It stated, however, that if some action had to be taken to harmonize racial feeling on the subject, it was willing to lay the question before the General Convention and to follow its judgment. This position was ratified by a vote of sixteen to two. The minority advocated the establishment of missionary districts composed of two or more states with missionary bishops.⁵⁷

By 1907 the belief that the Church would have to take some definite position on the question of separating the white and black work was recognized by both races. Archdeacon Pollard, who for years had opposed separation of the races, now took the opposite opinion. In an address to the Conference of Church Workers Among Colored People in September 1907, he remarked that, after a recent trip through the South, he concluded that "something must be done and done promptly" if the Church's work for blacks was to succeed. He went on to say that "under present conditions the only solution of it

is to create missionary jurisdictions with colored bishops.”⁵⁸ Similar views were expressed by all the other speakers during the proceedings of the conference.

Although Bishop Cheshire continued to believe that the Church should not be divided on racial lines, he acknowledged the fact that many blacks and whites in the North and South desired separation. The advocates for separation were divided as to the best means of putting it into effect. One group called for the election of suffragan bishops who should have charge of black clergy and congregations under the authority of the diocesan bishop. This position was opposed by those who advocated the election of missionary bishops who should have charge of black work in contiguous dioceses and who should be responsible to the General Convention. The latter plan of separation was preferred by black churchmen of this Diocese as well as the National Conference of Colored Clergy. Bishop Cheshire also preferred electing missionary bishops, because they would be under the direction of the General Convention and would have more independence than suffragan bishops who would be under the administrative authority of the diocesan. He believed that, if blacks were to be made independent of whites, their leaders ought to be given administrative as well as spiritual responsibilities.

When the Diocesan Convention met in May 1907, the question of separating the work among blacks was referred to a special committee. On its recommendation, resolutions were adopted stating that the welfare of both races in the southern states would best be served by each having its own legislative assembly, and that missionary bishops would be preferable to suffragan bishops. The Diocesan Convention instructed its deputies to present these resolutions to the General Convention when it met in October.⁵⁹

At the meeting of the General Convention of 1907, the memorials of the Conference of Church Workers Among Colored People and that of the Diocese of North Carolina were referred to a joint committee of bishops and deputies. The majority of this committee recommended the election of suffragan bishops without the right of succession, and with a seat in the House of Bishops but without a vote. Bishop Cheshire and the Reverend William Meade Clark, a deputy from the Diocese of Virginia, voted against the recommendation and filed a minority report. It called for the creation of missionary districts along racial lines for “a specified race or races within the bounds of dioceses and missionary districts.”⁶⁰ The House of Bishops

rejected the minority report by a vote of fifty to thirty-four, but approved that of the majority forty-five to thirty-three. The House of Deputies concurred in this action.⁶¹

Although the General Convention had thus provided for the election of suffragan bishops, no provision was made that any of them should be specifically for work among blacks. The questions of a racial episcopate and the separation of the Church's work on racial grounds were left for future decision. In Bishop Cheshire's opinion, the lack of action was "wholly due to the failure of our Southern Churchmen to agree upon any policy or measure touching this subject." The deputies and bishops from other parts of the country were willing to act if the southerners had been united in a plan of separation.⁶² The issue continued to be debated in most of the southern dioceses for the next ten years.

In 1913, the Colored Convocation of the Diocese of North Carolina presented a memorial to the Diocesan Convention requesting it to work for the establishment of a missionary jurisdiction for blacks in the Fourth Missionary Department,⁶³ and for the consecration of a black priest as its bishop. The Convention unanimously approved the request. It also instructed the secretary of the Diocese to send copies of the memorial to all the bishops in the Fourth Department with the request that they cooperate with this Diocese in its support of the memorial at the General Convention of 1913.⁶⁴ Bishop Cheshire presented the memorial in the House of Bishops, which referred it to the Joint Committee on the Racial Episcopate. When a majority of the committee recommended that the memorial be rejected, a minority report supporting its adoption was filed by Bishop George Kinsolving of Texas, Bishop Cheshire, and the Reverend I. McKedree Pittenger, a deputy from the Diocese of North Carolina. The minority report was approved by the House of Bishops but failed to pass in the House of Deputies. The whole question of a racial episcopate was then referred to a joint commission with instructions to report to the next meeting of the General Convention.⁶⁵

The movement for a racial episcopate continued to grow in the Diocese of North Carolina, notwithstanding the General Convention's reluctance to act on the subject. The question was discussed at each annual Diocesan Convention. In 1916 Archdeacon Delany presented a memorial from his convocation urging the Diocesan Convention to reaffirm its position on a racial episcopate and to work for its adoption in the General Convention. The memorial pointed out

that a missionary district for black work with a black bishop would stimulate the growth of the Episcopal Church among blacks as well as encourage them to develop leadership within their ranks. The Convention endorsed the memorial and instructed its deputies to urge its adoption in the General Convention.⁶⁶

When it met in October 1916, the majority of the Joint Commission on the Racial Episcopate recommended missionary districts with black bishops for work among blacks. The General Convention rejected the recommendation in favor of the minority's resolution, which stated that "the Suffragan Episcopate, participated in by a Diocese, a Province, or a group of Dioceses, affords the best method of providing for a Racial Episcopate."⁶⁷ Bishop Cheshire joined with the majority of the joint commission in signing the report. He later commented that

our Diocesan organization affords no adequate opportunity to the Negro for participation in the life and fellowship of the Church. Even where there is the most unquestionable sympathy and good will there remains the practical impossibility of free and unconstrained and harmonious cooperation in our ordinary diocesan life. This is admitted by all—even by me. I say even by me, because I believe I was the last Southern Bishop to give up the hope that we might go on in our Dioceses,—as North Carolina and East Carolina, and one or two others perhaps—had always done making no distinction whatever in our diocesan work and assemblies between white and black.

Cheshire went on to say that "some of us have given up this hope, not because of the prejudices of our white people, but because we have come to realize that where no distinction is made, the Convention of the Diocese, under actual conditions, affords no adequate opportunity for the development of our colored brethren."⁶⁸

Although Bishop Cheshire was disappointed that the plan he and his Diocese advocated was not approved, he was glad to see some action taken that might improve the Church's work among blacks. At the Convention of 1917 he appointed a committee of three clergymen and four laymen to consider the advisability of electing a black suffragan bishop for the Diocese and to provide a report the next year. Archdeacon Delany also voiced his disappointment, but hoped for "a speedy application" of the plan for suffragan bishops.⁶⁹

The following year the special committee appointed by the bishop

unanimously recommended that the Convention proceed to elect a suffragan bishop for black work. It further resolved that the Convention assess all parishes and missions 1½ percent to be estimated in the same way as the Episcopal and Contingent Fund for the support of the suffragan and his work. It also amended Canon 19 to provide that the suffragan, “under the direction of the Bishop of the Diocese, shall be the official head of the Colored Convention.”⁷⁰

Before calling for nominations, Bishop Cheshire conferred with the black delegates in order to give them an opportunity to freely express their opinions of possible candidates. The Reverend Milton A. Barber, rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, strongly presented to them the merits of the Reverend Erasmus L. Baskerville who had been recommended by Bishop William A. Guerry of South Carolina. Cheshire then spoke in favor of Archdeacon Delany, who he thought had the best qualifications for suffragan bishop. Delany then left the meeting to give the delegates a chance to express their preferences. It was their unanimous opinion that, although Baskerville was an able man, he could not compare with Delany in his “fitness for the office of Bishop.”⁷¹

On the second day of the Convention the Reverend James K. Satterwhite, rector of St. Ambrose’s Church, Raleigh, nominated Henry B. Delany. His nomination was seconded by Mr. Charles H. Boyer, Mr. W. A. Erwin, the Reverend J. E. King, Mr. Wiley J. Latham, and Dr. R. H. Lewis. No other nominations were made. Archdeacon Delany received every clerical and lay vote in the Convention.⁷² When he was presented to the Convention and asked to make a few remarks, he simply said, “I cannot speak. I cannot utter what I feel. I thank you.”⁷³ According to Cheshire, Delany’s election was received with satisfaction throughout the Diocese. The Convention fixed the salary of the suffragan bishop at \$2,000 a year, with \$300 for traveling expenses.⁷⁴ This stipend was supplemented by an annual appropriation of \$600 from the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.⁷⁵ The Convention provided that the suffragan bishop could perform episcopal duties in neighboring dioceses upon the consent of the Bishop of North Carolina and the other bishops involved.

Writing to Cheshire about the election, Bishop Guerry observed: “Delany was the logical man and I believe you have made a wise choice. I am grateful to you for making it possible to get my council to vote for the Suffragan by an almost unanimous vote. I could not have done it except North Carolina had been willing to assume full

responsibility for leadership in the matter. I envy you the privilege of having been the first Diocese in the Carolinas to take the lead in so far-reaching a policy.”⁷⁶ After hearing Bishop Delany address the Colored Council of South Carolina a few weeks after his election, Bishop Guerry remarked that he impressed everyone with his “deep spiritual mindedness.” He felt that Bishop Delany was “a safe man to begin our experiment with” and one who had the confidence of both races.⁷⁷

Henry Beard Delany was born in St. Mary’s, Georgia, in 1858. He received his education at St. Augustine’s School. In 1889 he was ordained deacon, and three years later priest, by Bishop Lyman. From 1889 to 1908 he taught and served as vice-principal of St. Augustine’s. He was a member of the Commission for Work Among Colored People from 1889 to 1904. Delany served as assistant minister of St. Augustine’s Chapel, Raleigh, and priest-in-charge of All Saints Mission, Warrenton, until 1904. Four years later Bishop Cheshire appointed him Archdeacon of the Convocation for Work Among Colored People, a position he held until his election as suffragan bishop.⁷⁸

When planning for his consecration, Delany asked Bishop Cheshire to hold the service on 15 October because that would be the tenth anniversary of his appointment as archdeacon. He also said that he wanted Cheshire to be his consecrator, assisted by Bishop Thomas C. Darst of the Diocese of East Carolina and Bishop Guerry of South Carolina.⁷⁹ The service took place in St. Augustine’s School Chapel with Bishops Cheshire, Darst, and Beverly D. Tucker, of Southern Virginia, as consecrators. Delany was presented by Bishops Weed, of Florida, and Horner, of the Missionary District of Asheville. The consecration sermon was preached by the Right Reverend Arthur S. Lloyd, president of the Board of Missions. The priests attending Delany were James K. Satterwhite and Erasmus L. Baskerville. Assisting in the laying on of hands was the recently consecrated black Suffragan Bishop of Arkansas, Edward Thomas Demby.⁸⁰

On his consecration, Bishop Delany became the official head of work among blacks in the Diocese. In accordance with an agreement between Bishop Cheshire and Bishops Darst and Guerry, Delany was also assigned episcopal supervision of the black clergy and congregations in the Dioceses of East Carolina and South Carolina. It was provided that he should give two months annually to the former and three months to the latter, with each contributing its proportionate part of the suffragan bishop’s salary and travel expenses.⁸¹ At that time

the black work of the three dioceses had a combined strength of 30 members of the clergy, 60 parishes and missions, and 2,944 communicants.⁸² Although numerically this was not a large field of labor, it covered an extensive geographic area. The suffragan's work was further increased in 1920 when, at the request of Bishop Horner, he assumed the oversight of black congregations in the Missionary District of Asheville.

One of the most serious problems Bishop Delany faced at the beginning of his episcopate was the low salaries paid his clergy. This condition made it difficult for him to retain his best men. In his report to the Convention of 1921, Delany said that "the workers of the Colored Convocation are indeed a patient set of men and women; but they have been kept a little too long on pittances for salaries." In the Diocese of North Carolina the average salary of a black clergyman was \$600, whereas in the Dioceses of East Carolina and South Carolina the average was twice that amount.⁸³ Despite Bishop Delany's repeated pleas in the Diocesan Conventions for relief, the salary situation was not improved until after the period covered by this chapter. Nevertheless, he was able to make significant advances in work among blacks. At the end of his first four years in office, Delany had confirmed 850 persons in the four dioceses under his care, 185 of whom were in the Diocese of North Carolina.⁸⁴

Diocesan Institutions

As stated in Chapter VIII, the Diocese had borrowed \$50,000 in 1897 to acquire St. Mary's School in Raleigh. After several years of operating the school, the trustees found that the payments on this debt were holding back the development of St. Mary's. In 1905 Bishop Cheshire urged them to begin a campaign to eliminate the debt and to raise funds for an endowment. He asserted that "we must make St. Mary's for the young women of the South what the very best and highest institutions in the country are for female education in other sections."⁸⁵ Less than a year later the bishop was able to report that payment of the entire debt was assured.⁸⁶

During the period 1901-14 several new buildings were erected including an infirmary, Clement Hall, and the Eliza Battle Pittman Memorial Auditorium. In addition, the school's chapel was enlarged and refurnished and the east and west wings were added to the main

building, later named Smedes Hall.⁸⁷ The new construction and improvements to old buildings were partly paid for by gifts and legacies by alumnae and friends.

As a result of the building and renovation programs, St. Mary's had incurred a debt of \$45,000 by 1912. At the Convention of that year, Bishop Cheshire urged the adoption of measures to pay off the debt and to raise \$100,000 for an endowment. He pointed out that St. Mary's was then the "largest church boarding school for girls in the United States." He mentioned that the following year would be the twentieth anniversary of his episcopate and that he would like to see the St. Mary's debt retired by that time. A committee was appointed for this purpose but little or nothing was accomplished in the next several years.⁸⁸ In the face of this failure, the board of trustees in 1916 launched an ambitious campaign to raise \$250,000 for an endowment and new buildings, and to liquidate old debts. They appointed the Reverend Francis M. Osborne to conduct the campaign in the Carolinas.⁸⁹ Six years later \$201,000 had been pledged toward the campaign's goal, of which \$55,000 was allotted to the endowment fund, \$48,000 for improvement of the physical plant, \$40,000 to pay off the school's debts, and \$31,000 for campaign expenses.⁹⁰ For the first time since it had become a diocesan institution, the operation of St. Mary's was placed on a sound financial basis.

Under the progressive rectorship of the Reverend George W. Lay (1907–18) and of the Reverend Warren W. Way (1918–30), St. Mary's made marked advances in the improvement and expansion of its curriculum and faculty. In 1922 the school had an enrollment of 203 residents and 47 day students, compared with 127 residents and 121 day students in 1901. A significant improvement of the school from 1901 to 1922 was the provision for better housing and more adequate classroom facilities for the students. Summing up his feelings about St. Mary's, Bishop Cheshire wrote to a friend: "There has been nothing nearer my heart in all my administration of this Diocese . . . than the establishment, development, and maintenance of this school; nothing to which I have given more thought, effort, and conscientious work."⁹¹

At the opening of the twentieth century, the Thompson Orphanage and Training Institution was under the superintendency of the Reverend Walter J. Smith, who continued in that position until 1922. In 1901 the orphanage had only three buildings—Bronson Hall, St. Mary the Virgin Chapel, and Thompson Hall. The following year a

shoe shop and carpentry shop were added. The orphanage then had an enrollment of sixty-seven children and a staff of eight, including the superintendent.⁹²

Throughout Smith's superintendency, he and the board of managers constantly appealed to churchmen for aid in carrying out the work of the institution and for improving the physical plant. For many years it suffered from overcrowding and inadequate staffing. The most significant development in this period was the inauguration of the cottage system for housing the children. This plan made it possible to create a family atmosphere by having a comparatively small group of children in each cottage under the supervision of a matron. In 1910 the board of managers approved a program calling for the construction of six cottages. Shortly after this plan was adopted, the women of the three dioceses in the state organized the Federation of Thompson Orphanage Guilds, which raised funds for the construction of the first cottage. The cottage, with accommodations for sixteen girls, was completed in 1914. Shortly thereafter, the federation disbanded. In the same year, with funds from a bequest of the late James C. Stedman of Fayetteville, a new residence was built for the superintendent.⁹³ A second cottage was erected in 1921 and named in honor of the Reverend Edwin A. Osborne, the orphanage's first superintendent. It was designed to house twenty-four additional children under age four. Funds for building the Osborne cottage were raised during the sessions of the 1920 Convention under the inspired leadership of William A. Erwin. At that time \$30,000 was pledged by twelve individuals for this purpose. By 1922 the orphanage was caring for eighty-five children at an annual cost of \$350 per child.⁹⁴

The important role played by the women of the three dioceses was recognized by 1916. That year the Convention enlarged the membership of the board of managers of the Thompson Orphanage to fifteen, three of whom were women. Before then, no women had been members of the board.⁹⁵

The Woman's Auxiliary

The Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions, organized in the Diocese of North Carolina in 1882, played an important part in the growth of mission work in and outside of the Diocese. In estimating the value of its work, Bishop Cheshire said: "To the

women of the Auxiliary I can only say what I have so often said before—that their assistance has become so very effective in the missionary work that no Bishop can now understand how the Church ever could have gotten on without it.”⁹⁶ Prior to 1904 the parish rector served as president of the local branch of the auxiliary and appointed its officers. Likewise, the bishop appointed the diocesan officers and was president of the diocesan organization.⁹⁷ Feeling that the auxiliary had grown to sufficient importance and size, the women in their annual convention of 1904 made several structural changes in their organization including the power to elect their own president and other officers. The bishop still had to approve the elections and appoint the officers. The previous year Bishop Cheshire had consented to the change, believing that the time had come for the Woman’s Auxiliary to manage its own affairs. At the same time, however, he cautioned the women to use their good judgment in electing officers and to avoid personal prejudices.⁹⁸ After almost forty years of exhibiting its value to the Diocese, the auxiliary finally won the right to conduct its affairs. It should be noted that the (national) Triennial Meeting of the Woman’s Auxiliary in 1919 expanded its work “to include religious education and social service as well as missions.” It also changed the name of the organization from the “Woman’s Auxiliary to the Board of Missions” to the “Woman’s Auxiliary to the Presiding Bishop and Council.”⁹⁹

In the black missions the Woman’s Auxiliary made little progress for many years. In 1905 Bishop Cheshire decided to organize the black branches into a separate convocation with its own officers who would report to him. He believed that giving the black women their own organization would strengthen their work and develop their spirit of independence. In 1905 only five black missions had formed branches of the auxiliary. Ten years later the number of branches had increased to twelve. The separation of the work was probably responsible in part for this growth.¹⁰⁰

Throughout the period covered by this chapter the Woman’s Auxiliary made substantial contributions in aid to established missions and in the formation of new ones. In celebration of its silver jubilee in 1907, the auxiliary raised a special fund of \$1,050 which was used to build St. Gabriel’s Chapel in Selma as a memorial of the jubilee.¹⁰¹ The auxiliary made substantial financial contributions to the missionary work in the industrial centers of the Diocese and to the deaf work. In addition to its support of diocesan missions, the auxiliary gave

regular assistance to domestic work outside the Diocese. In 1911 it participated in a nationwide Missionary Movement that embraced many different religious bodies. The auxiliary joined in a "great Jubilee Missionary Meeting" of many denominations held in Greensboro.¹⁰² In the foreign field the auxiliary assisted schools and hospitals in China, Japan, and Alaska. By 1919 the contributions of the Woman's Auxiliary to diocesan missions were large enough to relieve the Board of Missions of the need to grant funds for "missionary work among white people" of the Diocese. The need of outside aid for black missions, however, continued.¹⁰³

From 1901 to 1922, the auxiliary experienced an encouraging period of growth. At the opening of this century there were 36 branches in the Diocese with 682 members. Their total contributions were \$2,417, over half of which was given to mission work outside of the Diocese.¹⁰⁴ In 1922 there were 84 white and black branches with 2,015 members who contributed \$7,130. At the Triennial of 1922 the diocesan branch presented the largest United Thank Offering in its history, \$9,823.¹⁰⁵

Although the valuable assistance of the women of the Diocese in all phases of Church work was often noted and formally recognized by the bishop and the Diocesan Convention, they were granted no share in forming either parochial or diocesan programs. At the turn of the century, this situation was the norm throughout the National Church. In the Diocese of North Carolina an attempt was made as early as 1900 to give women a voice in parish affairs. In the Convention of that year, Joseph Branch Batchelor, a delegate from the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, introduced two radical resolutions: that women should be entitled to vote in parish elections, and that in the case of missions "the female communicants may form part of the mission, and shall have the right to vote in the election of officers in the Mission, and on other questions connected with the Mission." He further resolved that the Committee on Canons be instructed to prepare an amendment to the canons to implement these resolutions. They were referred to the Committee on Canons where they were effectively buried.¹⁰⁶ Although Batchelor was a member of the next two Conventions, he did not call for a report on his resolutions.

The question of women voting in parish elections was not brought up again in the Diocesan Conventions until 1910, when J. Cameron Buxton, a layman from St. Paul's Church, Winston-Salem, presented

a resolution to amend the constitution by omitting the words "males of the age of twenty-one years."¹⁰⁷ It was not approved by the Committee on Canons and was withdrawn. At the Convention of 1911, the Reverend Henry T. Cocke moved that article 9, section 3 of the constitution, which dealt with voting in parish elections, be amended by omitting the word "males." The proposal was referred to the Committee on Canons with instructions to report on it at the next Convention. The committee reported favorably on the resolution, which was adopted by the Convention of 1912. Because amendments to the constitution had to pass two Conventions, Cocke's amendment was voted on again the next year, but failed to pass. The vote in the clerical order was seventeen in favor and twenty-three against, whereas in the lay order eight parishes voted in favor, eighty voted against, and two were divided.¹⁰⁸ It is interesting to note that the Woman's Auxiliary in its convention of 1913 disapproved the proposed amendment with twenty-five branches against, four in favor, and one divided.¹⁰⁹

The question of permitting women to vote in parochial elections continued to be discussed at every Diocesan Convention for the next five years. Finally, in 1918 the Reverend John L. Jackson, rector of St. Martin's Church, Charlotte, introduced a compromise plan that was adopted by the Convention. His amendment stated that "any parish may, by vote of a majority of the voters as at present qualified, permit all members of the Parish of the age of twenty-one years" to vote in parish elections.¹¹⁰ The chairman of the Committee on Canons was careful to point out that the amendment required a majority of all qualified voters in a parish, not just a majority of those present at a particular parochial meeting. This action of the Convention was characterized by the *Carolina Churchman* as "a very conservative change." The following year the amendment passed its second reading by a large majority in both orders.¹¹¹ The right of women to vote in parish elections now depended on the goodwill of a majority of the male members of each congregation. Encouraged by this modest victory, John S. Holmes, a delegate from the Chapel of the Cross, Chapel Hill, introduced a resolution calling on the Convention of 1919 to request the General Convention to amend the constitution of the Church in order that women might serve as lay deputies in that body. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Canons, which gave it an unfavorable report in the Convention of 1920. After this defeat, Holmes introduced a resolution to amend the diocesan canons

to permit women to serve on parish vestries. At the Convention of 1921 the Committee on Canons recommended the adoption of Holmes's resolution but it was defeated in both orders by a large majority.¹¹²

While the question of women voting in parish elections was being discussed in the annual Conventions, Bishop Cheshire made no reference to the subject in any of his addresses to that body. He evidently did not wish to exert his influence either for or against the proposed amendments, although he privately expressed his opposition. On the place of women in parochial and diocesan work and on woman suffrage, the bishop made his position quite clear in response to an inquiry from a layman in another diocese. He replied that women had no part in the legislative work of his Diocese. Their field of endeavor was in the Woman's Auxiliary and other voluntary organizations which he thought were "important and effective." The bishop continued: "As to my personal views on the subject I am strongly opposed in sentiment and judgment to women suffrage in both civil and ecclesiastical matters. It seems to me opposed to the fundamental conception of the very important and sacred function of women in the scheme of human life." Moreover, he said, "I do not observe, so far as I have opportunity of observing, that where women have been admitted to the suffrage any special good results have come from it."¹¹³ Although these views seem strange today, they were not uncommon at that time.

Social Service

In 1910 the General Convention established a Social Service Department for the National Church. It emphasized that "Social service is not 'charity.' Charity at best is only an expedient." It also urged the formation of a similar department in each diocese. In response to the General Convention's recommendation, the Diocese of North Carolina in 1913 set up a Social Service Commission with the Reverend Dr. Frank J. Mallett, rector of St. Luke's Church, Salisbury, as commissioner. He was authorized to appoint others to assist him in his duties, which were neither defined nor suggested.¹¹⁴ When Dr. Mallett left the Diocese in the summer of 1914, a new commission was appointed consisting of the Reverends George W. Lay, Robert B. Owens, Norvin C. Duncan, and of laymen Joseph Hyde Pratt and

Francis E. Winslow. In a report to the Convention of 1915, this commission stated that it had decided to "concentrate its efforts at this time" on ministering to convicts in state and county prisons. Members of the clergy were asked to see that religious services were provided for the county and state prison farms, jails, and county homes, and to secure all possible information relating to the religious conditions in these institutions. On the subject of child labor, the commission believed that "adequate compulsory education law, with machinery provided for its enforcement," would solve this problem. The Convention accepted the report without comment. It provided that the commission should be continued by appointment of the bishop, and made a small appropriation of funds for its work.¹¹⁵

For several years prior to the Social Service Commission's report, the Church had been ministering to the State Prison Farm in Halifax County. As Archdeacon of the Convocation of Raleigh, the Reverend N. Collin Hughes took a special interest in providing religious services for the inmates. He visited the State Farm as frequently as his schedule permitted and also canvassed the state to raise funds for building an interdenominational chapel on its grounds. In recognition of his services, Governor Bickett appointed Mr. Hughes chaplain to the Farm, a position that had recently been created by the legislature. Hughes accepted the appointment and resigned his post as archdeacon in June 1917.¹¹⁶

Two years after its first report, the Social Service Commission stated that little constructive work had been accomplished, largely due to the lack of funds to carry out its programs. It pointed out that the majority of clergymen were "only mildly interested" and "some opposed" to social work, and that the "social conscience of the Church" had only begun to be aroused.¹¹⁷ Notwithstanding statements like these repeated over the next several years, no organized program of social work was put into practice. Some parishes, particularly those located near prison camps and in industrial areas, did fulfill the aims of the commission in these fields. But the active participation of the Church in social work was to come about in a later generation.

Although it did not originate with, nor was it supervised by, the Social Service Commission, the Girls' Friendly Society was formed in North Carolina. Several parochial branches had been established as early as 1912. The society was made up of young working women irrespective of religious affiliation. The leaders, however, were re-

quired to be communicants of the Episcopal Church. The parochial branches sought to provide places for study, relaxation, and amusement for working young women away from home.¹¹⁸ Among the parishes of the Diocese, Christ Church and the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, were outstanding in promoting the Girls' Friendly Society. Under the leadership of the Reverend Milton A. Barber, rector of Christ Church, the two parishes secured a furnished house with accommodations for twenty-eight young women at a low rent. It was clearly stated that this work was not charity, but a means of providing an "opportunity for persons to work at their tasks and enjoy life" in safe and congenial surroundings.¹¹⁹

Church Periodicals

For several years after 1901, the need for a periodical covering all phases of diocesan work was discussed in and outside the Diocesan Convention. The *Messenger of Hope*, established in 1890 as the official organ of the Thompson Orphanage, carried some news of the Diocese but did not fill the need for a diocesan publication. In 1906 the Convention attempted to improve the situation by having the Convocations of Raleigh and Charlotte appoint assistant editors who would supply the *Messenger of Hope* with news.¹²⁰ This arrangement evidently did not prove successful, for three years later the Convention voted to join with the Diocese of East Carolina and the Missionary District of Asheville in establishing a periodical that would cover all phases of Church life in the state.¹²¹ The new publication was given the name *The Carolina Churchman*. The first number appeared in October 1909 with the statement that it was the official organ of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina and would be issued monthly at a cost of fifty cents a year. Thomas P. Noe of Wilmington was its editor, with associate editors located in New Bern, Windsor, Greensboro, Charlotte, Tryon, and Biltmore. With the appearance of *The Carolina Churchman*, the *Mission Herald* of East Carolina and the *Messenger of Hope* of the Thompson Orphanage ceased publication.¹²²

After two years of joint sponsorship of *The Carolina Churchman*, the Diocese of East Carolina and the Missionary District of Asheville withdrew from the arrangement to publish their own periodicals. Fortunately the Diocese of North Carolina determined to continue

The Carolina Churchman, assigning financial responsibility to the Convocations of Raleigh and Charlotte and the Thompson Orphanage. The Reverend Francis M. Osborne, priest-in-charge of the Church of the Holy Comforter, Charlotte, was made editor and business manager at a monthly salary of \$12.50, which was later increased to \$25.00. In 1913 the Diocesan Convention assumed responsibility for *The Carolina Churchman*. It provided for a committee of one clergyman and two laymen to oversee the conduct of the paper and to appoint the editor and business manager. Mr. Osborne continued as editor through the June 1919 issue when he resigned to take the "chair of Systematic Divinity" at the University of the South. He was succeeded by the Reverend Charles A. Ashby, rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, who remained editor until August 1922. In September of that year the Reverend I. Harding Hughes became editor.¹²³

Beginning with Mr. Osborne's editorship, *The Carolina Churchman* regularly devoted special departments to the work of the three convocations, the Thompson Orphanage, and the Woman's Auxiliary. It also carried other news of the Diocese and some coverage of the National Church. Occasionally, interesting historical articles were featured in its columns. From the time of its establishment *The Carolina Churchman* experienced financial difficulties, largely due to the inadequate support of the people of the Diocese.

World War I and the Nation-Wide Campaign

Shortly after the United States entered World War I, the Diocesan Convention unanimously passed a resolution approving the action of President Wilson and pledging its support in bringing the war to a successful conclusion. It also requested the clergy and laity to send to the headquarters of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew the names of all Episcopalians in the armed services.¹²⁴ In August 1917 the bishop addressed a letter to the people of the Diocese in which he pointed out the duty of churchmen regarding the recently established Camp Greene at Charlotte. Before the camp was opened, he met with clergymen in Charlotte to plan how best to minister to the 30,000–40,000 soldiers expected to be located there. It was decided to keep the parish houses of all the churches open for their use. The bishop called on the laity of the Diocese to assist the churches of

Charlotte in this ministry.¹²⁵ The War Commission, an agency established by the National Church in August 1917, sought to raise \$500,000 to carry on the Church's work among the armed services at home and overseas. The Diocese of North Carolina was assigned a quota of \$2,400, and the churches were asked to set aside Sunday, 27 January 1918, to raise this amount.

Only a few months after the armistice was signed on 11 November 1918, the National Church inaugurated a program to educate churchmen with respect to missions, social services, and religious instruction. This program was given the name "Nation-Wide Campaign." In addition to informing the clergy and laity of "the Church's whole task in the parish, Diocese, and in the field at home and abroad," the campaign was to culminate in a financial canvass of every parish in the nation in the fall of 1919. During the war the Church had witnessed the effectiveness of national drives to raise funds for worthy causes. The Diocesan Convention of 1919 endorsed the plan of the Nation-Wide Campaign and set up an organization to put it into effect. The Woman's Auxiliary also pledged its support.¹²⁶ Teams of laymen and laywomen visited the parishes and missions of the Diocese, informing them of the needs of the Church at home and abroad.

Under the leadership of the Reverend John L. Jackson, rector of St. Martin's Church, Charlotte, and executive secretary of the diocesan committee, the campaign was a great success. In January 1920 Mr. Jackson reported that \$88,773 had been pledged, which was \$2,267 more than had been requested, with twenty-one congregations still to be heard from. The churches in the Colored Convocation more than met their assigned quotas.¹²⁷ Shortly after the campaign ended, the diocesan Nation-Wide Campaign Committee sent a questionnaire to all members of the clergy requesting an evaluation of particular features of the campaign. A large majority of them reported that the "missionary spirit" in their parishes had been noticeably improved in larger church attendance, an increase in lay participation, and a "wider Missionary vision." All of the parishes except two reported that their financial situation had also improved.¹²⁸

At the Convention of 1920 the Reverend Edwin A. Penick, rector of St. Peter's Church, Charlotte, and chairman of the special campaign committee, moved that it be discharged and that a new executive committee be established to carry on and promote the campaign for that year. The new committee would be composed of one representative each from ten diocesan organizations and five representa-

tives appointed by the bishop, who would be ex officio chairman. The motion was adopted. When the Convention adjourned, the committee was appointed, with the Reverend Mr. Penick as chairman of the steering committee and the Reverend Mr. Jackson as chairman of finances. During the next few months the committee from time to time pointed out that, although last year's campaign had been a financial success, churchmen should keep in mind that the whole effort was "primarily a call to service." This theme was emphasized by both the clerical and lay workers throughout the campaign. As a result of their work, seventy churches raised their quotas, fifty-five exceeding their apportionments. Of the eighteen black churches, fifteen either met or surpassed their quotas.¹²⁹ The Convention of 1922 resolved to continue the Nation-Wide Campaign for the next triennium on its present "basis of policy and method, contingent on the action of the General Convention."¹³⁰

The fact that the campaign of 1921 was not as successful as those of the two previous years was attributed in part to the financial depression of that year. It was generally agreed that the plan of systematic giving provided through the Nation-Wide Campaign had proved to be a decided benefit to the missionary and institutional work of the Diocese. The Convention now had a reliable expectation on which to base its appropriations for the various programs of the Church. Bishop Cheshire believed that "both men and women throughout the Diocese seem increasingly responsive to the demands of our church work in all its departments."¹³¹

In its report to the Convention of 1920, the Nation-Wide Campaign Committee introduced a resolution calling for the establishment of an Executive Council for the Diocese. The special committee to which the resolution was referred reported that it was unanimous in its opinion that the Church's work "could be more efficiently accomplished, and uniformly developed in all its departments by the formation of a unifying and consolidating executive body." It recommended that the bishop appoint a committee to examine all diocesan activities and, based on its findings, to propose whatever changes in the canons it considered necessary to promote greater administrative efficiency. The report was adopted and the committee appointed by the bishop with himself as chairman.¹³²

In his address to the Convention of 1920, Bishop Cheshire praised the recent action of the General Convention in placing the missionary, educational, and social work of the National Church in the hands of

the presiding bishop and an elected council. He observed, however, that some dioceses were copying this system by entrusting the administrative affairs of the diocese to the bishop and an Executive Council. In his opinion this plan of organization on the diocesan level was "inexpedient" and "quite unnecessary." By the time the 1921 Convention met, the bishop had moderated his views, declaring that the "plan seems to have some advantages." He said that, whatever plan the Convention adopted, he earnestly hoped that no change would be made in the administration of the diocesan missionary work by the convocations under the direction of their archdeacons. Bishop Cheshire admitted that this system of administration had its faults, but he believed that it had been "a potent factor in such success as we have had." He thought that it had failed "to accomplish all we have desired and attempted, largely because our lay people have not been aroused to appreciate and to cooperate adequately in the work." Whether the archdeacons should be directly responsible to the bishop and Council, as was proposed, or to the bishop and Convention, was, in his opinion, of no particular importance. To him the archdeacons had been "not only the eyes of the Bishop in all matters of practical work, but his feet and hands likewise in going and in doing in all parts of the field, and in serving all local necessities."¹³³

After hearing the bishop's views, the Convention of 1921 adopted a plan of organization providing for an "executive committee" of three clergymen, three laymen, and three laywomen to be elected by the Convention, with the bishop as ex officio chairman. The executive committee was to act as a coordinating and cooperating agent in diocesan work and as a medium of communication between the Diocese and the National Church.¹³⁴ In deference to Cheshire's wishes, the functions and responsibilities of the archdeacons were not changed until several years later.

Diocesan Anniversaries

As the anniversary of Bishop Cheshire's twenty-five years in the episcopate approached, the Church in North Carolina could be proud of its progress. From the organization of the Missionary District of Asheville through 1917, the number of clergymen had increased from 38 to 62; parishes and organized missions, from 53 to 75; communicants, from 4,075 to 8,082; Church school pupils, from

3,216 to 6,798; the value of parochial property, from \$310,000 to \$1,137,000; and income from all sources, from \$38,356 to \$151,967.¹³⁵

In celebration of the bishop's twenty-fifth anniversary, a special service was planned for 25 October 1918 in Calvary Church, Tarboro, but it had to be postponed because of the influenza epidemic. It took place later on the final day of the 1919 Convention held in Christ Church, Raleigh. The proceedings began with an address by Bishop Cheshire in which he traced the history of his twenty-five years in the episcopate. After the address, the Convention unanimously adopted a resolution introduced by R. D. W. Connor expressing the Diocese's debt to Bishop Cheshire for the "sympathetic spirit, the unflagging zeal, the never-failing wisdom and the statesmanlike vision with which, under God, he has directed its affairs, shaped its policies, and guided its growth and development." The Reverend A. Burtis Hunter, on behalf of the clergy, told the bishop of its "loyalty and affection," and Governor Thomas W. Bickett expressed the same sentiments for the laity. The celebration concluded with the presentation by William A. Erwin of a "gift of gold" to Bishop Cheshire "from all his flock in the Diocese" as a token of its "reverence, esteem and affection for him."¹³⁶

Another landmark in the life of the Church in this state was the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the organization of the Diocese of North Carolina in 1817. At the Diocesan Convention of 1914, George P. Burgwyn of Jackson proposed that this important event be commemorated in 1917 by a joint meeting of the Dioceses of North Carolina and East Carolina and the Missionary District of Asheville in Christ Church, New Bern, where the Episcopal Church in North Carolina was organized. His proposal was approved by the three dioceses and committees were named to plan the celebration.¹³⁷

The centennial service took place on Ascension Day, 17 May 1917. Bishop Darst preached the sermon and Bishops Horner and Cheshire celebrated the Holy Communion. In the afternoon Bishop Cheshire read a paper on "The Church in North Carolina in 1817." He was followed by Marshall DeLancey Haywood, who gave an address on "The Men of the First Convention." At the evening service Francis D. Winston read a paper briefly tracing the history of the Church in North Carolina during the past one hundred years. The celebration was concluded with an address by Dr. William H. Milton on the present and future prospects of the Church in the state. During the cen-

ennial services a bronze tablet, given by Episcopalians throughout North Carolina to commemorate the event, was placed in Christ Church. On the tablet were engraved the names of the three clergymen and six laymen who met in New Bern in 1817 to organize the Diocese.¹³⁸

Election of a Bishop Coadjutor

On entering his seventieth year, Bishop Cheshire thought that some of his clergy and laity might feel that he was growing too old to administer his episcopal duties without assistance. Although he felt perfectly able to carry on his work, he realized that others might not agree. He laid this matter before the Convention of 1919, clearly stating that he was not requesting assistance but advice on the subject. After some discussion, the Convention unanimously resolved that the affairs of the Diocese had in no way suffered and that there had been no "evidence of failure in physical or mental vigor on the part of the Bishop." The Convention assured him that it was confident that when he did need help he would "not fail in the light of his duty to ask for it."¹³⁹ Three years later Cheshire's physician recommended that he curtail his episcopal duties. On raising the subject with the Standing Committee, he was advised to ask for a bishop coadjutor at the next Diocesan Convention. Acting on this advice, he addressed a letter on 21 April 1922 to the clergy and laity of the Diocese announcing his intention to request a bishop coadjutor. He believed that they should have this information before the next Convention.¹⁴⁰

When the Convention met on 16 May at the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, it took up the question of granting the bishop assistance in his work. On receiving the consent of Bishop Cheshire, the Convention resolved to elect a bishop coadjutor. In giving his consent Bishop Cheshire assigned to the coadjutor the episcopal oversight of the Convocation of Charlotte and the personal direction of all postulants and candidates for Holy Orders. He emphasized that this did not mean that the bishop and the bishop coadjutor could not serve occasionally in the other's field by mutual consent.

On the second day of the Convention the following priests were nominated: Edwin A. Penick, Wyatt H. Brown, Milton A. Barber, Isaac W. Hughes, Sidney S. Bost, Warren W. Way, and Alfred R.

Berkeley. Of the seven nominees only two, Brown and Berkeley, were from outside the Diocese of North Carolina. The Reverend Edwin Penick, rector of St. Peter's Church, Charlotte, was elected on the sixth ballot, receiving thirty-two votes from the clergy and twenty-four from the lay delegates. For election thirty clerical and eighteen lay votes were required. Following this action Mr. Penick asked permission to withdraw from the Convention to consider his decision. He returned to announce that he accepted his election as Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese. The Convention fixed his salary at \$4,500 with an allowance of \$500 for travel.¹⁴¹

In determining the date for the consecration of the bishop coadjutor, Bishop Cheshire suggested 15 October 1922, which marked his twenty-ninth anniversary in the episcopate. The service was held in St. Peter's Church, Charlotte, on that date. The consecrators were Bishops Cheshire, Guerry, and Darst and the presenters were Bishops Finlay of Upper South Carolina and Herbert Shipman, Suffragan Bishop of New York. The priests attending Mr. Penick were the Reverends Sidney S. Bost of St. Philip's Church, Durham, and Robert E. Gribbin of St. Paul's Church, Winston-Salem.¹⁴²

Edwin Anderson Penick was born in Frankfort, Kentucky, on 4 April 1887, the son of the Reverend Edwin A. and Mary Shipman Penick. During his boyhood his father had churches in Camden, New Jersey, and Phoenix, Arizona, as well as in Frankfort. Young Penick received his undergraduate education at the University of the South and the M.A. degree in English from Harvard University. After attending the Virginia Theological Seminary for three years, he was ordained deacon in 1912 by Bishop Guerry of South Carolina and priest in 1913. In 1917 he married Carolina Inglesby Dial of Columbia, South Carolina. Mr. Penick served churches in Bennettsville and Columbia, South Carolina, and one year as an army chaplain before moving to Charlotte to take charge of St. Peter's Church. His election as bishop coadjutor after having been in Charlotte for only three years was a signal tribute to his work at St. Peter's and in the Diocese. According to the editor of *The Carolina Churchman*, "real ability to grasp the essentials of the call laid upon him and to construct a progressive program, has meant that he has been one whom men delight to honor. He is a man of deep consecration, a charming companion and good preacher."¹⁴³ Concerning the election, Bishop Cheshire wrote: "Never, I make bold to say, did we feel more sure of the Divine presence, guidance and blessing, than in the solemn hour

TABLE IX—I

Parishes and Organized Missions Admitted into Union with the Convention, 1901–1922

Battleboro	St. John's Mission, 1911
Charlotte	St. Martin's Mission, 1908; Parish, 1915 Holy Comforter Mission, 1908; Parish, 1914
China Grove	Church of the Ascension Mission, 1917
Durham	St. Titus's Mission, 1922
Eden (formerly Spray)	St. Luke's Mission, 1913
Erwin (formerly Duke)	St. Stephen's Mission, 1907
Greensboro	Holy Trinity Parish (formed from combining St. Andrew's and St. Barnabas), 1910; St. Andrew's Parish, 1912
Gulf	St. Mark's Mission, 1910
High Point	St. Mary's Parish, 1906 (reverted to organized mission, 1910–14; admitted as parish, 1915)
Lexington	Grace Church Parish, 1914
Mayodan	Messiah Mission, 1908
Middleburg	Church of the Heavenly Rest Mission, 1910
Roanoke Rapids	All Saints Mission, 1905; Parish, 1917
Salisbury	St. Peter's Mission, 1922
Sanford	St. Thomas's Mission, 1916
Smithfield	St. Paul's Mission, 1917
Speed	St. Mary's Mission, 1922
Stovall	St. Peter's Mission, 1903
Wake Forest	St. John's Mission, 1913
Warrenton	All Saints Mission, 1922
Wilson	St. Mark's Mission, 1922

of the choosing of our Bishop Coadjutor. Among the many happy and helpful experiences of my Episcopate, and of my life, I remember that as one of the best.”¹⁴⁴

The history of the Diocese in the first two decades of this century was marked by a greater awareness in the Church of the religious,

social, and economic conditions of the period. This awareness was manifested in the missionary programs in industrial communities, in the work for the deaf, in expansion of work among the blacks, and in the initiation of social service programs. Among these fields probably the most significant development was the progress of work among the blacks, climaxed by the election of a black suffragan bishop. Although the women of the Diocese contributed a great deal to all of the Church's programs, their role in the conduct of parochial and diocesan affairs showed little improvement over that of the nineteenth century. The Diocese's active participation in the Nation-Wide Campaign aroused the interest of its clergy and laity in the larger mission of the Church in both the nation and the world.

A list of the parishes and organized missions admitted into union with the Convention during these years is provided in Table IX-1.

Rapid Growth and Financial Crisis, 1923–1941

GEORGE H. ESSER

In his address to the Diocesan Convention on 8 May 1923, Bishop Cheshire commented: "I am much struck with the increasing extent of our Diocesan interests and the increasing volume of our Church business; the growth of our Church institutions, the multiplication of our activities and of our agencies for work: boards, committees, commissions, the larger interests, the greater expense, and our more numerous responsibilities on every side."¹ Indeed, growth was the keynote for the Diocese in the 1920s, at the parochial as well as the diocesan level. And throughout this period the Church groped for a form of governance that would better accommodate a growing diocese. That this search would be remembered more for its preparation for the financial crises of the depression than for growth and expansion was not perceived, save possibly by Bishop Cheshire himself.

In the same year Bishop Penick made his first episcopal address to the Convention. He spoke to the need for religious education, for evangelism, and for professional advice to churches undertaking the construction of church buildings. Then, noting the successful experiment with a diocesan executive committee in determining how to raise and spend funds for the diocesan program, he asked that the Committee on Constitution and Canons consider "the whole matter of forming a Diocesan Council, and report its conclusions at the Convention of 1924."² The requested canon was duly presented in 1924. To consist of three clergymen, three laymen, and three laywomen elected for three-year staggered terms, with the three bishops serving *ex officio*, the Diocesan Executive Council was empowered to set up as many departments as it deemed necessary, to appoint additional persons to serve in each department, to prepare an annual budget and apportion each parish and mission its appropriate share, and to spend all funds raised for diocesan programs. Specifically, the

Council was charged with “development and prosecution of the work of Missions and Church Extension; Religious Education; and Social Service; and the performance of such work as may be committed to it by the Convention; also of the initiation and development of new work of such character, between the sessions of Convention.”³

To the functions specifically named were quickly added Field and Publicity and Finance, all destined to become departments. By 1927 it was clear that, even with the help of persons appointed to each department, the elected members were being asked to undertake too many responsibilities and to serve in too many departments. The Convention in 1927 provided for the annual election of two clergymen and two laymen for three-year terms; retained the provision for one laywoman to be elected annually, for a three-year term, on nomination by the Woman’s Auxiliary; and made additional provision for a person to be elected annually, for a one-year term, on nomination by the Young People’s Service League (YPSL).⁴ Two years later provision was made for electing one black annually to serve a term of one year.⁵ This provision was further amended in 1932 to make the term of this Council member three years, as was the term of the representative from the YPSL.⁶ There was periodic difficulty in finding YPSL representatives who were both eligible (age twenty-one or over) and able to serve; eventually, in 1943, provision for this member was abolished.

It took several years for the relationship between the Executive Council and the Convention to evolve into a smooth and trusting one. Their respective roles in the adoption of the annual program budget took several years to stabilize. From a Convention-created but relatively independent Nation-Wide Campaign Committee, responsibility for fund-raising and budgeting moved to the newly created Executive Council but with overall review of the budget by the Convention. For several years a Committee on Findings was appointed by the bishop to match Council-budgeted expenditures with pledged quotas from parishes and missions, almost always a reduction. As a result, in the late 1920s the Executive Council recommended a budget to the Convention. Always one year in advance, the budgeted figure typically was greater than the amounts pledged, and pruning had to take place in Convention. Still later, when payments by congregations frequently failed to meet the levels pledged, even further budget cutting had to be made by the Council.

Two further and interrelated processes to strengthen diocesan ad-

ministration came about in the mid-twenties. The Convention of 1925, meeting in Chapel Hill to celebrate that parish's new church building, passed a resolution that was referred to a special committee appointed by the bishop. It provided that the committee should "consider the advisability of abolishing the Convocation system, now in operation, the Missionary work of the Diocese being taken over by the department of Missions of the Executive Council of the Diocese, and the employment of a whole-time Executive Secretary, who shall, under the Bishop and the Bishop Coadjutor, direct the work of the various departments of the Executive Council."⁷ The special committee, composed of three senior clergymen, four respected laymen, and the bishop and bishop coadjutor, recommended action to bring all financial administration of diocesan missionary work directly under the Executive Council, leaving to the convocation archdeacons simple supervision of the missionary work under their charge. The committee also proposed a resolution, which was adopted, authorizing the Executive Council to employ an executive secretary and to fix his duties and salary.⁸ Although action to provide the funds for an executive secretary was not taken until the Convention of 1927, there seemed to be a consensus that this administrative support was essential for efficient diocesan operations.

After the 1927 Convention, the Executive Council finally employed an executive secretary. The Reverend Elwood L. Haines of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was chosen for the post and stationed at Holy Trinity Church in Greensboro, where the Executive Council also met. As executive secretary, Haines served as secretary to the Executive Council, as an *ex officio* member of each Council department, and as secretary of the Convention. More important than the official definition of his duties was his ability to take leadership for program development in such areas as young peoples' work, summer camps, and coordination of mission activity.

With the executive secretary on board, the function of the archdeacons for supervising mission activities in each of the three convocations seemed to become superfluous, and the positions were abolished in 1928.⁹ The archdeacons moved to parishes. Because Bishop Delany died before the 1928 Convention, no special problem was created in the Colored Convocation. All missions now came under the Department of Missions.

The process of transition in organizing the Diocese was almost complete. As the impact of the depression began to be felt, as giving

declined and the ability of the Diocese to meet its commitments both to the National Church and to its own missions was in doubt, the outlay for the Office of Executive Secretary became a major issue. That the office contributed to the efficiency of diocesan operations was not questioned. The issue was whether it was worth \$6,600 annually, or even \$5,000 to which it had been tentatively reduced. Thus, in 1931, at the same Convention in which Mr. Haines sought canonical confirmation of his position and Bishop Penick asked for its formal endorsement, a special committee wrestled with the gap between anticipated revenues and requested expenditures. Finally, just before the Convention adjourned, the issue was settled dramatically in a resolution that balanced the budget for 1932 by eliminating funds for the Office of Executive Secretary.¹⁰ By the fall, Haines had accepted a call outside the Diocese and full administrative responsibility fell on the bishop coadjutor and the Executive Council, with increasing emphasis on the department chairmen.

After Bishop Cheshire's death late in 1932, the pattern that would characterize diocesan government for the next two decades was fixed. Bishop Penick moved from Charlotte to Raleigh, and the Council was moved from Greensboro to Raleigh. The only assistance requested by Bishop Penick was that the canons provide for a lay chancellor, as he did not have the legal training acquired by Bishop Cheshire before he entered the ministry.¹¹

From time to time, after 1935, proposals were made by the Executive Council or in Convention to assist the bishop. In response to a recommendation from the Council in 1940, the Convention of that year authorized a special committee to study the issue and report in 1941.¹² When that committee asked the bishop for his opinion, Penick replied:

I am grateful for your willingness to propose any plan for assistance to the administrative head of the diocese that I might suggest. However, to be perfectly frank, I do not feel that I have the right under present circumstances to ask the diocese for any form of assistance that would involve an increase in our maintenance budget. When the Reverend Elwood L. Haines was Executive Secretary in 1928–32, his office cost the diocese \$6,600 per annum. As I recall, this expense was justified when the office was created by anticipated additional sources of revenue which the new office would discover. I do not believe that this was actually

the case, although Mr. Haines was highly efficient and most acceptable. To recreate the office would be exceedingly burdensome, I think, to the diocese, and under existing conditions would hardly be warranted. I do not care at this time to ask for either a suffragan or a bishop coadjutor, or even archdeacons, unless the sentiment of the Convention should demand it. Naturally, I am jealous for the diocese to be administered at a maximum degree of efficiency, and if the Convention is of the opinion that that standard is not being maintained, and their opinion can be supported by facts, I shall of course be advised by the Convention's wishes.¹³

Bishop Penick went on to point out that he had tried to compensate for the absence of full-time diocesan officers by delegating as much authority and freedom as possible to the Council department chairmen. This plan, he continued, "seems to me to have resulted in an efficient program of work and also in the development of splendid leadership both in our clergy and laity."¹⁴

The special committee recognized the bishop's arguments, noting that the gap between Council budgets and congregational acceptances continued. "It seems to the committee, therefore, that the Diocese is able and willing to support the administrative office of the Church, but is unwilling to fully support the Missionary Program."¹⁵ Nor would the committee say that the Convention demanded episcopal assistance. Rather, the assistance had been proposed because of "affectionate regard" for the bishop, whom the committee termed "an outstanding and one of the ablest, most far-visioned, constructive, and beloved Bishops in the American Episcopate."¹⁶

So the committee bowed to the wishes of Bishop Penick and did not offer assistance at the Convention, but it did introduce a resolution to the effect that when the bishop desired assistance, "the Convention will do all in its power to see that such assistance is provided." This resolution was adopted by a rising vote of the delegates.¹⁷ Although it is probable that the Diocese would have benefited from some type of assistance to the diocesan, there is every reason to sympathize with the bishop's position. If in fact the willingness to give to the Church's program was not evidenced year after year, then increasing the maintenance budget to pay for such assistance would bring embarrassment.

Several other changes in diocesan governance during this period are

worth noting. The first concerned the membership of the Standing Committee, which was increased from five to seven members in 1935 (four clerical and three lay).¹⁸ Despite a strong and conservative Diocesan Committee on Canons, the canons had no provision for the size of the Standing Committee, and the constitution (article 8, section 1) simply provided that the Standing Committee should consist "of not less than five members." The increase in membership was therefore accomplished by a simple motion adopted by the Convention.

The second change was the provision for collecting and disbursing diocesan funds. For years there were three treasurers, one operating from Raleigh (Episcopal Maintenance Fund), one from Charlotte (the Church's Program Fund), and one from Greensboro (the Church Pension Fund). Although there had long been discussion about making the system more efficient, action was not taken until after the deaths of J. Renwick Wilkes of Charlotte and Henry M. London of Raleigh within a few months of each other in 1939. They had been respectively treasurer of the Program Fund and of the Episcopal Maintenance Fund for two decades. In accordance with a Convention mandate adopted after Wilkes's death, the Executive Council surveyed the situation and came up with a solution that would last more than twenty years. The Security National Bank of Raleigh was elected treasurer of both the Episcopal Maintenance Fund and the Church's Program Fund, and thereafter pension payments were made directly to the Church's Pension Fund in New York by parishes, missions, and diocesan agencies.¹⁹

The Episcopate

Although Bishop Penick's election gave the Diocese three bishops, two were elderly and one—Bishop Delany—was responsible for overseeing work among blacks not only in this Diocese, but also in the Dioceses of East Carolina, Western North Carolina, and South Carolina. Approximately half of Delany's time was spent in duties for the latter three dioceses. Bishop Cheshire initially gave Bishop Penick responsibility for episcopal supervision in the Convocation of Charlotte, reserving for himself the Convocation of Raleigh and the more general episcopal functions. Early in 1923 he also assigned general supervision of the Colored Convocation to Bishop

Penick,²⁰ and thereafter, as he advanced in his seventies, he passed more and more responsibility to the coadjutor.²¹ By the Convention of 1929, Cheshire had given Penick all responsibility for general administration of the Diocese, retaining for himself only limited pastoral visitations to parishes near Raleigh that he had been visiting over the past two years and responsibility for the Diocesan Register, primarily formal acknowledgment of changes in diocesan clergy and formal admission of candidates to Holy Orders.²² In the latter case, he left personal supervision of those candidates to Bishop Penick.²³

On 14 April 1928, less than a month before the Convention met that year, Bishop Delany died. His health had failed and already he had been forced to give up an active schedule of visitations. Born a slave, Bishop Delany had devoted his life to work at St. Augustine's College and to the Church—first as a clergyman and then as one of the two black bishops ordained as part of the National Church's effort to minister more effectively to black churches. Bishop Cheshire paid eloquent tribute to Bishop Delany in his address to the 1928 Convention.²⁴

In the same address Bishop Cheshire reported that the General Convention was meeting later that year, and that the Committee on Evaluation of the General Convention was recommending that the southern bishops, or a representative group of bishops from across the Church, should formulate a regional policy regarding work with black churches. He therefore proposed that "we postpone all action, as to the necessity for special Episcopal ministrations for our Negro clergy and people, in order that we may be in a position to cooperate in any general scheme which may be agreed upon by the authorities of our National Church."²⁵ In February 1929 the southern bishops, meeting in Atlanta, recommended the establishment of a new missionary jurisdiction for all work with black churches, but, as Bishop Penick forecast in his address to the Diocesan Convention that year, the issue was too complicated for the General Convention to deal with.²⁶ Although the question of the racial episcopate lingered in the National Church, a successor to Bishop Delany was not seriously considered in 1929 or thereafter.

The Right Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire, D.D., fifth Bishop of North Carolina, who had served as a bishop from October 1893 and as diocesan from 15 December 1893, died in a Charlotte hospital on 27 December 1932. Serving for thirty-nine years, he represented, as Bishop Penick reported to the 1933 Convention, "the best of the

patriarchal type of the Episcopate which is fast becoming obsolete.”²⁷ So ended an era in the life of the Diocese. Although Bishop Penick had had most of the responsibility for the last few years, Bishop Cheshire had stood as a continuing symbol of episcopal authority, of faith incarnate, of the spirit of missions that he hoped characterized the Diocese to which he had given his life. He was also the last bishop in the Diocese to serve out his life in office, without a scheduled retirement.

Bishop Cheshire had lived long enough to see the beginning of the depression, which he had feared even during the most optimistic days of the 1920s. But he left the reins of authority in the hands of a bishop who could tighten his belt and provide leadership, however Spartan the conditions under which the Diocese had to operate. At that stage in history, there was no thought of additional episcopal assistance, and it would be almost twenty years before the Diocese again had two bishops.

The Optimistic 1920s

The twenties were characterized by relief that the Great War was over, by a growing economy, and by great expectations for the future. Once the Nation-Wide Campaign had stabilized diocesan finances and future diocesan leadership had been assured, many parishes and missions turned their attention to local needs—to new church buildings, additions to old buildings, construction of new parish houses, and upgrading of rectories. Some of the larger parishes also increased salaries and employed additional staff.

Capital improvements were not limited to parishes and missions. During this decade, substantial improvements were made to most diocesan institutions, and some were paid for with funds raised in special campaigns. Some measure of the building activity can be found in the bishops' official diaries. In 1922, for example, Bishop Cheshire consecrated the church building for All Saints in Roanoke Rapids and the Chapel of Hope in Charlotte. Bishop Penick, soon after his consecration, presided over a meeting of the Thompson Orphanage Executive Committee at which plans for the new infirmary were approved. Two weeks later, in a visitation to St. Martin's in Charlotte, he commented that “the lengthening of the nave of the Church during the summer months, the enlargement of the choir and sanctuary,

and the installation of a pipe organ have greatly improved and beautified an already beautiful building.”²⁸ And on 6 December Penick noted that he had conferred with the building committee at St. Luke’s in Spray “with regard to the location and character of the proposed Church building.”²⁹ In 1923 Bishop Cheshire consecrated St. Stephen’s Church, Duke (now Erwin). The same year Bishop Penick laid the cornerstone for St. Mark’s in Roxboro, noted during a visitation the recent improvements to the church building for St. James in Iredell County, met with the mission committee of Good Shepherd Church in Cooleemee and “discussed the building plans for a new church,”³⁰ and conferred with the Reverend Edward H. Goold about plans for securing funds to erect the Hunter Building at St. Augustine’s. This activity continued throughout the 1920s. The bishops referred to new churches in Scotland Neck, Chapel Hill, High Point, Southern Pines, Sanford, Spray, Roxboro, Cooleemee, Charlotte (St. Andrew), Winston-Salem (St. Paul), and Durham (St. Titus). This does not include new parish houses (for some of the largest parishes in the Diocese), rectories, or institutional buildings, nor the major modification of some church buildings.

Grateful as he was for this evidence of growth in the Diocese, it is clear that Bishop Cheshire also worried about the future. In his 1927 address, he chided the thirty-four parishes and missions that had accepted gifts, grants, and loans from the American Church Building Fund Commission for 1925 and 1926. According to the conditions for such assistance, the aided parish or mission was obligated annually to conduct a special offering for the commission. During 1925 and 1926, Bishop Cheshire reported, only four of the thirty-four that benefited had such special offerings. “A witty Frenchman defined gratitude as a ‘lively sense of benefits to come.’ Our churches and clergy,” Cheshire continued, “ought to have a better idea of gratitude and a stronger sense of their obligation to perform the conditions upon which help has been extended to them in the important matter of building their churches, rectories, and parish houses.”³¹

Later, in the same address, he spoke of the Diocese’s need for gifts, as well as the need in parishes and institutions, and then added a paragraph which, by hindsight, seems born of prophecy:

We have been going through an experience of unprecedented financial prosperity. We have been carrying on work, and undertaking expenditures far beyond anything of a like character in our

past. These conditions cannot continue. I feel that we ought to keep in mind the possibility of a change in this situation, and that we should guard against an expansion in our local church work, which may involve us in future difficulties. It seems to me that parochial enterprises, the building of very costly parish houses, by borrowing largely, and by assuming in other matters obligations beyond our present means, and thus loading the future with these burdens, has already lessened the ability of some of our parishes to bear their proper part in the missionary, charitable and educational work which we ought to do. Moreover such obligations may mean very difficult local problems as time goes on. I very seriously question the wisdom, not to say the right, of indulging in comforts and conveniences we cannot pay for; and thus, in a measure, living upon our posterity.³²

As he spoke, the bishop was aware that the Convention had had to reduce the budget adopted by the Executive Council by more than \$9,000, because the parishes and missions had failed by more than \$16,000 to meet the quotas apportioned for the year. Even so, the amounts accepted were \$5,000 less than those for 1923. Nor did the amount of giving to the Diocese increase appreciably for the rest of the decade, before the advent of the depression brought to reality the crisis that Bishop Cheshire so vividly anticipated. Indeed, more than one congregation in the 1930s could not meet payments on principal and interest incurred for construction in the 1920s.

It is interesting to note that this growth in the Diocese was more in terms of giving and physical facilities than in terms of an increase in the clergy or in the number of congregations, parishes, or missions. During the twenties there was a marginal increase in the number of parishes, from 43 to 45, but a small decrease in the number of active clergy, from 67 to 64. Although the diocesan statistics, compiled from the reports of each parish and mission, are uncertain measures, it is impressive that the value of Church property was reported to have increased almost 100 percent during the decade—from \$2.3 million to \$4.1 million—whereas the number of baptized persons and communicants had increased only marginally, by less than 10 percent.³³ In 1929 the count stood at 16,287 baptized persons and 10,507 communicants.³⁴ It is no wonder that successive Committees on the State of the Church, commenting each year on the strength of the church in the Diocese, expressed frustration.

The Impact of the Depression

Although the coming of the depression is generally traced to the crash on Wall Street in October 1929, its impact did not hit the Diocese of North Carolina for a year or more, and its full force did not appear until the winter of 1931–32. The quota for parishes and missions for 1929 was met almost 100 percent, and the quota for 1930 was short only about 10 percent. When the quotas for 1931 were sent out in the fall of 1930, however, the response showed the effect of the economy on the capacity to give. The Executive Council asked for a little over \$72,000; a little over \$62,000 was accepted,³⁵ and only about \$50,000 was actually paid in. The 1931 Convention, meeting in Rocky Mount, had to make the first hard decisions on what to cut.

In retrospect, that decision on the 1932 budget was relatively simple. It was then that the Convention determined to eliminate the Office of Executive Secretary, a cost of more than \$6,000, as well as to reduce the contribution to the National Church by \$8,000.³⁶ But by the time the Executive Council held its regular winter meeting in January 1932, the moment of truth was at hand. The Diocese had survived in 1931, but only because it had a cash reserve of more than \$5,000, most of which was used to meet 1931 expenditures. Response from the parishes and missions to meet the quota for 1932 was off by more than \$19,000 from an asking of about \$68,000 (and even these lowered acceptances were only paid on the basis of 85¢ for each \$1 pledged).³⁷

The Executive Council did indeed bite the bullet in January 1932. The budget for 1932 was reduced by about \$15,000 and the budget recommended for 1933 was only about \$50,000.³⁸ This amount did not include trust income, which increased total disbursements for programs by about \$10,000, but it did include contributions from the annual Lenten Offering and from the Diocesan Woman's Auxiliary, which were relatively significant and could be applied to meet quotas.

Total spending for all programs leveled off in 1933 and continued at about \$60,000 until World War II. That result was achieved by the most rigorous economies and can be summed up as follows:

1. Giving to the National Church, which had been as much as \$37,000 in 1922, declined to \$20,700 in 1927, climbed back to \$24,500 in 1929, went down to \$13,500 in the battle to balance the diocesan budget in 1932, plummeted to \$12,000

annually during the mid-depression years, and finally increased to \$17,500 before World War II.

2. Annual support for the Thompson Orphanage (over and above the special Thanksgiving Offering) declined as low as \$1,800 but leveled off at \$4,000.
3. Annual support for diocesan missions declined from about \$35,000 to about \$25,000.
4. Annual support for St. Mary's School, which had been fixed at \$3,000 in the late 1920s, was finally phased out in the late 1930s.
5. Very tight control was exercised over all expenditures during this period, with Bishop Penick leading the way. Although there was a gradual change in the purposes for which funds were spent, there was no major increase in total expenditures.

There are several interesting sidelights to this era of money crisis and adaptation to a lower level of giving. First, the National Church faced its own crisis and asked for help in preserving its missionary effort. The 1931 General Convention, meeting in Denver, had adopted a triennial budget, amounting to \$4,225,000 annually, but required the National Council to operate on a "pay-as-you-go" plan, demanding a balanced budget at the beginning of each year. When the National Council met in February 1932, there was a shortfall of \$1,000,000 in acceptance of quotas by the dioceses. After slashing all salaries 10 percent and effecting other economies, the National Church still had to raise \$400,000 to meet its budget. Rather than cut back further on missionary programs, the Church issued a special appeal. Because North Carolina had reduced its giving by \$7,800, Bishop Penick asked that the Diocese undertake to raise this amount.³⁹ Through a special offering on Whitsunday 1932, and with help from the Woman's Auxiliary, \$5,048 was raised to help meet this deficit, the largest amount contributed by any diocese in the Fourth Province.

But the crisis was not over. Despite further retrenchment in the program of the National Church, accepted quotas for 1933 were not all paid. As a result, the National Church faced a debt of over \$500,000 as 1934 began; moreover, acceptances for 1934 ran another \$500,000 short of meeting the reduced target of \$2,700,000. The National Church again asked for help, and Bishop Penick challenged the Diocese to respond:

It is not a question of the predicament into which the Church's missionary program has fallen. It is not a matter even of calling Bishop Rowe home from Alaska, or Bishop Hulse from Cuba, or closing the work in Brazil or the Philippine Islands or Liberia. It is the more serious matter of withdrawing Christ from these places where the Church has built up equipment with the sacrifices of Christian people, and where men and women have laid down their lives to make known the Saviour of the world. Rightly construed, the crisis is not financial, but religious, for the giving of money is a sacramental act, the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual devotion to God and to His Son, whom He hath sent. Somehow—we believe it is the Spirit's prompting—somehow, the laymen of the Church are rising like a determined multitude all over this country and are declaring that it is apostasy to retreat and disloyalty to lie down and admit defeat. . . . I call upon the laity of this Diocese, confidently and affectionately, to rise up like one man, not only to salvage that portion of Christ's work which is now threatened with destruction, but even go beyond, and press into new fields where weary souls sit in darkness and wait for us to make Christ known to them.⁴⁰

Never again during the depression did Bishop Penick appeal so dramatically for financial support, even though the Diocese was scratching for every penny. But he had the satisfaction of knowing that, when he found conditions especially urgent, there would be a response. A special committee of twenty-eight laymen was appointed on that first day of the 1934 Convention, and its plan was adopted the next day.⁴¹ The plan called for a special campaign to be completed before 1 July; its goal (no specific dollar amount was established) would be achieved in cooperation with the clergy, the Young People's Service League, and the Woman's Auxiliary, and through the creation of a special organization of the laymen of the Diocese. Again the laity responded. A total of \$8,839.90 was raised and forwarded to the National Council.

One result of the crisis in the National Church was that the appropriation from the National Council for support of the black dioceses (originally \$12,000 annually but down to \$8,870 in 1932) was further cut. By 1934 the appropriation was only \$3,417, and by 1937 it had declined to \$2,000. In his 1936 address to the Convention, Bishop

Penick proposed that the Diocese phase out its dependence on this appropriation and cease, finally, to be an aided diocese by 1940.⁴² That action was approved,⁴³ and in 1940 the Diocese became self-supporting.

Missionary Strategies

When he was a parish priest, Bishop Cheshire set a standard for missionary activity that few of his colleagues could match. As rector of the Chapel of the Cross in Chapel Hill, he found time to establish St. Philip's in Durham. And as rector of St. Peter's in Charlotte, he created new missions and institutions in that city and in surrounding towns. The bishop's views about preaching and spreading the Gospel may have come out of the nineteenth century, but they made a mark on his episcopate and on the Diocese that can be felt even today. He was *catholic* in the traditional meaning of the word. What he said to the 1924 Convention in Winston-Salem in reflecting on thirty years as diocesan best states his philosophy:

But my views and my efforts had never been limited by the bounds of my parish. The parish had seemed to me to be a sort of centre, a vantage-ground, from which influence and effort should radiate into the vacant spaces beyond. I felt my duty to my parish and to my people. I believe few pastors have more deeply felt the tender bonds which unite Priest and people, or have had greater happiness and conscious joy in pastoral ministration. But I never felt that I belonged to my parish. I always felt that we both belonged to the Diocese, and through the Diocese to the Church beyond the Diocese; and that Priest and parish were organized for Church work, not for parochial work, except incidentally and as part of the general work of the Church.⁴⁴

This was not a new insight, as the bishop demonstrated by quoting from his first address to the 1894 Convention, also in Winston-Salem: "Our Diocesan enterprises and institutions should stand first with all of us. They are valuable not only for their direct results in the accomplishment of their specific work; they are quite as valuable as being manifestations of corporate action, and as developing the life of the body."⁴⁵ This approach and this spirit helps explain why he was so reluctant to see the convocational system disappear. In commenting

on that system and the work of the archdeacons in 1929, when the system was abandoned, he set forth the advantages which, indeed, the Council form of governance with all its policy strengths, cannot match: "But in my judgment the missionary work has never been so well attended to in this Diocese as it was under the Archdeacons. Vacant parishes and missions were supplied by them; scattered communicants and members of the Church were visited and looked after by them, and they were most useful in the many troubles which perplex young missionaries and weak and struggling congregations; and in allaying strifes and contentions, apt to arise, especially in small communities."⁴⁶

Two special missionary programs in the Diocese exemplify Bishop Cheshire's missionary fervor, one of them based in his home parish in Tarboro and directed by his boyhood friend, Captain Samuel Nash. Beginning in the late 1880s under Nash's leadership but with the regular assistance of a devoted group of men and women from Calvary Church, Tarboro, a group of small congregations was nurtured in Edgecombe County and by the 1920s constituted the largest rural ministry in the Diocese.⁴⁷ Calvary Church regularly had an assistant to the Reverend Bertram Brown, not counting seminary students there on what is now called an internship basis, to minister to the mission congregations built and served by the laity. After early service at Calvary, Nash and his associates would travel by buggy and later by automobile over uncertain roads to St. Mary's in Speed, Grace Church in Lawrence, St. Ignatius at Old Sparta, St. Matthew's at Dickens Hill, and St. Andrew's at Fountain Mill. Other missions developed under the leadership of Calvary Church included St. Anne's at Oak Grove, Calvary Chapel at the old cotton factory in Tarboro, St. Wilfred's, and those at several other locations where Mr. Brown initiated work but which did not survive his death. The work was an impressive achievement, and it lives to this day. Nash and the Reverend Mr. Brown (who went to Tarboro because of his interest in rural missions and stayed for twenty-six years, until his retirement in 1935) provided the leadership, but "enough cannot be said of the devotion and dedication of the faithful laymen and women who labored to serve the missions, as superintendents, teachers, organists, drivers, lay readers, and in any other capacity that was needed. This was indeed a glorious period in the life of Calvary Church."⁴⁸

Under the leadership of the Reverend Sidney S. Bost, rector of St. Philip's Church in Durham, the Diocese continued to support work

with the deaf. The Reverend Roma C. Fortune, who was responsible for that effort, was eventually advanced to the priesthood in 1929. Using Durham as his headquarters, he traveled extensively throughout the Diocese. With help from the Diocese, through designation of its Advance gifts to the National Church, and from the Woman's Auxiliary, funds were accumulated for a church building for the deaf in Durham. Bishop Cheshire laid the cornerstone on 10 November 1930, and the building was completed and paid for by the time of the 1931 Convention. Bishop Cheshire consecrated the building on 17 May 1931.⁴⁹ Later, in November 1934, the Church of the Holy Comforter in Burlington restored St. Athanasius Church in that city, which had not been used for public worship since 1911, and turned it over to Mr. Fortune for the deaf congregation in Burlington. Fortune continued his visits to other locations in the Diocese, his efforts being supplemented by several licensed lay readers.⁵⁰

Bishop Penick also had a strong missionary spirit, although he supplemented his wish to extend the Gospel into new communities with the strategy of strengthening diocesan-wide activities for young people, for college students, and for men as well as women. He also emphasized the importance of camps and a conference center as a means of promoting the growth of these activities.

During this period no one missionary strategy dominated diocesan policy, unless it was the continuing desire to establish the Episcopal Church in counties and towns where it had not been located previously. Unlike in the earlier period, meeting the needs of industrial communities was given no greater emphasis than other types of missionary activity. All prior strategies continued for rural and industrial areas, small towns, and black communities. It is important, therefore, to look at the overall picture of the state of the Church in the Diocese between 1923 and 1941.

At this time there were about 120 parishes and missions in the Diocese of North Carolina. The number of parishes varied between 40 and 45, but 15 to 20 of these always required some diocesan aid with salaries. Only about 25 parishes were really self-supporting, and most of these were in the cities and larger towns. About a dozen parishes provided more than 60 percent of diocesan funds, for this was before the movement of people, and therefore churches, to the suburbs. The same parishes represented almost half of the baptized persons and communicants in the Diocese. To minister to 120 congregations there were less than 60 clergymen, discounting the elderly, the chaplains,

and those whose tasks took them away from the work in churches. Virtually every priest, even rectors of large urban parishes, served as priest-in-charge of one or more missions. Several times in the 1930s Bishop Penick reported to the Convention that all churches, or nearly all, in the Diocese were provided with clergy.⁵¹ Moreover, in the twenty-year period, there was little change in the identity of parishes. Two of the rural churches surrendered parochial status—Kittrell and Ridgeway. Two of the industrial missions became parishes—Spray and Erwin. Two small town missions became parishes—Monroe and Southern Pines. Only one church in a city moved from mission to parochial status—St. Andrew's in Charlotte. At any one time, there were about 75 missions in the Diocese, roughly 35 of them organized missions with stable congregations. Over two decades, the missions experienced constant change. Of those organized in 1923, 4 became parishes by 1941 and 5 became inactive or disappeared. But by 1941, there were 5 organized missions where there had been no churches of any kind in 1923, as well as 10 new unorganized missions. And some significant towns were now served—for example, Asheboro, Albemarle, Kannapolis, and Thomasville.

There was missionary work underlying the cold statistics, then, just as the Church withered and died in some communities. The large number of congregations in the Diocese, the number (including parishes and missions) having aided status, the number changing status over time, and the fact that mission property was owned by the Diocese led to two problems periodically faced by the Convention from 1930 on. First, the reports of the Committee on the State of the Church in 1930, 1935, and 1936 all raised, in thoughtful fashion backed by research, the issue of whether it was wise to continue so many aided congregations or to permit aided parishes to have full representation in the Convention.⁵²

As noted above, Bishop Penick was not an “either-or” but a “both-and” strategist. He worried about rural areas, about small towns, about industrial villages. He strove both to keep churches alive and to strengthen small missions. Although he was a realist when the time came to close missions, he suffered nonetheless—for another community was being denied access to the Gospel. In his address to the 1935 Convention, Penick spoke directly to the issue of keeping so many churches alive:

This raises the question as to our Church's policy. Should we discontinue service in the so-called static missions, withdraw the

Priest in Charge, dispose of the property, and resign all hope of establishing the Church in these unpromising places? Such a course might be pursued in the interest of concentrated strategy. . . . I must confess, however, that the abandonment of any work that has been ministering to people and to communities in the name of Christ does not appeal to me. It is a selective method like Nature's law of the survival of the fit. The Church's law is higher than that.⁵³

Not surprisingly, the Convention supported Bishop Penick, and the Diocese continued to support every congregation that had any semblance of life.

The second problem concerned diocesan property. The trustees recognized that the three volunteers who were responsible for the Diocese's property could not keep up with their task without more help and a better system for tracking and maintaining the property. At the Convention of 1936, meeting in Warrenton, the trustees reviewed their dilemma—the lack of an inventory of mission property and inadequate insurance on the property, the need for professional advice in the investment of trust funds and the need to consolidate numerous small trusts into one account to facilitate investment, and the difficulty in maintaining accurate records.⁵⁴ The trustees then made recommendations for solving each problem. These were reviewed and approved by a special committee and, subsequently, by the Convention.⁵⁵

The next year, the trustees reported having entered into an agreement with the Security National Bank of Greensboro whereby the bank would act as custodian for all securities owned by the Diocese and arrange for the consolidation of all diocesan trusts into one fund for investment purposes. The trustees also reported that all instruments showing titles to land owned by the Diocese had been entered into book form, but noted that a problem still remained with periodic inspection of each property to ensure protection and maintenance. To solve the latter difficulty without individual action by the trustees, it was suggested that all property owned by the Diocese be insured against fire under a master policy.⁵⁶

By 1939 all property, including that of missions, owned by the Diocese was insured under one policy, although it was difficult for the trustees to secure reimbursement from the missions for this protection.⁵⁷ Several options were considered for enforcing this payment, but in 1941 the Convention voted to add the premiums to each mis-

sion's assessment.⁵⁸ In 1939, action was also taken to encourage the sale of unused property no longer needed for missionary purposes, with the proviso that the Department of Missions be consulted to ensure that the property had no further use in its program.⁵⁹

Finally, note should be taken of the impressive number of missionaries from the Diocese. In 1931, the Diocesan Journal listed sixteen, eight of whom were in foreign fields: the Reverend Francis Cox and Miss Laura Clark in China, the Reverend William F. Draper in Japan, Miss Bessie Blacknall in Alaska, Miss Mary Baker Jenkins in Cuba, Miss Mary Wood McKenzie in Liberia, the Reverend Jadi Levi Martin in Hawaii, and Miss Ellen T. Hicks in Puerto Rico. Another eight persons served in domestic fields: Miss Inez Middleton in Arkansas, Miss Roberta L. Lassiter in Georgia, Miss Mary Frances Young and Miss Brightsie Savage in Virginia, and Miss Mary A. Ramsaur, Miss Montie E. Horner, and Mrs. Albert B. Singleton in South Carolina. Miss Lillie H. Hill, who had an effective ministry for many years at St. Andrew's Mission near Leaksville, was also listed as a missionary from the Diocese.⁶⁰ The Woman's Auxiliary was particularly active in maintaining communication with these missionaries and in providing help from time to time for their projects.

Ministry to Blacks in the Diocese

During this period no issue proved more vexing in the Diocese—indeed, in the National Church—than policy and strategy with respect to the black churches.⁶¹ Within the Diocese one in every six churches was black, with a total that averaged twenty. Two were parishes—St. Ambrose's in Raleigh and St. Luke's in Tarboro; eight were organized missions; and ten were unorganized missions, though some of these were very active, particularly those in Louisburg and Henderson served by George W. Pollard, son of Archdeacon John Pollard who preceded Bishop Delany in the post of archdeacon. Although not an ordained clergyman, George Pollard was active in missionary work among blacks in eastern North Carolina for several decades.

The membership in these churches provided a little over 7 percent of the baptized persons and communicants in the Diocese, but by income, personal wealth, and other measures of economic standing they were disadvantaged. An average of eight black clergymen were

on the canonical rolls during this period; they typically received salaries significantly below their white brethren. Although diocesan committees, and even the bishops, from time to time pled for more self-support in black work, it is probable that that level of giving could not be expected.

Until well into the 1930s, the more rural black churches were not only centers of religious life but they also sponsored parochial schools—other avenues of education not being available. The reduction in the support of black work by the National Church and the increasing development of public schools gradually caused these schools to close. Although they had had marginal support and inadequate facilities, equipment, and other resources, they served as one of the primary supports for the churches in small towns and rural areas.

Although Bishop Cheshire and the Diocese had entered with reluctance into the experiment with a suffragan bishop, Bishop Cheshire was proud of Bishop Delany's performance and became protective of his welfare as Delany's health began to fail. For example, Bishop Darst of the Diocese of East Carolina wrote to Bishop Cheshire in January 1925, saying that perhaps the North Carolina Diocesan Executive Council would want to reexamine the arrangement for assistance from Bishop Delany in view of the fact that he had been able to visit only four places in the eastern diocese in 1924 and that diocese now employed a field secretary for work among blacks.⁶² In response, Bishop Cheshire pointed out that, although he could not tell the diocese what to do, the election of Bishop Delany had been conditioned in part on the commitments of East Carolina and other dioceses that desired his services. On the other hand, Bishop Cheshire admitted that it is "beyond question, I fear, that Bishop Delany's health is likely to interfere very directly with his work for the rest of his life." "The question now arises," he continued, "What shall we do with our old Bishops? The Pension Fund, should we wish them to retire, would give us an annuity of \$600. Shall we turn Bishop Delany over to the Pension Fund? That is the question." Later in the letter he observed that "in my judgment, this salary (\$2,800 annually) should continue as long as he may live."⁶³ The issue passed because Bishop Delany's health improved and for the next two years or more he was able to meet his obligations in the four dioceses with occasional help from other bishops.

As a suffragan bishop, Delany had no administrative functions

other than oversight of the Colored Convocation. Most of his reports to the Diocesan Convention were straightforward accounts of his pastoral functions. Occasionally he pointed out, almost deferentially, the need for more diocesan funds to supplement the appropriation from the National Church. He was concerned about salaries for black clergy as well as general support for black churches. In 1927, for example, he told the Convention that the Colored Convocation required at least \$16,000 a year, of which the National Church then provided \$9,500.⁶⁴ During that year the Diocese provided a little over \$4,500, for total support of about \$13,000.

Bishop Delany died in 1928, just before the Diocesan Convention met and in a year that the General Convention would consider the issue of work with black churches. After paying tribute to the character and performance of this "noble Christian Bishop," Bishop Cheshire noted the agenda of the General Convention, the efforts of the Committee on Evaluation with respect to work with blacks, and the probable meeting the next year of southern bishops to study the issue.⁶⁵ He therefore recommended that we "postpone all action, as to the necessity for special Episcopal ministrations for our Negro Clergy and people, in order that we may be in a position to cooperate in any general scheme which may be agreed upon by the authorities of our National Church."⁶⁶ A special committee was appointed, however, to consider "Special Episcopal Ministrations" to the black churches and to report to the next Convention.⁶⁷

In 1929 Bishop Cheshire and Bishop Penick devoted large sections of their annual addresses to this issue. Both bishops counseled delay in electing a new suffragan, but Bishop Penick went into some detail, stating that the previous year's work with the Colored Convocation had given him "a new appreciation of the serious disadvantages under which our Colored brethren are compelled to labor," approving the proposed election of a black member to the Executive Council, and reflecting at length on the proposal for a Racial Missionary District which the conference of southern bishops had, in a meeting in Atlanta in February 1929, gone on record as favoring.⁶⁸ The Convention adopted the proposal that "one colored representative" be elected to the Executive Council each year.⁶⁹ It also adopted the report of the special committee on "Special Episcopal Ministrations" to the black churches that, in view of the recommendation of the southern bishops, it was "inexpedient" to elect a new black suffragan bishop.⁷⁰

Bishop Penick and the Executive Council continued to experiment,

and by 1935 the Diocese had evolved the system that would govern work with the black churches until well after World War II. The Convention elected at least one black to the Executive Council for a three-year term, and at least one black—either the elected member or an associate member—served on each department of the Council. Black representation was assured on the diocesan-wide governing committees of such organizations as the Laymen's Association and the Woman's Auxiliary, although these organizations in black churches had their own districts. The distinction between white and black missions was eliminated, all missions being considered as "Diocesan Missions."⁷¹ In short, Church work was still segregated, but now black clergy and representatives participated directly in the Convention, the Executive Council, and other diocesan governing bodies.

Commenting on the work in black churches in his 1935 Convention address, Bishop Penick noted that "the time is at hand when we should stop making both white and colored people racially self-conscious by setting up differences within the family of God's children, a family where the white work is considered the normal function of the church, and the Negro work as a kind of appendix that threatens to weaken the health of the diocese. What, then, is the policy of our Diocese toward the Negro? It is to regard him and to treat him in that spirit of comprehensiveness which has always been the genius of the Holy Catholic Church, wherein there is 'neither Jew nor Greek, male nor female, bond nor free.'"⁷²

Meanwhile, the argument about the Church's policy regarding black clergy and people still raged at both the national and regional levels. When the 1937 General Convention authorized a Joint Commission on Negro Work, Bishop Penick was one of four bishops selected as members, the others being Bishop Stewart of the Diocese of Chicago (chairman), Bishop Scarlett of the Diocese of Missouri, and Bishop Demby, the black suffragan bishop from Arkansas. Four clergymen and four laymen, half of whom were white and half black, completed the membership.

The jockeying between the joint commission and the bishops in southern dioceses in the period before the 1940 General Convention is fascinating but outside the scope of this chapter except as it affected the Diocese of North Carolina. Bishop Penick was steadfast in his opposition to a Racial Missionary Episcopate, and in this he was joined by a majority of his colleagues from southern dioceses at their Atlanta meeting in 1938.⁷³ By 1940, however, a large majority of the

bishops in the Province approved a proposal to the General Convention for an optional Racial Missionary Episcopate, to go into effect if the bishop and Conventions of at least four dioceses in the region assigned their diocesan work with blacks to such a jurisdiction. Only the Dioceses of North Carolina and Upper South Carolina opposed this proposal.⁷⁴ Hindsight tells us that a Racial Missionary Episcopate would have been a mistake, particularly as seen from the 1960s or 1970s. Although the policy of Bishop Penick and the Diocese did not end segregation, it made it easier to eliminate the stain of segregation from diocesan organizations and institutions when the civil rights movement triumphed in the 1960s.

Diocesan-wide Activities as a Strategy

Bishop Penick provided the leadership as the Diocese moved into new forms of mission. In his first address, in 1923, he supported employment of a field secretary to work with Church schools; spoke with approval of the effort in Tarboro to bring religious instruction into the public schools; and requested support for the first convention of young people to be held in the fall, for a camp for fifty boys to be held that summer, and for the then current proposal to add religious education as an elective to the curriculum of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the latter effort to be in cooperation with Protestant denominations.⁷⁵ By 1924 the possibility of providing religious instruction in the public schools and of a course at the university had lost priority, but the strengthening of the Church schools, support for the new Young People's Fellowship, the financing of a summer camp for boys, and the provision of "a special student secretary" to work with university students at diocesan expense were again high on the bishop's agenda.⁷⁶

The Young People's Service League, benefiting from the full and enthusiastic support of Bishop Penick and from strong and continuing leadership from young people, was an instant success, and that success continued through what persons active in the 1920s and 1930s refer to as the "golden era."⁷⁷ First organized in 1924 with guidance from the Reverend Charles Scovil, then rector at St. James in Concord, the YPSL was provided full-time staff leadership by Mrs. Frank (Annie Hall) Challen of Greensboro from 1926 until 1931, when she moved over to St. Mary's House at the North Carolina College for

Women (now UNC-Greensboro) where she had begun organizational work as early as 1928. By that time the YPSL had developed its own reservoir of leadership, and, when budget difficulties prevented the hiring of another full-time staff member, the young people themselves undertook the organizational work with a clergyman serving as adviser. League officers from the 1930s have vivid and fond memories of traveling around the Diocese to meet with chapters in parishes and missions, and the “flivvers” that were used became enshrined in folklore.⁷⁸ Much of that leadership entered the ministry, and two officers of the YPSL—William J. Gordon, Jr., of Spray and Matthew George Henry of Chapel Hill—became bishops.

Bishop Penick also helped organize the first camp for boys, in cooperation with the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. Camp Finney for boys was first held in Little Switzerland in 1924. Camp Penick, the first two-week camp for girls, was opened in Little Switzerland two years later. From 1928 to 1930, both camps were held at Camp Chimney Rock in Lake Lure, under special contract with that private venture. The next year, 1931, was crucial. The Diocese could no longer afford the contract with Camp Chimney Rock, but early in that year it became known that the Winston-Salem Foundation held an old resort property in Stokes County that it was willing to improve and make available to the Diocese for a campsite and conference center at a minimal rental. The YPSL, anxious for summer camps and a permanent base, wanted to move ahead in 1931, but the Diocesan Convention was cautious about taking on a new responsibility and canceled the camps for 1931 while negotiations with the foundation proceeded.⁷⁹

By the time of the 1932 Convention, all doubts in Bishop Penick’s mind had been resolved. “Pursuant to the decision of this Convention last year,” he reported, “the Diocese has leased for a period of three years from the Winston-Salem Foundation, the property in Stokes County known as Vade Mecum Springs. The consideration was nominal.”⁸⁰ After noting that the foundation had spent \$15,000 to improve the property, the bishop stated:

Suffice it now to say that in the use of this property that has fallen so easily and at so little cost into our hands, we have an extraordinary opportunity to develop our own diocesan center. The program this summer calls primarily for young peoples’ camps. But this is only a beginning. Vade Mecum is more than a camp

site. It is capable of becoming an influential Church conference center, comparable to Kanuga or, on a smaller scale, to the Sewanee Summer Training School. Conventions, conferences, camps, retreats, summer vacation homes for the clergy and others at little expense are easily within the range of possibility and, indeed, are specified in the agreement with the trustees as activities to which the place will probably be devoted in the future.⁸¹

The bishop went on to urge a successful trial period and to complete the purchase of essential equipment. By 1933, under the leadership of the Reverend J. A. Vaché, rector of St. Andrew's Church in Greensboro, the Vade Mecum Committee could report a successful year and a small profit. By 1934, the Convention had approved a resolution authorizing the bishop to sign a new ten-year lease for Vade Mecum on expiration of the three-year lease in October.⁸²

Vade Mecum prospered and became an important institution in the Diocese. By 1939 a special committee proposed that the part-time business manager, the Reverend Alfred S. Lawrence, Jr., assume the position full time as well as be priest-in-charge of the missions at Walnut Cove, Germanton, and Vade Mecum, with residence at Walnut Cove. Mr. Lawrence accepted the call.⁸³ Attendance at Vade Mecum continued to grow, and the usefulness of the center for year-round conferences was increased by the construction of ten cabins, each holding a counselor and eight campers. Improvements in the property continued to be made with the aid of grants from the Winston-Salem Foundation. In addition, a successful farm program was carried out which by 1941 provided dairy products directly to the conference center.

In 1928 it was proposed, after several years of study, that the five dioceses in North and South Carolina purchase the Kanuga hotel property near Hendersonville for development as a conference center. Of the five, only the Diocese of North Carolina declined to participate, for the reason, as reported by the Executive Council, "that this Diocese was financially unable to assume the necessary obligations for the ownership and operation of the property."⁸⁴ In 1929, a committee of laymen was appointed to reconsider the proposal. This committee reported unfavorably, and the Council again declined the opportunity to be represented on the board.⁸⁵

At the 1937 Convention Bishop Penick recited this history, stating that at the time he "was in complete agreement with them [the Coun-

cil members] and felt that the Diocese should be grateful for their conservatism.”⁸⁶ With the lapse of time, the bishop noted, “Kanuga has now become the largest Conference Center in the Church. While it assumed no financial risk or other responsibility in the beginning when the project was experimental, this Diocese has since become a conspicuous beneficiary of this development. Last year the various Camps and Conferences showed the largest enrollment for North Carolina. We are in the unenviable position of sharing the benefits of Kanuga without carrying any of its burdens.”⁸⁷ Although acknowledging that the management had been “unfailingly gracious and hospitable” to the Diocese of North Carolina, Penick declared that “the time has come, in my opinion, when we should at least re-examine our relationship as a Diocese to Kanuga with a view to applying for official status.”⁸⁸ He went on to face up to the expected questions. “If allowed, this would in no sense detract from our responsibility for *Vade Mecum*. Experience has discovered that the two institutions have distinctive and not competitive offerings. By collaboration instead of separate planning, a program without conflict of special occasions in which our people are interested might be worked out, faculty members and speakers might be exchanged and each enriched by the experience of the other.” The bishop then suggested the appointment of a special committee to investigate the possibility of participation in Kanuga and to report to the 1938 Convention.⁸⁹

The special committee, chaired by the Reverend James McDowell Dick, rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd in Raleigh, sent representatives to the February 1938 meeting of the Kanuga Board of Managers in Columbia, South Carolina. After discussion between members of the committee and the board, the Kanuga board adopted the following resolution:

Resolved: that in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution, and to avoid unnecessary delay, the Diocese of North Carolina be elected as a participating Diocese of Kanuga Conferences.⁹⁰

At the 1938 Convention, the committee reported that, after making a thorough study of the constitution and financial report of Kanuga, it recommended that the Diocese accept this election. The comments attached to the report noted that the property was paid for, that debts incurred to make improvements were being paid off from income, and that the Kanuga constitution set forth a procedure for liquidating

the property if debts equaled as much as one-third the value of the property.⁹¹ The recommendation was adopted unanimously, and one of the lay members of the committee—John S. Holmes of Charlotte—was elected as a lay trustee of the conference center.⁹²

Although diocesan representation on the Kanuga Board of Managers began immediately, the Diocese itself incurred no obligations for Kanuga in the first several years of participation. It was an eventful time at Kanuga, however, for just after the first meeting with North Carolina representatives, Bishop Kirkman Finlay of the Diocese of Upper South Carolina, and president of the board of managers from the moment that Kanuga was acquired, died suddenly and leadership passed to Bishop Gribbin of the Diocese of Western North Carolina. Another notable event was completion (without debt) of the Chapel of the Transfiguration, dedicated to Bishop Finlay.

College work was more difficult. But the insistent advocacy of the Reverend Alfred Lawrence, rector of the Chapel of the Cross in Chapel Hill, began to make a mark, and from 1926 to 1928 Mr. Lawrence was given the services of a student assistant, Andrew Milstead. After 1928, when Milstead entered the seminary, there was no university chaplain or minister until the Reverend Thomas H. Wright was retained in September 1931. Mr. Wright served with much success until January 1933, when he was invited to oversee college work nationwide. During the same period work was begun at the North Carolina College for Women in Greensboro. With a gift from the Woman's Auxiliary and funds raised by the men in Trinity Church, Greensboro, the chapel of a small mission near the college was deconsecrated and remodeled as a chapel and gathering place for students at the college. Mrs. Frank Challen, then working with the YPSL across the Diocese, directed St. Mary's House (as the new facility was called) from 1928 to 1933.

Throughout the 1930s, positions were budgeted for college work but often were not funded because of a shortfall in acceptances. From time to time small appropriations were made to permit parish clergy to entertain students, and especially fine leadership was provided by the Reverend David W. Yates, rector of St. Philip's in Durham, in initiating work at Duke University. By 1941 the Diocese was supporting student workers for the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the Women's College, and Duke University, with entertainment support for parish clergy serving North Carolina State in Raleigh and North Carolina A&T in Winston-Salem.⁹³

Although Church schools were regarded as a most important element in the life of parishes and missions, little formal attention was given to diocesan support of religious education at the local level in the first years of this period. In his address to the 1927 Convention, Bishop Penick spoke at length on the need for Church school teacher training,⁹⁴ and the Diocese occasionally made small amounts of money available for scholarships to teacher training programs at Valle Crucis, Sewanee, Kanuga, and special programs offered within the Diocese.

In 1930, the Committee on Evaluation reported that it had “reached the unanimous conclusion concerning the advantage of employing a full-time Diocesan officer as Director of Religious Education,”⁹⁵ noting that “members of the Convention are aware that at present little is accomplished in the way of a Diocesan-wide program of Religious Education.”⁹⁶ Although the Convention approved this recommendation, the funds to support the position were not available. Nevertheless, the Diocese began to pay more attention to teacher training and finally, in 1936, Miss Maud Cutler was appointed director of religious education, her salary being met from the Church’s Program Funds and an appropriation from the Woman’s Auxiliary. This arrangement continued until World War II.

In 1930 and 1931, the Committee on the State of the Church made an ambitious effort to give a comprehensive review of life in the Diocese. Among other items its 1930 report dealt with organizations for both men and women. “[T]here are only twelve reported men’s clubs with a total reported membership of 722,” noted the committee, adding that it was “reliably informed” that only four were genuinely active.⁹⁷ Further, the report stated, there were only 8 chapters of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, of which 3 were in churches that also had men’s clubs. Therefore, organizations existed in only 17 churches (out of about 120). By contrast, there were 4 active women’s organizations—the Woman’s Auxiliary, the Woman’s Guild, the Church Service League, and the Daughters of the King—with 116 branches and a reported membership in 1929 of 4,295. The report observed, “Throughout the last ten-year period in which a study of diocesan missions was conducted the Woman’s Auxiliary was a shining light, sometimes raising more for this work than the congregation contributed for all other purposes.”⁹⁸

No organization related to the Diocese endured the difficulties of the depression with more stability of membership, program, and fi-

nancing than the Woman's Auxiliary. In only two years during the 1930s did the total raised by the auxiliary amount to less than \$20,000. Consistently the women contributed to the Church's program, supported specific missionary work overseas, ranked high in the National Church in the United Thank Offering, maintained a supply room, and carried out an impressive program for education and worship. Their activities in 1938 will illustrate the auxiliary's value. "In addition to the budget accepted for 1938, a special self-denial gift of \$750 was undertaken during Lent, to build a root cellar for Miss Blacknall's work at Neana and to buy the necessary pump and plumbing fixtures that will enable Archdeacon Simmonds to 'harness' a spring at Cape Mount, Liberia, and put water in the House of Bethany, St. John's School and a new hospital being built by Auxiliary funds. The Auxiliary in this diocese gave $\frac{1}{18}$ of the total increase in the United Thank Offering presented at Cincinnati and ranked 17th among the diocesan branches in its total U.T.O. gift."⁹⁹ It was this kind of special effort that distinguished the diocesan auxiliary, in addition to its regular giving and programs.

Organizations for men, as noted above, had a much different history. By 1935, however, moved by the experience of the Laymen's League nationally and by the example of lay leadership in 1934 in raising money to meet the financial crisis in the National Church, Bishop Penick expressed his "earnest hope that this National movement which has the endorsement of two General Conventions, will become a vital force in North Carolina. No diocese can boast a superior quality of lay loyalty than our own."¹⁰⁰ Although there was some resistance to men's organizations on the ground that the concept was just another way to raise money for the Church, by 1938 the diocesan organization reported that 29 branches had been chartered with a total membership of about 500, and that both an annual convention and a special retreat had been held.¹⁰¹ By 1939 membership had risen to about 1,000 and activities were varied, although they represented more the accumulated record of individual parish leagues than participation in the kind of diocesan-wide projects favored by the Woman's Auxiliary: "We have sent 50 boys to Camp Tise for a week's camping trip. We have sent several Church School Workers to various summer conferences, furnished two presents for every member of the Thompson Orphanage, distributed magazines to shut-ins, visited the sick, and kept up the Diocesan moving pictures."¹⁰² The black leagues, organized and operating separately, were responsible for establishing Camp Delany for black boys.

Just before World War II, then, Bishop Penick could look back on almost two decades of development of diocesan-wide activities for young people and men as well as women, acceptance of college work as a major missionary strategy, and diocesan assistance to Church schools in parishes and missions.

Diocesan Institutions

Of the many institutions that reported annually to the Diocesan Convention, only two were properly diocesan institutions—St. Mary's School and Junior College and the Thompson Orphanage. St. Mary's School, which had been purchased by the Diocese early in the episcopate of Bishop Cheshire, was repeatedly referred to by him as "that greatest of our Diocesan enterprises."¹⁰³ The orphanage, established while Cheshire was rector at St. Peter's in Charlotte, was fondly regarded by a large number of communicants in the Diocese.

Throughout this period St. Mary's was under the leadership, first, of the Reverend Warren Way, who retired as rector in 1932 after fourteen years of service, and then of Mrs. Ernest Cruikshank, who succeeded Way as principal in 1932 and became president in 1937. The school survived the financial crisis of the depression and, as the period ended, approached its one-hundredth anniversary. From an enrollment of about 40 at the time of purchase, the number of students (boarding and day) climbed to around 200 in the late 1920s; enrollment declined to about 125 during the depression but had more than doubled just before World War II. In 1927, the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges of the Southern States granted accreditation as a junior college, but the continuing concern with the focus of the institution had not been resolved at that time. For a time in the late twenties, consideration was given to changing the status of St. Mary's to that of a full four-year college, and a special committee of educators studied the question in 1930. In the same year it reported to the board of trustees that the "immediate objective of the School [should] be the improvement and development of St. Mary's as a Junior College," with the longer-term objective being expansion into a four-year college.¹⁰⁴ Although an effort was made to phase out the high school curriculum in the late 1930s, this was not done.

The Diocese, with encouragement from Bishop Cheshire, periodically committed itself to some financial support of the school, but

pledges failing to reach budgeted amounts generally prevented the contributions from meeting commitments. For example, a commitment in 1923 to increase the school's endowment by \$25,000 with payments of \$5,000 for five years, beginning in 1924, fell woefully short, although enough was contributed to assure the school's accreditation. Actually, the Diocese did better in the shoestring days of the thirties, when for several years it made annual appropriations of about \$3,000. Perhaps because the school began returning a small but consistent annual profit, the Diocese discontinued this assistance in 1938. With the support of Bishop Penick, the Diocesan Convention of 1937 approved the recommendation of a special committee that the Diocese's memorial to Bishop Cheshire be a new library at St. Mary's, to be named in his honor.¹⁰⁵ With the intervention of World War II, St. Mary's efforts to raise funds for this and other purposes had to be postponed until after the war.

Soon after the Reverend William H. Wheeler replaced the Reverend Walter J. Smith as superintendent of the Thompson Orphanage, the 1923 Convention authorized a special study of that institution's building needs, to be conducted in cooperation with committees from the Dioceses of East Carolina and Western North Carolina. The cost of the improvements was fixed at about \$150,000, but, in a response that was long remembered—at least in the Diocese of North Carolina—the sum of \$224,000 was subscribed, with gifts from this Diocese alone exceeding the \$150,000 requested.

As Bishop Penick noted in his 1925 address, new buildings increased the cost of maintenance. Accordingly, he proposed that the diocesan appropriation be increased from \$13,000 to \$21,000 annually in 1926.¹⁰⁶ Actual disbursements in 1927 were \$20,000, but there was confusion in the financing of the orphanage in the 1920s. By canon, a special offering for the institution was always taken on Thanksgiving Day, and, although this amount was not anticipated in the budgets adopted in advance, it was always credited to the quotas asked from each parish and mission. By the early 1930s the Executive Council had changed the manner in which it treated appropriations for the Thompson Orphanage, budgeting only the amount to be disbursed from quotas. The problem was not solved until 1937, when the Convention ruled that the Thanksgiving Day collection would not be credited to quotas. However, that action confused so many communicants that the quotas asked for that year were undersubscribed by 25 percent.¹⁰⁷

In any event, just before World War II the contribution from diocesan program funds leveled off at \$4,000. Of a total budget of a little over \$30,000, Superintendent Whisenant estimated that about two-thirds came from the Thanksgiving Day Offering and gifts from the dioceses and individual churches.¹⁰⁸ Although total giving for the orphanage's support was somewhat less than it had been in the late 1920s, the Thompson Orphanage secured special gifts to meet such needs as children's clothing, and a major part of its food continued to be provided from farm operations. Both the Woman's Auxiliary and the Laymen's Association took an active interest in supporting projects at the orphanage.

Institutions Related to the Diocese

Throughout this period, the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, St. Augustine's School in Raleigh, and three hospitals—St. Peter's and Good Samaritan in Charlotte, and St. Agnes in Raleigh—made it a practice to report to the Diocesan Convention annually. Although the Diocese of North Carolina, along with all the other southern dioceses, held an ownership interest in Sewanee, it did not own the other institutions. But because the latter were Church institutions located in the Diocese, they were, as Bishop Cheshire remarked, "an important element and influence in our Diocesan life."¹⁰⁹

Perhaps no commitment made by the Diocese caused more pain over a long period of time than its pledge to raise \$60,000 for the Sewanee Million Dollar Endowment Fund Campaign in 1919. As of 1922, \$19,000 of that amount remained unpaid. In 1925 Bishop Penick told the Convention: "In 1922 this Convention made a generous move in the interest of religious education. It voted to assume a debt of \$19,000 to complete the Diocesan quota for the . . . Endowment Fund. This, and other similar actions by other Dioceses, enable the University of the South to take advantage of the conditional gift of \$300,000 from the General Education Board."¹¹⁰ The bishop urged that means be found to pay off this debt, noting how the annual interest of about \$1,000 could meet other diocesan needs. By the time the note to Sewanee fell due in 1927, however, some \$15,000 was still due. With the help of several laymen, this amount was borrowed and the obligation to Sewanee was paid off. A special fund-raising cam-

paigned in 1929 produced only about \$4,000 of the amount owed; through the initial depression years the Program Fund gradually provided sums to reduce the debt, until it was finally paid off in 1932.

The University of the South had financial problems, as did every Church-owned institution in those difficult years. In response to requests from Sewanee for support, Bishop Penick asked in his 1937 address that \$500 be appropriated annually for that purpose. In 1940 the amount was raised in the budget to \$2,000, but acceptances allowed only \$500 to be paid. In his 1941 address, the bishop made still another attempt in behalf of the university. Referring to the failure to raise the \$2,000 budgeted, Penick said: "The reduction of 75% in this item was a severe disappointment to Sewanee's administration, particularly since this diocese did not take part officially in the Rehabilitation Fund of over \$400,000 that the Vice-Chancellor has raised in recent years, nor have we adopted a Sewanee Sunday in North Carolina, as we have been urged to do. The question may be asked with fairness, whether North Carolina, as one of the owning dioceses, has discharged its full obligation to Sewanee since its contribution to the Endowment Fund about fifteen years ago."¹¹¹ Noting that the National Church was asking each diocese to designate a Sunday to emphasize the needs of the theological seminaries and to take a special offering toward their support, he suggested that the Convention adopt a date for Theological Sunday and that the offering be given to Sewanee, with quota credit, unless there was local objection.¹¹² The Convention adopted his proposal, although broadening it to Sewanee Sunday—in recognition of the responsibility of the Diocese to that university.¹¹³

As for the hospitals, the annual report to the Convention was a courtesy, for they were administered and financed locally, or, as in the case of St. Agnes, administered and financed by St. Augustine's. During the twenty-year period, the only action taken by the Diocese was an occasional, and relatively small, appropriation in support of St. Agnes. In 1940 Bishop Penick closed his address by listing some of the projects he wished he had time to discuss. One was "the well-considered obliteration of St. Peter's Hospital to secure for this city the Charlotte Memorial."¹¹⁴ Another was the "ambition of St. Agnes' Hospital, Raleigh, to rehabilitate its present building and to erect a new unit at a total cost of \$125,000."¹¹⁵ Both St. Agnes and Good Samaritan remained important institutions in these years, for southern hospitals owned by and for blacks were rare, as were nursing

schools, and patients and students came from many other locations, inside and outside the state, to use these facilities.

Although St. Augustine's has never been a diocesan institution, it was created in North Carolina, served this state and Diocese most directly, and enjoyed the leadership of the Bishop of North Carolina as *ex officio* chairman of its board of trustees for many years. As Bishop Cheshire noted in his review of a thirty-year episcopate in 1924, in the early years of this century he had traveled far and wide with Dr. A. B. Hunter, then principal, to assure support for the institution from the National Church.¹¹⁶ This support continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s through the American Church Institute for Negroes, but the amount of support fell off sharply following the financial crisis of the depression.

The growth of public school education for blacks brought a pronounced change in St. Augustine's mission. Instead of emphasizing secondary education, the school began to move toward college-level work. Junior college courses were offered first in the early twenties, and by 1928 the decision had been made to seek four-year college status.¹¹⁷ In that year the school was renamed St. Augustine's College, and Dr. Edgar H. Goold, until then principal, became the first president. Fortunately, major needed construction was undertaken in the 1920s, for when the impact of the depression hit the National Church and its institutions, support for St. Augustine's suffered. At the urging of Dr. Goold, support for St. Augustine's was included in the diocesan budget for the first time in 1934, but the amount of that support never exceeded \$1,000 annually prior to World War II. Despite its difficulties, however, St. Augustine's had become and remained the country's major college for blacks sponsored by and supported by the Episcopal Church.

The significance of the college for black churches in the Diocese of North Carolina cannot be emphasized too strongly. Its faculty and administrative officers provided support for the black clergy, and its graduates were active in black parishes and missions throughout the Diocese. Both as a center for worship and as a participant in diocesan affairs, St. Augustine's provided leadership for black churches. For some years during the 1930s, National Church and college officials considered moving the Bishop Payne Divinity School, the only seminary devoted to the training of black clergy, from Petersburg, Virginia, to St. Augustine's. One barrier was the need to raise money for construction of a seminary building on the campus. There was always

a concern in the National Church, however, that the quality of education in the seminary did not meet the standard of the Church's other seminaries, and just before World War II it was proposed that, if a seminary of quality could not be developed, the divinity school should be closed and the proceeds from the sale of its facilities used to provide scholarships for black students at other seminaries.¹¹⁸ The projected move to St. Augustine's never took place.

The Diocesan Newspaper

The Carolina Churchman lurched from one financial crisis to another during the 1920s and early 1930s. Every year a new expedient for expanding circulation, securing copy, and meeting financial obligations was proposed or tried, and the paper survived until the death in 1935 of the Reverend T. Hall Partrick, rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd in Raleigh and one-time editor. At that point, with debts exceeding revenues, *The Carolina Churchman* also died.

The format died, but the institution survived. In 1936, after all its debts were paid, *The North Carolina Churchman* resumed publication, with a new board, a new business plan, and a new editor, the Reverend Frank E. Pulley.¹¹⁹ With a subscription list that hovered around 1,000, sufficient revenue was not available and circulation did not achieve the purpose of informing the entire Diocese of current activities. Finally, in 1939, a committee recommended to the Convention that individual subscriptions be eliminated and that the paper be sent to all families and single individuals on the rolls, with the vestry or mission committee of each church budgeting twenty-five cents annually for each family or individual member.¹²⁰ By 1941 circulation under this plan was up to around 7,000, the paper was breaking even, and for the first time it was reaching all church members in the Diocese.¹²¹

Social and Political Issues

During these two decades of rapid economic growth followed by the travail of the Great Depression, only once did the Diocesan Convention directly face a statewide issue that confronted the Church. Occasionally, to be sure, resolutions were submitted and

routinely adopted touching on such subjects as endorsement of the World Court and obedience to the Constitution and laws of this country with specific reference to the Eighteenth Amendment.¹²² But these issues were not considered carefully.

The textile workers' strike in Gastonia in 1929, accompanied by violence and unrest, was brought to the convention by Bishop Penick in his address in 1930. Citing the presence of the Church in many of the towns where unrest had occurred, and declaring that "wherever human beings are concerned there is the interest and the business of the Church," the bishop called on the Convention "to exercise some measure of foresight" and "to anticipate the further industrializing of our social order." He continued: "Just how the Church should endeavor to apply the ideals of Christ to the industrial order I do not know. I am not acquainted with anyone who does know. But I believe it is our duty to find out."¹²³ After noting the contribution that political economists, historians, and theologians can make, he stated: "With the idea and determination of facing up to this responsibility that is sweeping upon the Diocese with a swiftness that even the most conservative can scarcely deny, I propose that this Convention create a special committee . . . to make a thorough investigation and study of the whole question of the Church and Industry in this Diocese."¹²⁴

Although Bishop Penick called for a report to the next Convention, a motion was made just after his address that a special committee be appointed to consider the issue and report on the last day of the present Convention.¹²⁵ The delegates approved the motion and named a committee of three, chaired by the Reverend Norvin C. Duncan of Cooleemee, one of the industrial towns where an active church was established, with lay members from Rocky Mount and Concord. The committee reported on the following day and its report was adopted. The text is interesting. Acknowledging the traditional policy that the Church "take no part in its official capacity in the determination of measures of a political nature," and the "danger in making facile declarations of opinion on controversial subjects to the discussion of which practical men of affairs will consider that the Church brings inadequate knowledge and experience," the committee nevertheless concluded that the "issue is one which cannot be evaded."¹²⁶

The committee tried very hard to avoid taking sides:

In a great, vital human problem of this kind, shall we say that the Church has no part? On such things as the physical and spiritual deterioration caused by excessive hours of labor; the attrition on

social, family, community, and religious interests involved in the night work of women and children in factories, can it be that the Church has no mind? And if it has a mind, shall it be deterred by self protective timidity from saying some word of encouragement to those to whom the Master came that they might have life and have it more abundantly? . . .

The Church has indeed no formula for such problems. . . . But the Church does bring a spirit which can overcome the world, an approach and a point of view in which are implicit the adjustments and the solutions of all human relationships.¹²⁷

In this spirit, the committee concluded: "Believing that the Church comes to her harassed children, both among employers and employees, with healing gifts in her hand, we recommend the following resolutions:"

1. That the clergy, both in the pulpit and in pastoral ministrations, give increased attention to the human problems arising out of the industrialization of our state, and the adjustment of interests on a basis of equity and justice, and in a spirit of human brotherhood.

2. That to those of the Church's children who are leading actors in this remodelling of our civilization, we express our sympathy in the intricacy of their problems, and our confident hope that in approaching these problems, they will be animated by an earnest desire to build upon the solid rock of justice, fairness and Christian consideration of the welfare of all of God's people.¹²⁸

Although the committee also recommended the appointment of another committee to study these problems further and to report to the next convention, the issue was not mentioned again except, fleetingly, by the Committee on the State of the Church in 1936.

Evangelism

Two major diocesan-wide preaching missions were held between 1923 and 1941, one sponsored by the National Church and one by the dioceses in the Fourth Province. In his first address to the Convention in 1923, Bishop Penick had discussed the value of preach-

ing missions as “a belated recognition of the transforming power of evangelical preaching in which the facts of the gospel are presented with sympathy and directness.”¹²⁹ Later, he asked whether, as a diocese, “should not we adopt some kind of method or plan whereby the faithful ministrations of the local minister may be stimulated and supplemented by the occasional prophetic voice of the stranger?”¹³⁰ Although steps to implement a diocesan policy had faltered, the Bishops’ Crusade was held in early 1927, with four persons from outside the Diocese—a bishop, two clergymen, and a layman—serving as leaders and preachers. Both Bishop Cheshire and Bishop Penick noted, in their 1927 addresses to the Convention, that the program was a great success. As Bishop Penick said, “We have witnessed a remarkable revival in evangelistic preaching.”¹³¹ Bishop Cheshire called particular attention to extension of the Crusade through special services and programs in parishes and missions after the Crusade was over.¹³²

In the fall of 1931, after the General Convention, a Teaching Mission on the Great Commission was held in the Province. Bishop Penick, who was a major participant in the program, both in this and other dioceses, explained its purpose to the Diocesan Convention that year: “Its aim is to re-present the claim upon us of Christ’s final imperative to ‘go into the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.’”¹³³ Aware of the growing impact of the depression, Penick continued: “Our missionary spirit is showing symptoms of anaemia. Our Church needs to be born again. The timeliness of this Teaching Mission makes us think that the Holy Spirit has prompted it. For man’s extremity has always been God’s opportunity.”¹³⁴ Then, noting the impact of the depression on both the lives and the religious beliefs of “even Faithful people,” and the stages of reaction to adversity, he concluded that the Church was now in the third stage of reaction, one requiring hard thought, originality, and venturesomeness in order to find “seeds of renewal and fresh hope in a hopeless situation.” And so, the bishop concluded, “The Teaching Mission seems to offer the impetus and inspiration that we so sorely need. It looks like God’s answer to our extremity.”¹³⁵ Predictably, the mission brought no magical solutions, but spiritual advantages cannot be measured in material terms.

No more diocesan-wide programs were carried out during the remainder of the 1930s. This is not surprising in view of the immense planning that preceded the efforts in 1927 and 1931. With only one

full-time diocesan officer, the Diocese could not easily bear the burden of preparing for such ventures.

The Diocese and the Bishop—Poised for the War

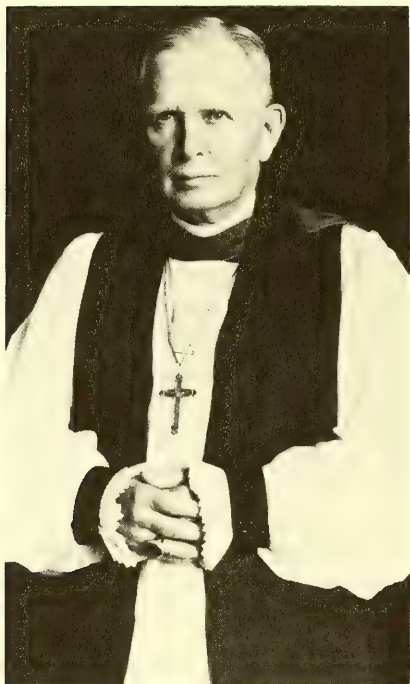
By 1941, the Diocese was becoming aware of the impact of the war in Europe and the defense program in this country. Its churches contributed more than \$4,500 to the Aid to British Missions Fund authorized by the 1940 General Convention.¹³⁶ Further, in response to a suggestion from Bishop Penick, the 1941 Convention authorized appointment of an Army Camp Commission to facilitate, if necessary, help to parishes and missions that might be faced with an influx of men from new military installations established near them.¹³⁷

As the nation prepared for war, the Diocese was administratively organized so that it could continue a Spartan program during the war years. Although Bishop Penick did not fit the patriarchal model of Bishop Cheshire, his was a strong episcopate. For the first time program strategy and funds, however limited, were firmly in the hands of the diocesan. He was adept at juggling clerical assignments to meet the needs, albeit minimum needs, of 120 congregations. He could counsel and motivate the clergy, despite the difficult pastoral problems he encountered from time to time. At the same time, he could cajole and mollify mission committees who wanted full-time clergymen without full financial responsibility.

From the beginning of his episcopate, Bishop Penick had seen the opportunity for diocesan-wide activities and organizations involving young people and men, in addition to the long-standing work of the Woman's Auxiliary. He had recognized the importance of work with college students and was beginning to push for the support of chaplaincies in the annual budget. He had seized the special opportunity at Vade Mecum, which was now the acknowledged diocesan camp and conference center. Major diocesan institutions, such as St. Mary's and the Thompson Orphanage, had survived and were healthy if lean. Penick's policies with respect to black churches became a model for the time and made it easier for the Diocese to deal with the trauma of the 1960s' civil rights movement.

With clerical and lay support, love, and respect, Bishop Penick was prepared to lead the Diocese through World War II, but he never lost

the flexibility required to meet the challenge of the postwar years: the suburbanization of the cities, the growth in higher education, the expanding economy of the cities in the Diocese. The 1920s and 1930s were critical years for the development of diocesan policies and institutions. North Carolina was fortunate to have as bishop a man of faith, of determination, of administrative talent, of spiritual leadership, with the will to carry the Diocese forward in difficult times.



*Edwin Anderson Penick, sixth bishop
of the Episcopal Diocese of North
Carolina, 1922–59.
Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina,
Raleigh.*



*Processional for the consecration of Edwin Anderson Penick,
St. Peter's Church, Charlotte, 1922.
Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.*



Cheshire Hall, Vade Mecum, 1961.
Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh.



Richard Henry Baker, seventh bishop
of the Episcopal Diocese of North
Carolina, 1951–65.
Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina,
Raleigh.

The Revival of Religion, 1941-1959

L. BARTINE SHERMAN

As this chapter begins, America stood on the brink of complete involvement in what was then still primarily a European war. In 1941, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt signed the Atlantic Charter, and Hitler invaded Russia, bringing another great power off the sidelines and into the action. In the United States, the Selective Service Act was extended and the earlier manpower limit imposed on the army was eliminated. Both by the draft and by voluntary enlistment, the number of men and women entering the armed forces increased. Industry went into high gear to provide the tools for war, and the nation was on the move. By the end of the year, Pearl Harbor had proved the fears of all Americans to be justified, and what we had known, against our wills, to be almost inevitable, was a reality: we were involved in another war to end wars. Nearly twenty years later, as this chapter ends, Russian and U.S. satellites were orbiting around the earth; Nikita Khrushchev controlled both state and party in the Soviet Union, while Dwight David Eisenhower was nearing the end of his second term as president of the United States. In France Charles De Gaulle began his first seven-year term of office, and in Cuba Fidel Castro, to almost universal acclaim, overthrew the Batista regime.

What happened within the Diocese of North Carolina during these years? Statistics tell only a part of the story, but they do give some indication of the extent of the changes related in this chapter. In 1941, the total budget of the Diocese was roughly \$60,000; by 1959 it had increased fivefold, to over \$300,000. At the beginning of the period, Bishop Penick had jurisdiction over 64 clergymen canonically resident in the Diocese; by 1959, only 8 of these were still active in the Diocese, but the total had increased to 107, with 2 bishops at work. Although the number of congregations had not increased appreciably, and the number of parishes only from 46 to 53, a considerable

change had taken place in the proportion of organized to unorganized missions; in 1941 there were between 35 and 40 of each, whereas in 1959 there were 56 organized missions, many of them on the threshold of parish status, and only 18 unorganized missions. The communicant strength of the Diocese had grown over these years from 13,500 to nearly 21,000. The largest parish in the Diocese in 1959 did not even exist in 1941.¹

The War Years

Direct effects of the war on the life of the Church in the Diocese of North Carolina were, in the main, undramatic and deemed then little worthy of note compared with Guam and Guadalcanal, Libya and Sicily. Gas rationing meant a curtailment in the number of meetings, and in attendance at such as were held. Clergymen made their pastoral calls on bicycle or on foot, or else limited themselves to one neighborhood at a time. A resolution presented by the chancellor at the 1942 Convention suggested that all Church work go on as usual, except that Church expenditures be held to necessary items, and that meetings be "omitted or curtailed as to time or attendance when so decided by the governing board of such body."²

Perhaps the war's greatest direct impact on the Diocese centered around the various military installations in the area: Morris Field in Charlotte, Camp Sutton at Monroe, Camp Butner near Durham, Camp Mackall at Hoffman, and a Training Depot at Greensboro.³ Two thousand air cadets were in training at one time at the University of North Carolina, forcing the removal of the 1942 Diocesan Convention from the Chapel of the Cross, as originally planned, to St. Mary's School in Raleigh.⁴

Parishes near these installations sought ways to be of service; St. Philip's Church, Durham, for example, opened a canteen for servicemen, with Saturday night dances and a Sunday night open house.⁵ The clergymen of these parishes, particularly when there was no Episcopal chaplain on the base, acted officially or unofficially as civilian chaplains. In the fall of 1942, the Reverend William P. Price resigned as priest-in-charge of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Asheboro, and St. Paul's, Thomasville, to become a full-time civilian chaplain at Camp Sutton, supported by the Army and Navy Commission; the Reverend Rufus J. Womble, while continuing in charge

of St. Mark's, Roxboro, and Christ Church, Milton, served also as civilian chaplain at Camp Butner.⁶ Less than a year later, Mr. Price was a uniformed chaplain, as so many of the diocesan clergy were to be, but the camp had already begun to grow smaller, and the position he left vacant was not filled.⁷

A quotation from Vade Mecum's annual report to the 1943 Convention gives another indication of the impact of the war on the Church: "The Senior Boys camp had groups named the 'Commandos' and the 'Mad Russians,' etc. The Senior Girls groups were named 'Flat tires,' 'Empty tanks,' 'Rubber scraps,' etc. Camp Tise carried on an active campaign to gather up scrap metal—two full truck-loads."⁸

An action that might well, in later years, have been severely criticized as Church involvement in political matters was taken at the 1944 Convention. Recognizing that the draft would probably affect the supply of candidates for the ministry, as Bishop Penick warned in his Convention address,⁹ the Convention authorized the appointment of a special committee to investigate this matter and to report to the bishop and the Standing Committee. There followed this further resolution: "That the Standing Committee be empowered to express, in such manner as it may deem appropriate, to any government authority such protests or views as the Standing Committee shall deem proper."¹⁰ This was sweeping authority indeed for the Convention to delegate to any committee!

The Church was not content simply to "keep the home fires burning" during the war years. "Forward in Service," a movement that got both its name and its impetus from Presiding Bishop Tucker's sermon at the 1940 General Convention, was aimed at recalling every communicant of the Church to be an evangelist. A Forward in Service Committee, appointed within the Diocese, sponsored a diocesan-wide teaching mission in the spring of 1943.¹¹ And Bishop Penick set certain three-year goals for the Diocese, both in terms of organization and of growth.

One of the significant developments in terms of growth during these years, however, was not the result of any campaign, but was the child of gas rationing. A survey in Charlotte found that over two hundred children of Episcopal families lived in the Myers Park area, where there was no Episcopal church. To remedy this situation, an "Episcopalian Emergency Sunday School" was begun in February 1943, first meeting in the Charlotte Country Day School. By July the

school had been organized as a mission of the Diocese, under the name of Christ Church, with one hundred families as members; it was admitted as a parish in union with the Diocesan Convention the following year.¹² By 1959, this wartime expedient had become the largest parish in the Diocese.

One great loss to the Diocese during the war years was the death of the Reverend Roma C. Fortune, who, himself deaf, had served as diocesan missionary to the deaf from his ordination to the diaconate in 1918 until his death in 1942. Of him Bishop Penick said in the 1943 Convention address, "We never heard the sound of his voice, but we never failed to catch the muted sweetness of his personality, and the message of a life that was eloquent above words."¹³ In 1944, Mr. Fortune's son, James R. Fortune, was ordained and assigned to continue his father's work.

The work of another pioneer continued apace throughout the war. Miss Lillie Hill was for many years a missionary in Rockingham County and known particularly for her work at the county prison camp and jail. In 1941 she initiated the Penn-Carolina Bible Conference, many of the participants being from Pennsylvania. The conference had a strong evangelical emphasis; the well-known "Daddy" Hall of New York was a leader at the 1943 conference.¹⁴ "Miss Lillie's" work, supported by the Diocesan Woman's Auxiliary, continued throughout this period.

In earlier years, as indicated in the preceding chapters, the Diocese emphasized institutional work: schools, hospitals, and the Thompson Orphanage. In 1942, however, the separation of St. Agnes Hospital from St. Augustine's College presaged a generally decreasing emphasis on such work, coincident with a greater involvement of federal, state, and local government in these areas. As a result of that apparent organizational realignment, the ties between the hospital and the Diocese gradually lessened, although the administrator continued to make an annual report to the Diocesan Convention. It was reported to the 1959 Convention that St. Agnes would be closed on the imminent opening of the new Wake County Memorial Hospital.¹⁵

Retooling for Growth

With the coming of peace, the Church as a whole and the Diocese in particular began to set in motion the machinery con-

sidered necessary to meet the challenges provided by a rapidly changing society. The first few years of this period, roughly from 1946 to 1950, were marked by a national drive to reestablish the overseas missions, many of which had been brought practically to a standstill by the effects of war; and by various efforts within the Diocese to carry out its mission more effectively. At the same time, the Diocese was strengthened by the return of the clergymen who had been serving as military chaplains and the lay leaders who had been serving in the armed forces, including some who would shortly assume roles of parish and diocesan stature for the first time. Also during these few years, the number of men seeking ordination nearly tripled: in 1946 the Diocese listed eleven postulants and candidates for Holy Orders; in 1950 there were twenty-nine.

One priority of the National Church during these years was the Reconstruction and Advance Fund, authorized as early as 1943 by the General Convention, to be initiated by the National Council as soon as the war ended. Its purpose was to provide funds to rebuild the overseas missions of the Church that had been destroyed, damaged, or closed as a result of the war. In his 1945 address, Bishop Penick told the Convention that, of the \$5,000,000 goal, \$81,000 was established as the diocesan objective.¹⁶ Two years later he announced that a total of \$90,000 had been subscribed.¹⁷

Also in his 1947 address, the bishop introduced a subject that was to be, for the rest of his episcopate and indeed to this day, of major concern in the Diocese: the need to provide Church facilities in suburban areas that had been spawned by the growth of the cities. Seeking to allay the fears of the downtown churches, he stated his firm conviction that these new congregations would not seriously weaken the parent church; to the contrary, he said, they would strengthen the work of the Church in the city. Bishop Penick then issued a challenge that went beyond this particular issue and spoke to the needs of the time: "Ceaseless pioneering, which is Christianity, scorns to hug the shore."¹⁸ Additionally, the bishop reported that the Diocesan Executive Council had asked the bishop and the Department of Missions to "draft a plan for the systematic improvement of our present missionary structure, including an Advance Work program for the expansion of existing work, and the rehabilitation especially of the physical property of our Negro Churches."¹⁹ Noting that a thorough survey of the seventy-five missions of the Diocese would be necessary to meet this request, Penick asked that the issue be referred to the Ex-

ecutive Council for investigation and action. The Committee on the Bishop's Address, however, believed these two matters were so closely related, and of such importance, that its chairman moved that the bishop appoint a special committee on missionary planning and policy, to report with specific recommendations to the 1948 Convention. The resolution was carried and Bishop Penick appointed a committee chaired by the Reverend Matthew George Henry, then rector of Christ Church, Charlotte.

The special committee's report to the 1948 Convention gives evidence of the considerable amount of work it performed during the year.²⁰ A greater emphasis, however, seems to have been placed on strategy than on policy, and the recommendations included in the committee's report bore little immediate fruit. The first of these called for a strengthening of the Diocesan Department of Missions by adding associate members from various sections of the Diocese, by requiring the department to submit an annual report to the Convention that would provide certain specific information, and by requiring the department to meet annually with representatives of any mission receiving financial aid from the Diocese to work out a financial plan for the ensuing year. Finally, it was suggested that the department consult with the bishop on the possible rotation of mission clergy. This recommendation was adopted by the Convention.

The committee's second recommendation, for a travel allowance for the mission clergy, was referred to the Executive Council. No action on this recommendation was reported by the Executive Council to the 1949 Convention. The third recommendation, that the bishop appoint a committee to investigate the advisability of setting up a Diocesan Building Fund, was referred to the bishop. (The Capital Improvements Fund and the establishment of the North Carolina Episcopal Foundation, to be discussed later, may have had their original impetus in this recommendation.) The fourth recommendation, that two archdeaconries be established in the Diocese, was referred to the Department of Missions and apparently died there, having been rendered unnecessary by the decision, made at the same Convention, to elect a bishop coadjutor.

The final recommendation called for action by the Department of Missions, to whom the recommendation was referred, and in the possible establishment of new missions in various localities in the Diocese, including Charlotte, Durham, Raleigh, Rocky Mount, and Greensboro. (In the next section of this chapter, we will see how and

when new congregations were actually formed in these places.) Two days after the report was presented, the committee's chairman, the Reverend George Henry, was elected Bishop of Western North Carolina.

The question of whether to give the bishop more assistance in the administration of diocesan affairs had been debated as early as 1941, when a Special Committee on Assistance to the Bishop investigating the matter reported its findings to the Convention.²¹ This committee was faced with an impossible task: in response to its inquiry, Bishop Penick had stated that the recreation of the Office of Executive Secretary "under existing conditions would hardly be warranted." He had further said, "I do not care at this time to ask for either a suffragan or a bishop coadjutor, or even archdeacons, unless the sentiment of the Convention should demand it." The committee pointed out that many members of the Convention had favored giving the bishop some form of assistance, although the Convention had never officially expressed itself on the subject other than by the appointment of committees. The committee report went on to suggest that the bishop's alternate proposal, that of placing greater responsibility with the chairmen of the various departments of the Executive Council, failed to recognize the fact that these persons already had substantial commitments apart from their membership on the Council. The committee believed that there might be some merit, however, in establishing four convocations, whose deans, presumably, might take some of the administrative load.

Having said all this, the report then ended, abruptly and anticlimactically, but not unexpectedly, with two resolutions: "That the wishes of the Bishop be followed in that assistance to the Bishop not be offered at this Convention"; and "that the Convention assure the Bishop that if and when he desires administrative assistance, the Convention will do all in its power to see that such assistance is provided." The Journal of Proceedings does not show that there was any debate on these resolutions, but merely that both were passed, the latter by a rising vote.²²

During the war, it is unlikely that such assistance could have been provided, even had the bishop wished it. That is where matters stood until 1947. The diocesan office was a one-room wing to the bishop's residence, and the diocesan administrative staff was comprised of the bishop and a part-time secretary. At the April 1947 meeting of the Executive Council, the Bishop was given some assistance, presum-

ably at his own request: he was authorized to purchase a dictating machine!²³ But greater things were yet to come. In the following month, in his address to the Convention (the same address that also initiated the survey of missionary strategy already discussed), Bishop Penick himself, “with considerable reluctance,” introduced the question of increased episcopal assistance.²⁴ Both his expressed reluctance to discuss this question, and his remark that “the personal aspects of this subject should be set aside as irrelevant,” suggest that his own wishes were unchanged. In his opinion, a suffragan bishop—an almost indispensable aid in great metropolitan areas—would be inappropriate in the Diocese of North Carolina. A bishop coadjutor, he continued, was not altogether desirable either, in that the unity of the Diocese would almost necessarily be impaired by such a twofold leadership. However, perhaps the time had come when the welfare of the Diocese required the service of more than one man. He did not suggest that this was the case; in effect, he asked the Diocese—through a special committee to be appointed—to give thought to this question and to submit its findings to the next Convention, “with the view to the possible election of a Bishop Coadjutor at the Annual Convention of 1950.” The episcopal address of 1947 concluded on a nostalgic note, that year being the twenty-fifth anniversary of Penick’s election as bishop.

The Committee on the Bishop’s Address reported in such a way as to indicate its own certainty about the answer to the question raised by Penick: “Whereas the extent of the work of the diocese has so expanded under our present Diocesan; and the consequent need for episcopal assistance has become so pressing,” the Bishop’s suggestion should be accepted. A resolution was offered and passed by the Convention asking the Bishop to appoint a special committee to study the issue.²⁵

This committee, through its chairman, the Reverend F. Craighill Brown, then rector of Emmanuel Church, Southern Pines, reported to the 1948 Convention, as instructed.²⁶ It found that “there is now, and there has been for some time, need for assistance to the bishop of this diocese.” Notwithstanding the considerable ability of the diocesan, the committee recognized that the burden was too great for any one man. Because a suffragan bishop would require direction and guidance, thus adding to Bishop Penick’s responsibilities, the committee offered a resolution to the effect “that a bishop coadjutor for this diocese should be elected as expeditiously as possible,” on the

canonical grounds of the extent of diocesan work; and that the Convention should petition the diocesan to give his consent to such an election. A substitute motion was then made to defer this question until the next Convention, when a report on the issue of diocesan boundaries would be presented.

During the year between the Conventions of 1947 and 1948, Brown, on behalf of his committee, had written to all the clergy of the Diocese, all vestries and mission committees, officers of the Woman's Auxiliary, and others, seeking their opinions and ideas on the subject of episcopal assistance. The Reverend James S. Cox, then rector of St. Paul's Church, Winston-Salem, had responded with an alternate proposal; copies of his letter were sent to many in the Diocese, and it was also printed in *The North Carolina Churchman*.²⁷ Cox pointed out that North Carolina was unique in the Fourth Province in that it was the only state divided into three dioceses, that the communicant strength of the Diocese of North Carolina was greater than that of the other two combined, that the same was true of the total monetary receipts, that the Diocese of Western North Carolina was smaller in communicant strength than twelve of the missionary districts of the Church, and that such "unequal distribution of communicant strength and wealth cripples the work of the Church in a large area of our State . . . while one strong central Diocese is not able to capitalize on its own resources; the fact that we are now considering increased episcopal supervision is evidence of this." Cox therefore proposed a redivision of the state into only two dioceses, with the line running north and south roughly between Greensboro and Durham. Each new diocese would require two bishops, giving increased episcopal supervision to the whole state; and the division, according to Cox, would more nearly follow the line of cultural difference between east and west in the state. His proposal, which provoked considerable discussion, ended with the statement that the present division of the state was "inefficient, unstatesmanlike and unfortunate."

The editor of *The North Carolina Churchman*, writing in the same issue in which Cox's letter was printed,²⁸ found much to be said in favor of the proposal and commended Cox for his "courageous suggestions." The Reverend A. Rufus Morgan, of Franklin in the Diocese of Western North Carolina, a man well-known for his missionary work among the mountain people, offered an alternate proposal in a letter to the editor.²⁹ In his opinion, any diocese large enough to need two bishops was too large; what was needed were smaller, not

larger dioceses. Therefore he proposed that the Diocese of North Carolina cede some of its territory to each of the two other dioceses in the state.

In his address to the 1948 Convention, Bishop Penick gave a clear indication of his own views on the matter. He introduced the issue of diocesan boundaries by saying, "I have had occasionally reason to think that some discussion was going on" concerning this.³⁰ Reminding the Convention that it had considered the question in 1935 and had determined then that the boundaries should not be changed, Penick said that he saw no reason why the subject should be reopened. The remainder of this section of his address gives some insight into the bishop's personality:

In saying this, I do not mean to influence the judgment of this Convention if you should decide it is desirable to revive the discussion. If, in the opinion of this body, there are good and sufficient reasons why this whole issue should be reexamined, I would, of course, acquiesce in your wishes. In such case, however, I would want it to be understood that this acquiescence has reference only to any new study of the subject that may be undertaken by a Special Committee, and does not apply to any findings or recommendations that such a committee may offer a year from now. My consent to the reconsideration of this subject now must not be construed as my canonical approval, at any future time, of any readjustment of diocesan territory that may be proposed.

The bishop has also been quoted as having, in a more informal setting, paraphrased a famous contemporary: "I was not elected Bishop to preside over the dissolution of the Diocese of North Carolina."³¹

The Committee on the Bishop's Address offered a resolution calling for the appointment by the bishop of a committee to study this question, to confer with similar committees from the other two dioceses if they were appointed, and to report its findings to the 1949 Convention. Action was deferred on this resolution so that the chancellor of the Diocese, Francis O. Clarkson, might read a letter he had received on the subject from Chancellor Grimes of East Carolina. This letter suggested similar action, but was more specific as to the membership of the special committee to be appointed. Clarkson then offered a substitute motion, embodying the suggestion from Chan-

cellor Grimes. After considerable discussion, Clarkson's substitute motion carried.

The two other dioceses in North Carolina held their Conventions within the week. Resolutions passed at both of these Conventions were identical to the North Carolina resolution in all respects save one: whereas the North Carolina resolution called for the three diocesan committees to report "severally" to the succeeding Conventions, the other two resolutions used instead the word "jointly." This difference did not escape the eye of the bishop; however, the Chancellor of Western North Carolina observed that there really was not any substantial difference, for "we will not be able to do anything anyway if North Carolina does not join with the other two."³²

It was at this point in the 1948 Convention that the Committee on Increased Episcopal Supervision made its report, and it was in light of these developments that the rector of St. Philip's Church, Durham, the Reverend Clarence R. Haden, Jr., offered the substitute motion, referred to earlier, that would defer any action having to do with the election of a bishop coadjutor until after the report to the 1949 Convention of the Committee on Diocesan Boundaries. After considerable debate, the substitute motion was defeated, and the original resolution, calling for the election of a bishop coadjutor and requesting the consent of the diocesan, carried. The bishop gave his consent and announced that the election would be held at the regular annual Convention the following year, subject to the necessary canonical consents.

This action effectively ended the proposal to reconsider diocesan boundaries. However, the committee to study this question was appointed; held two joint meetings during the year with the committees from the other dioceses, as well as meeting alone; consulted clergy and laity of the "border counties"; and invited opinions and ideas from the Diocese at large. One response to this request, from the Reverend C. Alfred Cole of Charlotte, was printed in *The North Carolina Churchman*.³³ Rather than using Cox's statistics, Cole chose to base his argument on the figures relating to the proportion of Episcopal communicants to the population as a whole. On the basis of these figures, he advanced the proposition that the Diocese of North Carolina was not really a strong diocese, and that the border counties, where the percentage of communicants to the total population was generally smaller than the national figure, would therefore be hindrances rather than assets to east and west. Cole proposed that the

status quo be maintained, particularly in light of the decision to elect a coadjutor for North Carolina.

It was undoubtedly no surprise to the Convention of 1949 that the report of the Committee on Diocesan Boundaries came to the same conclusion, if not by the same route.³⁴ Its study, according to the chairman, the Reverend James McDowell Dick of Raleigh, had revealed no "evidence indicating the necessity or advisability of changing" boundaries; in view of the decision to elect a coadjutor, the committee recommended no further action on this matter. The *Diocesan Journal* reports that "considerable discussion" followed; in the end, of course, the report was adopted.

It has been necessary to interrupt the account of the proceedings leading to the election of a bishop coadjutor because of the close connection between diocesan boundaries and episcopal assistance. Now we can return to the point at which the decision was made, in 1948, to prepare for an election without waiting for a report concerning the boundaries. Following this decision, the Convention authorized the Standing Committee to appoint a committee of three clergymen and three laymen to receive nominations, to secure information concerning the nominees, and to report to the 1949 Convention. The senior presbyter of the Diocese, the Reverend R. B. Owens, was named chairman; during the year, Owens found it necessary to resign this position, and the Standing Committee appointed the Reverend I. Harding Hughes, chaplain of St. Mary's and editor of *The North Carolina Churchman*, to serve in his stead.

The 133rd Annual Convention of the Diocese met in St. Philip's Church, Durham, on 10 May 1949, with the expectation of electing, before adjournment, its first bishop since the election of the young Edwin A. Penick as coadjutor twenty-seven years earlier. The necessary canonical consents having been received, the routine business of the Convention was handled with dispatch, and, late in the evening of the first day, nominations for the office of bishop coadjutor were called for. The names of nine clergymen were placed before the Convention; all but one, the Reverend Moultrie Guerry of Norfolk, Virginia, were priests canonically resident in the Diocese: the Reverend Mr. Cox of Winston-Salem, who had proposed the redivision of the state into two dioceses; the Reverend Mr. Dick of Raleigh, chairman of the committee that recommended no change in the boundaries of the Diocese; the Reverend Mr. Brown of Southern Pines, chairman of the Committee on Increased Episcopal Supervision; the Reverend

Mr. Haden, rector of the host parish, who had sought to delay the decision to elect until the question of boundaries had been settled; the Reverend Mr. Cole of Charlotte, whose article in *The North Carolina Churchman* supported the status quo regarding diocesan boundaries; the Reverend Ray Holder of Raleigh; the Reverend Gray Temple of Rocky Mount; and the Reverend David W. Yates of Chapel Hill.³⁵

On Wednesday morning, Bishop Penick read his official consent to the election of a bishop coadjutor. The canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church require that such consent include a specific statement as to that part of the diocesan's jurisdiction the bishop will assign to the bishop coadjutor when he is consecrated. Bishop Penick's statement was as follows: "I assign to the Bishop Coadjutor, when ordained and consecrated equal share with me in visitations of all the parishes and Missions in the Diocese."³⁶ There followed the proviso that the duties and responsibilities of the coadjutor might be extended in the future.

Hughes reported for the committee appointed to provide information on the nominees, and then the balloting began. In the election of a bishop, a Diocesan Convention in effect becomes a bicameral body, with a House of Clerical Deputies and a House of Lay Deputies, the latter voting by parishes rather than as individuals. This procedure, referred to as "voting by orders," requires a majority vote in both orders for an election. There being fifty-one clergymen present and entitled to vote, and forty-four parishes represented, an election would require the concurring ballots of twenty-six clergymen and twenty-three parishes. After twenty-four ballots without an election, a motion was offered for adjournment, the Convention to reconvene on the call of the Standing Committee. A substitute motion to adjourn sine die was carried by a substantial majority, and the Convention was over, at about 7:30 P.M. The adjournment sine die meant that nothing more could be done officially until the 1950 Convention. In the summer of 1949, one of the former leading nominees left the Diocese: the Reverend F. Craighill Brown resigned as rector of Emanuel Church, Southern Pines, to become dean of the School of Theology at the University of the South.

In his address to the 1950 Convention, Bishop Penick informed the delegates that, in order to elect a coadjutor, it would now be necessary to begin almost from the beginning, except that they would not have to seek again the canonical consents to hold an election. He urged the Convention to proceed: "The need that was apparent two years ago has now become urgent. Time presses on, and doors of opportunity

are closing.”³⁷ He suggested that a Special Convention be held in September, with the expectation that a coadjutor could be consecrated and begin his duties in January 1951. He also suggested that, in light of the experience of the previous Convention, a Nominating Committee be formed.

This section of the episcopal address was referred to a special committee, which reported to the Convention on the following day. It agreed with the diocesan on all points: the need for additional episcopal supervision was urgent; a bishop coadjutor should be elected at a Special Convention, to be held in September at St. Mary’s School; and a Nominating Committee should be appointed—to consist of three laymen and three presbyters under the chairmanship of Ralph Bouligny, a layman from Charlotte—to present three or more names. After some discussion, the report of the special committee was adopted.³⁸

So on 14 September 1950, clerical and lay delegates met once again to elect a bishop coadjutor.³⁹ The report of the Nominating Committee, which had been released earlier, described the considerable labor that had been expended to find those best qualified for the office. It then presented the names of the five men whom the committee would nominate, some of their qualifications, and, in the case of clergy from outside the Diocese, letters of recommendation from around the country supporting their candidacy. Two clergymen in the Diocese would be nominated: Clarence Haden and Gray Temple, the latter one of the three leaders in the balloting at the earlier Convention. Brown had already left the Diocese; Cox, during the summer of 1950, announced his resignation from St. Paul’s to accept a call to Emmanuel Church, Baltimore. The other three nominees were from outside the Diocese, although one had served earlier in North Carolina: Iveson B. Noland of Louisiana, formerly rector of the Church of the Holy Comforter in Charlotte; Richard H. Baker of Maryland; and Paul D. Wilbur of Lexington.

As the Special Convention got under way, the official report of the Nominating Committee was presented, followed by a call for other nominations. At this point the names of three more diocesan clergymen were introduced: the Reverend C. A. Cole of Charlotte, a nominee at the earlier Convention; the Reverend Thomas J. C. Smyth of High Point; and the Reverend Daniel W. Allen of Reidsville. The Reverend John Page Williams of Virginia was also nominated from the floor.

At the time of the 1949 Convention, delegates from the organized missions of the Diocese had no vote in the election of a bishop; in the interim, however, the diocesan constitution had been amended to allow one-quarter of a vote to each organized mission in union with the Convention.

The opening ballot indicated that the choice would probably lie among four of the nominees: Haden, Temple, Baker, and Cole. It is interesting to note that all four of these clergymen, as well as Noland, would become bishops. Cole led in the clerical order for the first two ballots, and Haden in the lay order. On the third ballot, Baker and Cole shared the lead in the clerical order, and Temple and Cole in the lay. The fourth ballot showed no substantial change. On the fifth ballot, a trend toward Baker began, culminating in his election on the seventh ballot. A motion to make the election unanimous was ruled out of order by the chair, but the Convention did register unanimously and by a rising vote its loyalty to the bishop coadjutor-elect and its determination to follow his leadership. The Nominating Committee was appointed to inform Dr. Baker of his election, and the Convention stood adjourned.

The man whom the Convention had elected, the Reverend Richard Henry Baker, was widely known throughout the Church. Fifty-four years old at the time of his election, he had served by far the greater part of his twenty-year ministry in one parish, the Church of the Redeemer in Baltimore. A native of Virginia, he had attended what Virginians refer to as "The High School, The University, and the Seminary": Episcopal High School in Alexandria, the University of Virginia, and the Virginia Theological Seminary. His college career had been interrupted by two years' service in the army in World War I. Before going to Baltimore, he had been a chaplain and teacher at the Virginia Episcopal School and a college chaplain at Louisiana State, as well as receiving parish experience in Virginia. Under his leadership, the Church of the Redeemer had grown from a membership of 250 to over 2,000. In the spring of 1950 the Virginia Seminary awarded him the Doctor of Divinity degree, which cited in particular his talents, natural and acquired, as a pastor.⁴⁰

Dr. Baker was consecrated in the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, on St. Paul's Day, 25 January 1951, by the Right Reverend Henry K. Sherrill, presiding bishop. On assuming his duties as bishop coadjutor, he established his residence and offices in Greensboro.

In addition to the election of a bishop coadjutor, three other events of some importance occurred during the transitional period that followed World War II. In 1947, the Executive Council removed college work from the Department of Youth and established it as a separate department of the Council.⁴¹ College work was still a relatively minor activity in the Diocese, with only one full-time college chaplain other than the chaplain of St. Mary's, the Reverend Bertram C. Cooper at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. The creation of a separate department provided the necessary diocesan machinery to adapt the work of the Church to the rapid increase in numbers of college students that still lay in the future.

In his address to the 1948 Convention, Bishop Penick spoke of the continuing need for evangelism, but also of the need for new techniques and vehicles for the proclamation of the Gospel in a changing world. He therefore requested the Convention to create a Commission on Evangelism to prepare a program of training for evangelism in the Diocese during 1949. The Convention responded by authorizing the bishop to create such a commission, and shortly thereafter referred to it one of the recommendations included in the report of the Committee on the State of the Church. However, there is no record that the commission was established or that any members were appointed.⁴²

The matter of reasonable compensation for the mission clergy of the Diocese was first introduced by the bishop in his address to the 1946 Convention, at which time the Convention established minimum salaries of \$1,800 a year for an unmarried priest and \$2,400 for a married priest; a rectory was provided for both.⁴³ From time to time, the Diocese reviewed this policy, increasing the minimum figures in pace with the cost of living. This was done in 1950, in 1953, and again in 1955, when the minimums were set at \$3,300 and \$4,000, respectively.

Change and Growth

One of the first major tasks of the new bishop coadjutor was to lead a Diocesan Survey. In 1950, the Episcopal churches of Charlotte had conducted a survey of the Church's needs in that city under the direction of the Reverend Joseph G. Moore of the National Council's Unit of Research and Field Study. In the same year the Di-

ocesan Executive Council approved in principle the proposal that a similar survey be conducted for the entire Diocese.⁴⁴ At the 1951 Convention, Bishop Penick asked for and received authorization to form a Commission on Diocesan Survey, which would undertake the survey under the direction of the same unit of the National Council.⁴⁵ The diocesan then established the commission and appointed Bishop Baker as its chairman. This substantial undertaking occupied much of the coadjutor's attention for the next two years. By the time Bishop Baker reported to the 1952 Convention, nearly all the work of the survey had been completed, but the recommendations of Dr. Moore and his associates were not expected until the fall.⁴⁶ It was therefore not until the 1953 Convention that Bishop Baker was able to give a full report, including a concise history of the survey and the methods used.⁴⁷

In many places throughout the Diocese, recognition of the need to establish new congregations needed no encouragement from the Diocesan Survey. In Raleigh, more than fifty persons met in February 1950 to express their interest in forming a new mission in the northwestern section of the city; two months later, St. Michael's Church was organized, with 117 charter members.⁴⁸ In May, the vestry of St. Paul's Church, Winston-Salem, gave its formal consent to the formation of a new church in the Ardmore section of that city; in November, St. Timothy's Church was officially organized by Bishop Penick.⁴⁹ The need for these two churches had long been recognized, and the organization in each case was the culmination of discussion started some years earlier. In 1950 the same process was beginning in Chapel Hill, where the Chapel of the Cross purchased land in the Glen Lennox area with the intention of forming an Episcopal congregation. In January 1952, the Church of the Holy Family was organized, with Maurice A. Kidder, a former Methodist minister who had been confirmed only a month previously, as lay reader-in-charge.⁵⁰

None of these churches can be attributed to the Diocesan Survey. The organization of later congregations, however, even if not in direct accord with the recommendations of the Unit of Research and Field Survey, was undoubtedly influenced by the survey. These would include St. Francis's Church, Greensboro, which was established as a mission of Holy Trinity Church on 1 November 1954 and admitted as a parish in union with the Convention in 1956, as well as four new missions that were also organized in 1956: St. John's, Charlotte; St. Luke's, Durham; and St. Andrew's and Christ Church, Rocky Mount.

Beginning with Christ Church, Charlotte, and including the eight other new churches named above, the emphasis was on establishing new congregations in the suburban areas of the growing cities of the Diocese. The last of these to be established during Penick's episcopate was St. Stephen's, Durham; on 12 March 1959, the bishop attended the first formal meeting of those interested in forming this congregation and received from them a petition for organization. This was one of his last official acts, and it remained for the new bishop to act on this petition, which he did on 21 April.

Some congregations within the Diocese began a new life after moving their location in accordance with the findings of the Diocesan Survey. Two examples are found in Charlotte. The Church of the Holy Comforter, whose long uncompleted building in the Dilworth section was hemmed in by gas tanks and business establishments, moved to a handsome location in the same section of town, on a main thoroughfare but in a residential area, and began to grow almost immediately. St. Andrew's, the only Episcopal church to the west of the railroad tracks, found that almost all of its members had moved from that area, and that the northern part of the city did not have an Episcopal church nearby. Reverting first from a parish to a mission, St. Andrew's—with the help of some members of other congregations who transferred their membership for a limited time—moved to this completely new section. Before long it was able to regain its parish status and to continue its former growth.

New congregations were also being formed outside the cities. The Episcopal Church had been at work in Davidson for many years, at least on an occasional basis. As early as 1890 a group of communicants in that town had sought to establish a church; in the late 1940s and early 1950s, regular services were held there for students and townspeople. In 1956, St. Alban's Church was established and a building erected the following year. The mission was formally organized by Bishop Baker on 12 May 1959, the opening day of the Convention, and so just in time to be admitted into union with the Convention without having to wait another year.⁵¹

Trinity Church in Fuquay Springs, St. Matthew's in Mooresville, and St. Mark's in Siler City complete the roll of churches organized during these years. Unfortunately, these three did not have the same opportunities to flourish as did the suburban missions, and their future history was often painful.

The years between 1950 and 1959 witnessed not only the formation of many new congregations, but also a period of extensive building,

as nearly every city parish in the Diocese found it necessary to add to its facilities, or to renovate and expand existing structures. Whereas from 1947 to 1949, churches in the Diocese spent a total of roughly \$160,000 a year on construction, during 1956–58 the annual figure had increased to \$800,000. Where did this money come from? Particularly in the case of the newly established missions, it was desirable to build the first, all-purpose unit as quickly as possible; at the same time, a commercial loan was often difficult to negotiate, and the necessarily high interest rate would place a heavy burden on a new congregation, often composed primarily of young couples with mortgages of their own.

As noted above, at the 1948 Convention, the Committee on Missionary Planning and Policy had recommended the appointment of a committee to investigate the possibility of setting up a Diocesan Building Fund. The Convention simply referred this recommendation to the bishop, and there is no record that such an investigating committee was ever formed. However, five years later, in his address to the 1953 Convention, Bishop Penick proposed the creation of a Diocesan Capital Improvement Fund comparable to the (National) Episcopal Church Foundation, which had been established by the General Convention in 1949. Penick's proposal was based on the findings of the Diocesan Survey: that \$500,000 could be spent advantageously for capital expansion in the Diocese in the succeeding few years, and that such a fund could provide loans at a low rate of interest over a number of years.⁵² The report of the Executive Council to the same Convention contained a resolution requesting the Convention to authorize a campaign to raise \$500,000 during 1954. This resolution was referred to the Committee on the Bishop's Address.⁵³ When the latter committee reported, however, the relevant resolution made no mention of the request for a fund-raising campaign; it merely moved that the bishop be "directed" to organize a Diocesan Foundation, the directors of which "shall encourage individuals and businesses in the Diocese to make grants to the Foundation." The motion offered no guidance as to how these grants might be used by the foundation.⁵⁴ Shortly after this motion was passed, the Reverend Thomas J. C. Smyth moved that the Executive Council be authorized to launch a diocesan-wide campaign if it should so see fit. The motion was defeated by a margin of eleven votes.⁵⁵

At a meeting of the clergy in January 1954, a consensus was reached that, during the year, the Diocese should concentrate on meeting its

goal of \$40,000 for the \$4,000,000 national Builders for Christ campaign, for capital needs at home and abroad. Rather than consolidate a diocesan campaign for capital funds with Builders for Christ, it was agreed that the campaign for local funds should be scheduled for 1955. In his address to the 1954 Convention, Bishop Penick proposed that, in view of the clergy's decision, the Convention "initiate and promote a capital improvements fund drive to be administered by the Trustees of the Episcopal Church Foundation, particularly for the benefit of our Diocesan missionary structure. I propose that the goal of this endeavor be \$300,000 and the date of its completion the Annual Convention of 1960."⁵⁶ The Convention increased the goal to \$500,000, assigned direction of the campaign to the Executive Council, and specified that it would start in 1955 and be concluded no more than five years later, and preferably sooner. The report of the Committee on the Bishop's Address assumed that the money would be used as a revolving fund.⁵⁷

Professional fund-raisers were employed by the Executive Council to direct the campaign, which was still in progress when the 1955 Convention met. However, in a letter of 2 June 1955, Bishop Penick announced that nearly \$550,000 had already been raised.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, the Diocesan Foundation authorized by the 1953 Convention had been formed and incorporated; appointed as the directors were twelve lay leaders, all of whom were prominent businessmen. A "Statement of Policy" said in effect that, although a substantial portion of the funds administered by the foundation would be set up as a revolving loan fund, and the foundation would consider applications for grants and gifts, some of the funds would be set aside as a corpus to attract further gifts; only the interest from this money would be used. In the opening paragraph, this statement describes itself as being "in effect an operating statement of policy," the result of study and exploration by clergy and lay officers of both the campaign and the foundation.⁵⁹ It is not indicated by whom it was adopted, nor to what degree it was an official statement.

At the bishop's request, the 1955 Convention cleared up a slight ambiguity in its action of the previous year, by designating the foundation as the administrator of the fund. An attempt was made to specify what percentage of the fund would be for endowments; when this proved unsuccessful, the matter was left to the discretion of the foundation's board of directors.⁶⁰ By the Convention of 1959, two grants had been made, totaling \$8,500; loans outstanding amounted

to \$190,000. According to the terms of the campaign, all pledges were due in 1958; however, at the end of March 1959, over \$100,000 in pledges had not been collected. The foundation reported a "working capital" of approximately \$300,000.⁶¹ Some of the outstanding payments of pledges, in both cash and checks, were later reported to have been found in the safe in the diocesan office.

During this same period, the Diocese itself became involved in building projects. For some years, the Episcopal chaplain at Duke University had shared a small office in the crypt of the Duke Chapel with the Lutheran chaplain; Episcopal services were held in a small side chapel in the same building, and meetings of Episcopal students were held in various places depending on their availability. In 1956, the Convention informed the Duke administration that the Diocese intended to build an Episcopal Student Center on the campus within two years.⁶² Funds to construct this center were raised through a diocesan-wide campaign that also included the Diocese's share for the completion of All Saints' Chapel at Sewanee.⁶³ In April 1958, the land on which the Student Center was to be erected was leased from Duke University for fifty years, the rental of \$4,950 being paid in full at the time.⁶⁴ In December, ground-breaking ceremonies were held, and construction was started the next spring.

As mentioned earlier, the diocesan office during this period was a room in Ravenscroft, the bishop's residence. Bishop Baker occupied offices in Greensboro, which he later shared with the Reverend Edwin B. Jeffress, Jr., who became Diocesan Director of Christian Education in 1952. In 1951 the Convention asked the diocesan to appoint a committee to investigate the need for a headquarters building in Raleigh, including the alternate possibilities of purchasing an existing building or erecting a new one.⁶⁵ Such a committee was appointed, with the Reverend James McDowell Dick of Raleigh as chairman; it reported to the 1952 Convention that "it is in complete accord that in due time" the Diocese should have a separate headquarters building; the committee asked to be continued so that it might report further to the next Convention.⁶⁶ This report was received and ordered to be printed in the *Journal*, but no action was taken.⁶⁷

No further report was received from this committee, and after a year it was dropped from the *Journal's* listing of diocesan committees. In 1956, however, Chairman Dick moved that a special committee be appointed to study the need for a diocesan headquarters and report to the next annual Convention. The motion passed and, at the request

of the diocesan, the coadjutor appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Ralph H. Bouligny.⁶⁸ The committee's preliminary report, which summarized the types of headquarters occupied by other dioceses, was simply presented by title to the 1957 Convention.⁶⁹ The following year a fuller report was presented. It pointed out that, after Bishop Penick's anticipated retirement in 1959, some sort of diocesan offices would be essential, because the coadjutor had already indicated that he would ask for an assistant bishop, whom he would want to live in Raleigh so that the two bishops could maintain a close working relationship. The committee suggested what facilities and offices the proposed headquarters would contain, and estimated that such a building would cost approximately \$100,000. Specific recommendations included the renovation of Ravenscroft House in Raleigh as a temporary headquarters; the eventual sale of that property to St. Mary's School, which adjoined it; the preparation of preliminary studies and plans for the proposed new building; and the appointment of a committee to secure a site.⁷⁰ The Convention directed the committee to proceed with the work as outlined in its report, and the coadjutor appointed additional committees to negotiate with St. Mary's and to acquire a site for the new headquarters.⁷¹

By the time of the 1959 Convention, it appeared that the new headquarters building would soon be a reality. When informed by a special committee that a piece of land in Cameron Village, Raleigh, appraised at \$40,000, had been offered to the Diocese for \$10,000, the Convention authorized its purchase. The Convention also approved the committee's recommendation that Ravenscroft House be sold for \$10 to St. Mary's School, which would take possession on completion of the new headquarters. Finally, the Convention authorized the Finance Department of the Executive Council to proceed with its proposed method of financing, which would not require a special campaign for funds.⁷² The next day, however, when it appeared that new information had come to the attention of the Convention, these three recommendations were reconsidered and the whole matter referred to the special committees for further study. The Executive Council was then authorized to take final action regarding site acquisition.⁷³ Ravenscroft House was later renovated and used as the diocesan headquarters throughout Bishop Baker's episcopate. A new diocesan headquarters building in Raleigh located on St. Alban's Drive was constructed in 1964 and dedicated in January 1965.

A major diocesan institution—the Penick Home for the Ageing—

had its beginnings during this period. The possibility of such an institution was first proposed as early as 1949. In his Convention address of that year, Bishop Penick asked, "Does not the Church have a responsibility to care for unfortunate old people, especially those of refined sensibilities, who shrink from the charity of tax-supported institutions, and who look to the Church, of which they have been faithful members, to supply the simple needs of their declining years?" Pointing out that such a project could probably not be operated on a sound financial basis for many years, the bishop proposed that the Diocese undertake a careful survey of needs, costs, and the operation of similar institutions. His proposal was "commended" by the Convention.⁷⁴ Later, he asked the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Executive Council to investigate the possibilities.⁷⁵ The matter apparently lay dormant for some time, however; the Reverend William P. Price, chairman of that department, reported to the 1955 Convention only that a neighboring diocese had received a gift of a Home for the Aged, and that his department was still considering this matter: "a gift in this regard here would be quite acceptable."⁷⁶

The following year Bishop Penick reintroduced the idea of establishing a "Home for the Aged" in his Convention address. He reported that, although the department's study had aroused some interest, a few small donations had been made, and some large potential gifts had been indicated, the intervention of other and more urgent needs had delayed the project. He asked the Convention to take the necessary steps to revive the interrupted study and to look toward some kind of action the ensuing year.⁷⁷ The Convention, however, went even further. It authorized the bishop to appoint a standing committee "empowered to promote such a home, accept gifts for it, and to formulate definite plans concerning its establishment and operation."⁷⁸ The standing committee should be instructed to make successive annual reports to the Convention until the project was operational.

This action, which was more than the bishop had asked for, was interpreted by him—and by the standing committee he appointed accordingly—as approval of an Episcopal Home for the Ageing.⁷⁹ During the first year, the committee, chaired by H. T. Cosby of Charlotte, was concerned primarily with organization and with a study of similar institutions. The Episcopal Home for the Ageing was incorporated, a committee on location was appointed, and bylaws were adopted. In 1957 the Convention was asked to endorse a plan that would allow the home's board of directors to proceed with a

campaign for funds, given the approval of the Diocese's trustees.⁸⁰ The Convention, after discussing whether it should reserve to itself the right to approve such a plan, gave the authority for approval to the Executive Council instead.⁸¹

The next two years were spent in further study, including a needs assessment conducted by the Reverend Kenneth E. Nelson of the Episcopal National Council. At the end of this period, the directors of the home reported to the 1959 Convention that, in their opinion, one or more such homes were needed, and that it was time to begin soliciting for funds. They recommended, therefore, that the first home be known as "The Bishop Edwin Anderson Penick Memorial," and that they be authorized to initiate a campaign for \$250,000 for the development and construction of one or more homes, with the assistance of professional fund-raising counsel. No site had yet been chosen, and no specific plans were presented.⁸² Before this report was introduced, however, the Committee on the State of the Church had presented a thorough and occasionally controversial review of diocesan affairs. In the last section of this report, it recommended that, because an increasing percentage of the state's population was over sixty-five, a special committee should be established to study the whole question of ministering to the ageing, rather than merely the provision of a home or homes.⁸³

Each of these reports was referred to a special committee, and discussion of the entire matter was made a special order of business. The committee to which the report on the state of the Church was referred reported first; it offered a resolution calling for detailed information from the directors of the home, including a statement of the home's purpose; the number, type, and location of homes proposed; the designation of who would be responsible for their management; suggestions for raising capital funds; the method by which money for current expenses would be obtained; and any other pertinent details, such as the number of residents the home or homes would accommodate.⁸⁴ This resolution was laid on the table while the Convention heard the report of the second committee, which apparently suggested that the Convention endorse the recommendations offered by the home's directors.⁸⁵ The motion from the committee to study the report on the state of the Church was then placed before the delegates and an amendment offered to the effect that no fund-raising campaign should be conducted before the next Convention, and then only with the Convention's authorization.

There then ensued a lively debate. On the one hand, delegates were

asked to place their trust in the home's directors whom they had elected, allowing them to proceed without requiring detailed information; on the other hand, there was concern as to whether such a home would best answer the needs of the ageing in the Diocese. The Convention was reminded that it had authorized the Executive Council to approve the drive for capital funds, and that therefore the directors had gone beyond what was strictly required of them in asking the Convention to give its approval.⁸⁶ Finally the amendment carried, as well as a further amendment calling for an inquiry into the possibility of extending the program of the Thompson Orphanage to include the care of the ageing, and the motion as twice amended was passed. It should be noted that the directors of the home later provided the detailed information requested, a campaign for funds was conducted, a site in Southern Pines was donated, and the Penick Memorial Home opened its doors to its first residents in 1964.

Although the idea of combining the program of the Thompson Orphanage with the care of the ageing proved to be unfeasible, substantial changes had taken place at the orphanage during this period. Over the years, the city of Charlotte completely encircled the orphanage property; after the postwar building boom, it was a fifty-acre rural enclave in the heart of a substantial city. Meanwhile, beginning in 1945, the orphanage began to purchase land, then in the country but soon itself to be on the outskirts of the city; a total of four hundred acres had been obtained by 1954. In that year, the Convention authorized the board of directors to consider developing or leasing the forty acres of the city property that were being used simply as pasture for the dairy herd owned by the orphanage. In 1956, these forty acres were leased for ninety-nine years to a developer for the erection of a shopping center; the rental, amounting to \$50,000 a year after the first two years, was placed in a building fund, looking to the time when the orphanage would lease the remaining ten acres in the city and move to Cedarbrook, its other property.⁸⁷

During the same years, a change had been taking place in the type of child being placed in the orphanage. Partly as a result of the increasing benefits provided by Social Security, only a few of the children actually were orphans; the majority were "half-orphans," but an increasing number of the children were from broken homes, with both parents still living. Recognizing the changed situation, the board authorized a professional study of the orphanage to determine an appropriate direction for the future. The presentation of the "Hopkirk

report” in 1960, and the changes that took place in the orphanage as a result, are beyond the scope of this chapter.

There remain a few items to which at least reference should be made. Beginning in 1950, a campaign was conducted, largely within the Diocese, for the reconstruction of St. John’s Church, Williamsboro, the only church edifice in the Diocese dating from colonial days. In the fall of 1956, after the church had been completely renovated, it was reconsecrated by Bishop Penick. Services, however, were not resumed on a regular basis, because Williamsboro, at one time a potential site for the location of the state capital, was now little more than a crossroads.

Twice during this period attempts were made in the Diocesan Convention to amend the canons to permit women to serve on parish vestries. In 1953 this amendment failed by a relatively narrow vote of ninety-five to seventy-four; in 1956, however, a motion to table the proposed amendment carried by a two-to-one margin.

In 1951, Canon 36 (since repealed) of the Protestant Episcopal Church allowed an Episcopal bishop to ordain a minister of another denomination without requiring a statement of subscription to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Episcopal Church if the person intended to continue his ministry in a non-Episcopal church. The provisions of this canon had rarely, if ever, been used. There was, however, within the geographic limits of the Diocese, a nondenominational church in Pinehurst known as the Village Chapel. An Episcopal priest, the Reverend Thaddeus A. Cheatham, had been the minister of this congregation since 1909. On his retirement in 1951, a Presbyterian clergyman took charge of the chapel, which included among its members many communicants of the Episcopal Church. In order to continue to provide them with an Episcopally ordained ministry, the directors of the Pinehurst Religious Association (the corporation of the Village Chapel) asked Bishop Penick to ordain their new minister under the provisions of Canon 36. Bishop Penick turned to the Standing Committee for advice. Its response was as follows: “After earnest consideration this Committee recorded its judgment, that all such ordinations, in the Diocese of North Carolina, should be in accordance with the regular canonical usage in this Church, after confirmation, and ordination to the Diaconate in the regular way.”⁸⁸ Because the minister in question was not prepared to take such a step, the matter was dropped, and not long afterward Canon 36 was removed.

In 1952, the Convention adopted an official diocesan flag, the result of the work of a special committee that had been appointed two years earlier under the chairmanship of Charles A. Tucker of Warrenton. The next year Tucker presented the Diocese with a flag following the approved design, to be displayed at Diocesan Conventions and other gatherings.

Church and Race

Of considerable historical significance is the relationship between the races during this period. A revolution was taking place in the country, and particularly in the South; although the Episcopal Church was not a leader in this revolution, it quickly felt its impact. The Church then began to recognize the fuller implications of its faith. We will first consider the various ways in which the Diocese was affected by this revolution in race relations and what changes took place in diocesan life as a result; then we will examine the history of the diocesan camping program for black youth, a story of the failure of good intentions.

In the 1940s the pattern of segregation within the Church seems generally to have been accepted as normal and natural. The Diocesan Convention included the black clergy and lay deputies, although their housing, and sometimes the arrangements for their eating, was separate. The Woman's Auxiliary had a separate black district, but the annual meeting was attended by members of both races. The diocesan Laymen's League maintained a separate black district, and black laymen had a separate convention.

The Committee on the State of the Church gave some thought to the work of the Church among blacks during the forties. In 1942 the committee, under the chairmanship of the Reverend Edward Guerry, suggested that the Diocese would be strengthened by the formation of several convocations; "the negro churches could be formed into an additional convocation,"⁸⁹ because presumably they would have more in common with each other than with white churches in the same geographic area. Two years later, when it was chaired by the Reverend Gray Temple, the committee expressed satisfaction with "the work which the Church has been doing among our Negro brethren"—the white members of the Convention regarding themselves as the Convention in the same way that white southerners have consist-

ently identified themselves with the South—but noted also the progress being made by the Roman Catholic Church among southern blacks. A proposal to establish a Commission on Negro Work, interracial in membership, was referred by the Convention to the Executive Council, where it apparently died.⁹⁰

The canon dealing with membership on the Executive Council (then Canon 17) required that blacks be represented in both clerical and lay orders. In his 1948 address, Bishop Penick proposed that this provision be deleted because it limited the free action of the Convention.⁹¹ The Committee on Constitution and Canons reported accordingly, but a minority report retaining this provision carried instead.⁹² This provision of the canons was debated by members of the clergy toward the end of the 1950s, with some of the black clergy opposing it as a kind of reverse discrimination. However, the provision remained in force until the Convention of 1966. In 1949, a small step toward integration was taken when the Negro and White Youth Departments of the Diocese were combined and young black people began attending the regular youth district meetings.⁹³

Race became a major issue in the Episcopal Church a year or two before the Supreme Court decision of 1954. In June 1952, the trustees of the University of the South adopted a resolution that denied black students admission to the School of Theology. As a result, the dean of the school (the Very Reverend Craighill Brown, canonically resident in the Diocese of North Carolina), most of the seminary faculty, and the college chaplain all resigned; a number of the members of the student body also withdrew, later to enroll at other seminaries of the Church. Naturally, the actions of both the trustees and the faculty received considerable attention in the secular press as well as within the Church. Bishop Penick, a member of the Board of Trustees, summarized these events in his address to the 1953 Convention. As chairman of a special committee that would report to the board of trustees the following month, he felt obliged not to prejudice his position by making any statement despite the strong convictions he held. Nevertheless, he invited the Convention “to record its mind and judgment on this issue.”⁹⁴ The Executive Council, through the Reverend William P. Price, chairman of the Department of Christian Social Relations, then presented a resolution requesting the trustees of the University of the South to admit qualified students to the School of Theology, regardless of race. A substitute resolution expressing confidence in the trustees and an amendment changing the word “re-

quests" to "would heartily approve" were both defeated, and the Executive Council's resolution was carried by "an overwhelming majority."⁹⁵ The next month, Bishop Penick's committee reported to the board, which, after six hours of deliberation, voted seventy-eight to six to consider applications to the seminary without regard to race.⁹⁶

Before 1954, the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese had appointed an Interracial Committee "to study the Auxiliary and consider ways of strengthening it as a whole, especially its Negro District." Late in 1954, it was reported that this committee had received several requests to abolish the black district and it was hoped that a solution might be worked out.⁹⁷ The solution turned out to be a simple one: the black district voted to dissolve itself, and the diocesan executive board then placed the various black branches in the proper geographic districts.⁹⁸

The Supreme Court decision of 1954 brought to the surface the rising concern on the part of both laymen and clergymen in the Diocese about the problems concerning race relations. One parish, for example, held a panel discussion on segregation, which included both bishops among its five panelists;⁹⁹ another parish held a similar program entitled "The Church Looks at Non-Segregation."¹⁰⁰

In June, the Diocesan Executive Council took notice of the Supreme Court decision. Based on the Christian obligation to apply the principles of Christianity to human relations, the Council adopted a resolution urging members of the Diocese "to accept, in the Christian spirit of the brotherhood of man, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States invalidating segregation in public schools, and to work with school authorities and with parents, pupils, and the public at large in an effort to effect an orderly transition to an integrated public school system in the Diocese of North Carolina."¹⁰¹ When the annual report of the Executive Council was presented to the 1955 Convention, this resolution was referred to a special committee, which was asked to report in 1956. When it did so, the committee merely expressed the opinion that the Executive Council had the authority to adopt such a resolution, that the Convention was not asked to approve it or to take any other action, and that it should be received and filed along with the rest of the Council's report.¹⁰²

Also at the 1955 Convention, the report of the Committee on the State of the Church once again commented on the fact that the work of the Episcopal Church among blacks had declined: "the figures covering the decade we are considering reveal an increase of only thirty-

seven Negro communicants." As a result of this report, a special committee was appointed to study the work among blacks, and to report in 1956 "with detailed findings and a thorough plan of action."¹⁰³ The findings and recommendations of this committee, which was chaired by Bishop Baker, were based largely on the results of the 1951-52 Diocesan Survey. Quoting at length from the survey, the committee stated: "Today, we too often see our job in terms of serving a segment of the total population of the Negro people. Our congregations are often small groups held together because of sentimental reasons or because the Episcopal Church seems to be the selective body. . . . Often we move forward by returning to only restating methods which were effective. It would seem that something of the same thing is indicated at the present time. Originally, Episcopal work with the Negro groups was closely tied to the parish church." In addition to repeating this indirect recommendation of the survey—that black work be, as in former times, closely associated with the (white) parish, the special committee recommended that the Diocese attempt to increase the number (and, inferentially, the caliber) of black clergymen and provide more financial assistance to the congregations that showed a greater promise of growth.¹⁰⁴

The Convention took no action on this report other than to re-refer it to a newly formed standing committee of the Convention, the Committee on Racial Subjects. The formation of this committee had been recommended in the concluding section of Bishop Penick's Convention address, which dealt with race relations and the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. Penick's position on the Church and race was thereafter adopted as "the sense of the Convention." That portion of his address was widely reported and quoted in both the religious and secular press and is worth repeating here:

At the moment my most serious concern is for the unity of good Christian people as they confront the most difficult sociological problem of the century. . . . I believe one of the quickest steps towards a right answer would be a bit of humility and a frank admission that no man to date has appeared with the wisdom and judgment to point the way we should go. My own position, to which I tried to give utterance at the Synod meeting in New Orleans in 1954, might fairly be described as a "gradualist," a hateful word to many good people. But it seems to me that a human problem so vast in its dimensions, involving the

welfare of millions of people, living over a wide expanse of territory, is far from simple, and cannot, by its very nature, yield to a quick solution. To attempt a speedy answer, or even to expect it, seems to me unrealistic, for it ignores the experience of history, including an era of tragic fratricidal strife. It does not take into account a massive psychological adjustment, affecting basic attitudes and traditions centuries old, that, for good or for evil, do actually, at the present time, make up the pattern of modern society. This is a mountain of fact and circumstance that only faith in Christ can remove. And with all my heart I believe that this realistic mountain will be moved and cast into the sea. But the process, inevitably, must be slow . . .

I know full well that I am not an authorized spokesman for the Convention, and do not pretend to be the official voice of the Episcopal Church. I speak only as an individual. And these are the things to my mind that indicate the direction in which a solution lies:

1. The Supreme Court of the United States is the highest tribunal of this nation. Its decisions are final.

2. It is my duty as a good citizen to obey the law of the land. This conforms to St. Paul's admonition: "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities."

3. I am under serious obligation to "think and do such things as are right," knowing that no permanent answer to life's questions can rest upon any other foundation than righteousness.

4. I accept the Christian doctrine of man, namely, that we are all created by God the Father, redeemed by Christ the Son, and sanctified by God the Holy Spirit. To distinguish and differentiate between men is right; to discriminate against them is wrong.

5. I believe that justice is not man-made, but comes from God; that it is a balanced thing, impartial, impersonal, giving preference or advantage to no man at the expense of any other. I believe that justice is invincible, incapable of being set aside by emotion or false reasoning, and eventually, in all cases, for all people, will prevail.¹⁰⁵

At the 1957 Convention, the Committee on Racial Subjects presented a progress report but did not recommend any action. In 1958, however, three recommendations were attached to its report: that the provincial Department of Christian Social Relations be urged to hold a conference on racial affairs, that the Convention endorse the discussion of race relations at a clerical conference, and that the congregations of the Diocese be encouraged to establish human relations committees.¹⁰⁶ The first two recommendations were adopted by the Convention without recorded dissent, but a motion to table the third indefinitely was offered, after some debate, by the Reverend James P. Dees, then rector of Trinity Church, Statesville, and later founder and Presiding Bishop of the Anglican Orthodox Church. The motion to table the apparently innocuous resolution was defeated by a margin of slightly more than three to one, and the recommendation and report were adopted.

At the same Convention, the Committee on the State of the Church once again looked with some despair at the state of “Negro work,” and suggested that “a special committee be appointed to study facilities, abilities and potential of this work.”¹⁰⁷ This proposal is puzzling in view of the fact that such a committee had reported only two years before and a standing Committee on Racial Subjects already existed. In any event, the Convention approved the report but took no action on the latter suggestion.

The Convention of 1959 was subdued by the recent death of Bishop Penick, and the race issue was, as if by common consent, skirted or ignored. The storm was brewing, however, and was to break in the well-remembered “Tarboro Convention” of 1960. The precipitating factor was the proposal to integrate one of the camps at Vade Mecum. Although the 1960 Convention is beyond the scope of this chapter, the camping program of the Diocese as it affected and was affected by the racial situation is of considerable interest.

Vade Mecum, the Diocese’s camp and conference center in the Saura Mountains of Stokes County, was almost completely segregated during this period, the Clergy Conference being the only real exception. In 1955, the Woman’s Auxiliary Conference accepted its first black conferees; for at least one or two years, two representatives of the former black district were invited to attend. Although they were housed separately, no official distinction was made.¹⁰⁸

A camping program for black youth of the Church was begun in the summer of 1940. Camp Delany, for boys, was held at “Crabtree

Project"; Camp Pollard, for girls, was held in Warren County, near St. Luke's Church, Norlina. In 1942, forty-nine boys were enrolled at Camp Delany and twenty-two girls at Camp Pollard. Early in 1945, a site was purchased for a more permanent camp and conference center for the blacks of the Diocese. Located thirteen miles from Raleigh, the tract contained about eighty acres. The announcement of the purchase of this site also gave the information that there was on the land "a two-story dwelling badly in need of repairs, and one shack, both of which could be used temporarily. There are two small creeks which might be dammed for a swimming pool, and a well might be drilled or pump sunk for drinking water, if the present pump is not sufficient."¹⁰⁹ On this hopeful note, the tragicomedy opened.

In 1948 the Reverend Robert J. Johnson, D.D., director of Camp Delany, as the new campsite was called, reported to the Convention on the operations of the previous year. Up to forty campers were accommodated in the farmhouse. But, Johnson pointed out, "there are several large outhouses that can be repaired for temporary use." Two camp sessions were held, each for ten days; twenty boys attended one session and eighteen girls the other. The program for the two sessions was typical of any Church camp—Bible study, a class on the Book of Common Prayer, crafts, group singing, and campfire. One part of the program was unique, however: the swimming periods, held twice each session, required transporting the whole camp into Raleigh and back. The report of the Health Department gives an idea of living conditions in the camp. If Camp Delany were to open again in 1948, the report stated, there would have to be running water, showers, toilet facilities and a cesspool, and a 100-gallon hot water tank. The Executive Council appropriated \$3,300 to pay for these improvements.¹¹⁰

A shower house and toilet facilities had been constructed by 1949, when two two-week sessions were held; attendance was low because of the polio epidemic that summer. Some time after the season ended, a five-acre lake was completed, an athletic field was prepared, "one house was repaired and enlarged by using the best material salvaged from another that was too delapidated to repair," the barn was converted into a chapel, and the gift of a refrigerator was accepted. Dr. Johnson reported, however, that the money needed to furnish electric lights for the newly repaired buildings was not in sight.¹¹¹ A hard blow fell shortly after Johnson made this report. At the meeting of the Executive Council the next month, it was reported that the new

lake had inadvertently been built on land, three-fifths of which did not belong to the camp. A member of the Council was appointed “to make such adjustments as will be satisfactory to all concerned,” with the “adjustments” to come from the Church’s Program Fund Reserve.¹¹² The problem was resolved amicably the next spring by an exchange of property.¹¹³

The Diocese of East Carolina began sending some young people to Camp Delany in 1950; the same year, one-day conferences were held for the Laymen’s League, the Young People’s Service League, and the Woman’s Auxiliary. Still needed was a refrigerator (what happened to the one accepted as a gift the preceding year was not reported), electric lights for the chapel, a shower house, and quarters for the camp’s leader.¹¹⁴

What must have been apparent, even to those who had not seen the camp, was not made a part of the record until Bishop Baker delivered his address to the 1952 Convention. On that occasion, the bishop declared: “There is no possible way for our people to overlook the difference in the quality of the opportunities presented by [Vade Mecum and Camp Delany]. It must be on our conscience until the facilities of Camp Delany are equal to the facilities that are to be found at Vade Mecum.”¹¹⁵ In his report that year, Dr. Johnson, after noting the increased attendance and the successful meeting of the black district of the Woman’s Auxiliary, turned once again to the properties: the buildings were badly in need of repair, with rotting sills, broken windows, and leaks; a large refrigerator was still needed, as the icebox currently used was apt to be condemned at any time; and the chapel needed pews and furnishings.¹¹⁶

The 1953 report tells of extending the two sessions to three weeks each. Twenty-one boys and twenty-three girls had attended the camp that summer. When the women came for their annual “day,” “we had our old water difficulty but some of the embarrassment was avoided by drawing up gallons of water early that morning.” Later in the same report, we read: “The buildings are in good repair. They are properly screened and do not leak. We are in need of a refrigerator.”¹¹⁷ Shortly after the Convention received this report, the Reverend David Yates of Chapel Hill moved to request the bishop to appoint a special committee to investigate the feasibility of continuing Camp Delany and to report to the next Convention.¹¹⁸ The motion passed, and the bishop said that he would appoint a committee at a later date.

There is no record that such a committee was appointed. The only

report made to the 1954 Convention was that of Dr. Johnson: fifty-four campers had been enrolled at the two sessions the previous season, some of the buildings had been painted, and at last a refrigerator had been donated. But something would have to be done about the water supply.¹¹⁹ As usual, the report was referred to the Convention Committee on Institutions, which recommended that the report be submitted to another committee for further study and its findings presented to the next Convention.¹²⁰

This time a committee was appointed, with Dr. Johnson as chairman. It reported that there was a definite need for Camp Delany in the diocesan program, that it should operate in 1955 as previously, that certain new equipment (including a refrigerator) should be purchased, and that any other decisions should wait until a report was delivered by the engineer who was then conducting a study of the site.¹²¹ Johnson's regular report also noted the need for two outside stairways as emergency fire escapes. Further, he said, "We still need funds to enable us to carry out the suggestions of the Health Department to put the present buildings in a usable condition for this summer's Camp."¹²²

Still a third report on Camp Delany was presented to the 1955 Convention by the Committee on the State of the Church. Two of its members had made a personal inspection of the camp and discovered the following: the lake was unsatisfactory; the bathhouse, though not equal to facilities at Vade Mecum, was the most nearly adequate building at the camp; the building in which the children slept was totally inadequate, with sometimes as many as thirty children in the three bedrooms on the second floor; the classroom was directly under a tin roof, hardly conducive to learning on a hot summer day; and sanitary conditions were unsatisfactory. This section of the report concluded: "The overall view of Camp Delany is depressing. The engineer who inspected the ground and buildings felt that it is not possible to have a proper camp site at the present location. His opinion was that the acreage we own is suitable only for growing pine trees." The Committee on the State of the Church thus recommended that Camp Delany not be operated at its present site in 1955, and that the Executive Council proceed "with all due haste" to make provisions for black campers.¹²³ The Convention, however, adopted a substitute motion referring the whole matter, including the question of whether to operate Camp Delany in 1955, to the Executive Council. Later in the Convention, the Council was also instructed to investi-

gate the possibility of acquiring land for a black camp on Kerr Lake.¹²⁴

The following month the Executive Council decided to sell the Camp Delany property, to drop the option for a campsite on Kerr Lake, and to make Camp Delany funds available to parishes for local use at Bishop Baker's discretion. The Division of Camps and Conferences was requested "to look into the possibility of integrated camps and conferences at Vade Mecum when feasible."¹²⁵ Bishop Baker's special committee to study black work in the Diocese made virtually the same request in its report to the 1956 Convention.¹²⁶ In 1956, the Camp Delany property was sold for approximately \$12,000. The question of how these funds should be used was referred to the Executive Council for further study;¹²⁷ in 1958, the Council determined to use the larger part of this money to match a \$10,000 grant to St. Augustine's College.¹²⁸

An attempt was made by the Committee on Racial Subjects to integrate one boys' camp session at Vade Mecum in 1957. The names of twenty white and twenty black boys who might attend had been requested; however, by May only four white and two black boys had registered, and the camp was therefore cancelled.¹²⁹ No further action was taken until 1960, when plans for the gradual integration of all sessions at Vade Mecum were reported to the Tarboro Convention. Camp Delany, and indeed any form of segregated black Church camping, was a thing of the past. But until an end could also be made to segregated white camping, there could be no further provision for black campers.

The End of a Period

On 4 April 1959, Bishop Penick would observe his seventy-second birthday. Since Bishop Cheshire's later years, the national canons had been changed; it was now possible for a bishop to retire at sixty-eight, and mandatory that he retire at seventy-two. There is no indication that Bishop Penick ever gave thought to the possibility of retiring as long as there was any alternative. At the 1958 Convention, his good friend, the Reverend Dr. James McDowell Dick, president of the Diocesan Standing Committee, presented Penick's plan to the Convention. The wording of the canon was such that, although his resignation must be presented to the presiding

bishop by his seventy-second birthday, it need not become effective for another three months. Penick planned, therefore, to resign as of 4 April 1959 but to state that his resignation would become effective on 30 June, taking all but four days of the three months' grace period. The Convention approved this timing,¹³⁰ which would allow the bishop to maintain jurisdiction through the Convention of 1959.

Arrangements were made to pay special honor to Bishop Penick at the 1959 Convention, scheduled to be held at St. Peter's, Charlotte, where he had been rector before his election to the episcopate thirty-seven years before. The usual Convention committee from the host parish was enhanced by the appointment of a diocesan planning committee.¹³¹ A testimonial dinner, restricted to 1,000 guests, was planned for the evening before the Convention, and the presiding bishop had accepted an invitation to attend.¹³²

These plans were not to mature. Late in March, Bishop Penick entered the North Carolina Memorial Hospital in Chapel Hill for observation; he died there on 6 April, two days after his seventy-second birthday. It seemed clear that he had not been enthusiastic about retirement; to say that he would have preferred it this way, dying "in harness," is presumptuous, and yet the thought is unavoidable. In the minds of many, the man and the office were inseparable.

We have not touched, in this chapter, on Bishop Penick's activities outside the Diocese. In 1941-43, he served two consecutive terms as president of the North Carolina Council of Churches. From 1946 to 1952, he was vice-president of the House of Bishops, giving evidence of his considerable parliamentary knowledge and ability when called on to preside over that house. For a number of years he was active in the American Church Institute for Negroes, serving as vice-president from 1949 until his death. He was also president of the Fourth Province of the Episcopal Church from 1948 to 1953.

In such matters as diocesan boundaries and episcopal assistance, we have seen how Bishop Penick was able to make his own judgment very clear. All the reins of diocesan administration were in his hands, and he knew very well which one to pull and when. He had great difficulty in sharing this administration with another, even—or especially—with a coadjutor. But it was never the jealousy of a man infatuated with power; rather, it was the assurance of one convinced that efficiency and unity of command went together. And that assurance was so intermixed with pastoral love that it was difficult for Bishop Penick to offend.

In the June 1959 issue of *The North Carolina Churchman*, a memorial issue to Bishop Penick, his successor wrote: "Although he has resigned his job to be with us in person, he is more definitely with us in spirit and in truth, for his incomparable example and his compelling influence will be with the Diocese of North Carolina for many a year to come."¹³³ And so it has been.

*The Diocese of East Carolina,
1883-1963**LAWRENCE FAY BREWSTER*

Preliminary steps to the formation of the Diocese of East Carolina go back for considerably more than a decade prior to 1883. Discussion of the question of division of the Diocese of North Carolina, brought on by the state of Bishop Thomas Atkinson's health, began in the Convention as early as 1866 and committees presented reports in 1867 and 1868.¹ The report of the committee headed by the Reverend Alfred A. Watson, rector of St. James's Church, Wilmington, on the whole question of division of dioceses was referred to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church and action by the Diocesan Convention was deferred.² On 29 May 1873, Bishop Atkinson stated that division of the Diocese was desirable but impracticable and that the practicable remedy was the election of an assistant bishop.³ This solution was adopted.⁴

Subsequently, both Bishop Atkinson and his elected assistant and successor, Bishop Theodore B. Lyman, took a less favorable view of dividing the Diocese.⁵ A resolution of 22 May 1874 provided for a committee of five to report a plan of division to the next Convention.⁶ Committee reports were made and discussed in 1875, 1876, and 1877; and, at an adjourned meeting in September 1877, the discussion was again postponed.⁷ In the Convention at Tarboro on 11 May 1882, the Reverend M. M. Marshall, rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, introduced a resolution calling for division and a committee on the subject.⁸ Majority and minority reports were presented by the committee, the majority report was adopted but was not to take effect until ratified by the next Convention, and a committee was appointed to confer with Bishop Lyman.⁹

At the next Convention, the committee reported on 24 May 1883 that the bishop was still opposed but would not withhold his consent provided that a majority of both orders voted favorably, the line of

division was acceptable to him, and the Permanent Funds were divided equally.¹⁰ On succeeding days, 25 and 26 May, the Convention voted in favor of division and, after many alternative proposals and much discussion, adopted an amended report on the line of division.¹¹ The line of division and territorial composition of the new Diocese were set forth in the report. The Diocese was to be divided by a line "beginning on the Virginia line at the N.E. corner of Northampton, and following the east line of said County, and of the Counties of Halifax, Edgecombe, Wilson and Johnston, thence the south line of Harnett, and the west line of Cumberland and Robeson, to the line of the State of South Carolina." And it was further resolved "that, the General Convention assenting, a new Diocese be formed out of the present Diocese of North Carolina, consisting of the counties of Hertford, Bertie, Martin, Pitt, Greene, Wayne, Sampson, Cumberland and Robeson, and of all the counties lying between these Counties and the Atlantic Ocean." The bishop gave his consent and, after initial opposition by the House of Bishops, official sanction for the formation of the new Diocese was given by the General Convention, meeting in Philadelphia on 9 October 1883.¹²

On 12 and 13 December, the eastern diocese held its primary Convention in Christ Church, New Bern; twenty-one clergymen and sixty-six laymen representing twenty-four parishes were present.¹³ Called to order by Bishop Lyman, the Convention proceeded to organize. The Reverend Dr. Watson was named president, with the Reverend Robert Brent Drane, rector of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, as temporary secretary and the Reverend Nathaniel Harding, rector of St. Peter's Church, Washington, as permanent secretary. Five names were proposed for the new Diocese: "Roanoke" by William J. Griffin of Elizabeth City, "Albemarle" by A. H. Van Bokkelen, "Wilmington" by Dr. Armand J. DeRosset of Wilmington, "Carolina" by Colonel J. G. Burr of Wilmington, and "East Carolina" by the Reverend Joseph C. Huske, D.D., rector of St. John's Church, Fayetteville. Dr. Huske's suggestion was the choice of the Convention. As first Bishop of the Diocese of East Carolina the delegates unanimously elected Dr. Watson. Until the new bishop's consecration Bishop Lyman acted as administrator of the Diocese. Bishop-elect Watson was consecrated at St. James's Church, Wilmington, on 17 April 1884, with Bishops William Mercer Green of Mississippi, Lyman of North Carolina, W. B. W. Howe of South Carolina, Neeley

of Maine, Seymour of Springfield, and Randolph of Virginia in attendance.¹⁴ In his address, Bishop Watson stressed the importance of unity of effort in inaugurating the work of the new Diocese.

*Formative Years: The Pioneering Episcopate of the
Right Reverend A. A. Watson, 1884–1905*

Alfred Augustin Watson was born in New York City on 21 August 1818, the son of Presbyterian parents. He graduated from New York University in 1837, studied law in the office of Chancellor Kent, and was admitted to the bar in 1841. Turning from the practice of law, he came to North Carolina to be a tutor to the children of Josiah Collins of Somerset Plantation in Washington County. Here he became interested in the Episcopal Church, studied its ritual and doctrines, and was baptized and confirmed into its ranks. Becoming a candidate for Holy Orders, he attended the General Theological Seminary in New York and was ordained deacon on 3 November 1844 in St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn. On 13 December he took charge of Grace Church, Plymouth, North Carolina, and was advanced to the priesthood on 25 May 1845 by Bishop Levi Silliman Ives. In addition to Grace Church, Mr. Watson also served St. Luke's Church, Washington County (now St. Luke's, Roper), was active as a missionary in the adjacent counties, and at various times ministered to the Church of the Advent, Williamston. Becoming rector of Christ Church, New Bern, on 16 December 1858, he officiated there until July 1861 when he entered the service of the Confederate States of America as a chaplain and ministered to the spiritual needs of the Second Regiment of North Carolina State Troops and in 1862 to those at the hospital in Goldsboro. He was called to be assistant to Bishop Atkinson at St. James's Church, Wilmington, in March 1863 and succeeded him as rector in December 1864. In 1868 the University of North Carolina awarded him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.¹⁵

Bishop Watson presided over his first annual Convention meeting at St. Peter's Church, Washington, on 14 May 1884, when he again called for unity of effort to justify the Diocese's separate existence.¹⁶ The Committee on the State of the Church reported that the number of clergymen was 21 (13 priests and 8 deacons), of parishes and mission stations 52, and of communicants 2,463; the amount of contri-

butions for all purposes was \$30,000.¹⁷ That year the bishop was honored with the Doctor of Divinity degree by the University of the South.

At the 1885 Diocesan Convention a constitution and canons for the Diocese were ratified.¹⁸ With some modifications to adapt them to the situation in East Carolina, the constitutions of the Diocese of North Carolina and of the National Church served as models. The constitution set forth the geographic limits of the Diocese (article 1), acceded to the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America and the authority of its General Convention (article 2), and provided for an annual Council composed of the clergy and male lay delegates representing the parishes, no parish to have more than four (articles 3, 4). The Council was given wide powers but was not to pass a canon "infringing on the Bishop's authority," although its members might advise, question, or impeach him (article 5). Officers of the Council were a president, "who shall be a Presbyter of the Diocese," a secretary, and a treasurer (article 8). Later a chancellor or legal adviser and a historiographer-registrar were added.¹⁹ Provision was made for a Standing Committee (article 9) and other permanent committees annually elected by the Council, and for regular committees annually appointed by the bishop (Canon 7). The permanent committees first elected were an Executive Missionary Committee and committees on Canons, Finance, Education, and Church Building. Bishop Watson appointed committees on Elections, New Parishes, Unfinished Business, the State of the Church, and (1898) Communications to and from the General Convention. From time to time, special committees and boards were added. Trustees of institutions and delegates to the General Convention were elected (Canons 9, 10).

No new canon or amendment to a canon could be passed on the day it was proposed or without referral to the Committee on Canons except by unanimous consent (article 14). Amendments to the constitution required approval by a majority of both orders present at one Council and adoption by a majority of the clergy and parishes (at least fifteen) at the next Council (article 15). Action might always be postponed until the next Council by vote of two-thirds of both orders.

The Diocese was to be divided into three missionary convocations organized under the bishop's direction, each having its dean and meeting at least twice a year (Canon 16). There were to be convoca-

tions "of the Albemarle," "of the Pamlico," and "of the Cape Fear"; but the names used by the convocations established were Edenton, New Bern, and Wilmington. Bishop Watson remarked that "judiciously managed as our convocations have been, they may be of great service by gathering the clergy for mutual consultation and consultation with their Bishop and by the co-operative action which may follow." He added, however, that the danger in the convocation was "the liability to carry to too great an extent the oversight of the parishes and missions within its limits, thus creating itself into a sort of Presbytery."²⁰ An evangelist or missionary was at times employed by the convocation and, later, for Wilmington, an archdeacon.

In 1893 the Diocese adopted an official seal presented by a committee consisting of Bishop Watson; the Reverend James Carmichael, rector of St. John's Church, Wilmington, and president of the Council; and Colonel William Lord DeRosset of Wilmington.²¹ It was described to the Council in these words:

On the border of the lozenge are the words, "Seal of the Diocese of East Carolina." In the upper part of the Seal is the mitre; underneath, the date of the organization of the Diocese of North Carolina 1817. Below this, the first landing on Roanoke Island, with the date 1584; the baptism of the first white child in America, Virginia Dare, and the date 1587. Below these, the motto of the Bishop of the Diocese, "Christi Cruce Confido." At the bottom the cross supported by the key and the crook, and the date of the organization of the Diocese of East Carolina, 1883.

Problems facing the new Diocese involved a residence for the bishop, interest in a fund and in a scholarship at the General Theological Seminary shared with the Diocese of North Carolina, and efforts to revise the line of division between the two dioceses. An episcopal residence was provided when the Diocese acquired from the parishes in Wilmington interest in the house formerly occupied by Bishop Atkinson.²² After prolonged negotiation and legal transactions, East Carolina's interest in the Smith Estate²³ and the scholarship at the General Seminary²⁴ was secured. The two dioceses in 1890 joined in celebration of one hundred years of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina.²⁵ East Carolina, however, was unsuccessful in efforts (1894-98) to reach an agreement with the Diocese of North Carolina on revision of the dividing line by cession to East Carolina of the counties of Wilson, Edgecombe, Nash, Halifax, and North-

ampton.²⁶ These efforts were complicated by the creation (1895–98) of the Missionary District of Asheville, later the Diocese of Western North Carolina.

Other pressing and continuing problems that concerned Bishop Watson were clerical and lay dedication to service, and adequate support from a relatively poor rural and agricultural area for diocesan missions and clergy and for East Carolina's share in the National Church's activities.²⁷ The bishop believed that the reasons for the difficulty in getting and keeping clergymen were the meager pay (one missionary with a family received \$125 a year from his three stations, supplemented at the most by \$100 of diocesan funds), the real and reputed effects of the East Carolina climate, and the tendency of some clergymen to drift due to a lack of a sufficiently strong devotion to duty. He spoke of the need to increase and not just to maintain their level of effort and stressed the importance of lay readers. In 1885, he reported that he had been able to reduce the number of parishes and missions without clergy by one-half. He regularly pointed out with gratitude their dependence on the women of the Diocese; on organizations, institutions, and individuals in other dioceses; and on the National Church for much of their support.

In 1886, the Bishop's Fund was established for the support of diocesan missions and the poorly paid clergy when the bishop allocated to the fund the children's Easter Offering.²⁸ The Woman's Auxiliary became organized in the Diocese and held its first annual meeting in 1888 and its first United Thank Offering in 1889.²⁹ This organization would assume an expanding role as a service provider and supporter in the Diocese. To Bishop Watson's own example of long and dedicated service should be added the records of some of his clergymen, such as Edward McCartney Forbes, Nicholas Collin Hughes, Sr., Joseph Caldwell Huske, James Carmichael, Nathaniel Harding, and Robert Brent Drane, together with those of laymen such as Dr. Armand J. DeRosset, Colonel William L. DeRosset, and others. The Reverend Mr. Forbes at his death in 1893 left to the Diocese the bulk of his estate.³⁰

Bishop Watson, who had labored in eastern North Carolina since December 1844, changing charges only from a strong call to duty and leaving the state only to attend General Conventions and other Church meetings and for a trip to Europe in 1890, celebrated the Golden Jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood in 1895.³¹

Frequent commendation from the bishop was given to the

Church's institutions of learning, especially those in East Carolina—Trinity School at Chocowinity, first opened about 1850 by the Reverend N. C. Hughes, a young missionary from Pennsylvania serving in Beaufort and adjoining counties; and St. Paul's School at Beaufort, founded in 1858 by the Reverend D. D. Van Antwerp, closed in 1867, and revived in 1899 by the Reverend T. P. Noe and Mrs. Nannie P. Geoffroy—and to the project (later dropped) for a diocesan college initiated by the gift of John B. Bonner of Aurora.³²

Mrs. Geoffroy was the daughter of Sallie Pasteur, who with Mrs. Van Antwerp and Miss Elizabeth Robinson assisted in the work of St. Paul's School, conducted from 1858 to 1867 by Mr. Van Antwerp, federal chaplain of the hospital at Fort Macon and organizer of St. Paul's Parish, Beaufort. When the efforts of the Reverend E. M. Forbes, rector of the parish from 1878 to 1893, to reopen the school failed, Miss Emma Manson maintained a school in her home. In 1899, her school was taken over by the Reverend Thomas Pasteur Noe (rector, 1899–1906) and Mrs. Geoffroy. From its rented quarters the school was moved in 1901 into a new three-story building on the site later occupied by the church rectory. Of the school and its headmistress, Bishop Watson said in 1902:

At Beaufort, visited the Parish School of which I have spoken before, but can scarcely say too much. Started about three years ago by a Christian woman, without endowment or capital,—kept up by her zeal and that of others, in the face of great and incessant hostility, amidst a population of working people, prepossessed against it from the first, it has maintained its ground, has succeeded in erecting a noble building at an expense of about \$4000 with all the appliances for thorough Education, and now, has the names of nearly 300 pupils upon its roll.

In 1898 the country became involved in war with Spain. The bishop took note of this in his address to the Council, stating that although the war could not honorably have been averted and the United States was fighting for humanity and not out of mere national pride, the resort to arms did represent a failure for the cause of Christian peace.³³ He called for magnanimity toward the foe and for prayer throughout the Diocese.

A request from the General Convention for an opinion on the question of changing the name of the Church was taken up by the Diocese

san Council of East Carolina in 1903, and majority and minority reports were made by a select committee.³⁴ The majority report, which opposed any change, was adopted by vote of the orders.

Small and frail in body but vibrant with energy and devotion, Bishop Watson continued to exert himself to the limit in his visitations throughout the Diocese; at Nags Head, he ministered to summer sojourners even on shipboard. He provided services under all conditions in churches, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, public buildings, and private homes and despite a heart condition of long standing.³⁵ In January 1903, he suffered a stroke but refused to give up; with some enforced absences and restrictions, he continued in service under the care of his faithful wife. He met with the Council in May and counseled his people in the light of his years and physical condition to love God in obedience and service and to remain true to "the exact religion of the Gospel."³⁶ On 21 August he consented to the election of a coadjutor, but his health improved somewhat and a Special Council, convened in October, adjourned after several ballots.³⁷ Not until 26 May 1904 did the bishop request a coadjutor. On that day the Council elected to the office the Reverend Robert Strange, rector of St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Virginia, who was consecrated on 1 November in St. James's Church, Wilmington. On Good Friday, 21 April 1905, having passed his twentieth year as diocesan and his sixtieth as a clergyman of the Church in North Carolina, Alfred Watson died, leaving as a bequest to his beloved Diocese his library and part of his estate that was to become the Bishop Watson Fund for the support of the episcopate.³⁸

The dominant characteristic of Alfred A. Watson as man, priest, and bishop was devotion to duty.³⁹ He was a good soldier of the Lord, first, last, and always. He was genial but reserved; firm, zealous, and loving; and always ready with fatherly counsel to deal with the shortcomings of clergy and laity. Thorough in all things, he expected no more and no less from others than he demanded from himself. Somewhat of the old school of Christian living, he was opposed to the trend toward worldliness and irreverence. He was not happy with "the super organization of the day" but he realized the need for organization in harnessing human effort.⁴⁰ Nor did he look backward. Early in his episcopate he reminded his people: "The Past is gone past mending. The Future is Ours."⁴¹

He administered his Diocese faithfully as chief pastor, giving him-

TABLE XII-1

Comparative Data: The Tenure of Bishop Watson, 1885 and 1905

	1885	1905
Parishes and missions	38 and 23	40 and 39
Clergy	27	28
Confirmations	167	285
Communicants	2,369	4,229
Sunday schools	33	50
Teachers	279	357
Pupils	1,924	2,863
Contributions		
Parochial	\$22,380.69	\$29,837.75
Diocesan	2,847.28	4,139.30
National	639.28	3,905.27
Total	\$25,867.25	\$37,882.32
Property Value (estimated)	\$201,019.00	\$325,570.00
Bishop's salary ^a	\$2,500.00	\$2,500.00

Source: Tables of Statistical Abstracts, *East Carolina Diocesan Journal 1885 and 1905*; see also 1905, 68.

^aThe bishop's salary was fixed by canon in 1885. *East Carolina Diocesan Journal 1885*, 100.

self in quiet, modest, steady labor and sacrificial service. Along this path he led the people of the Diocese of East Carolina, to which he had come to belong.⁴² He set for the Diocese the goal of a militant Christian mission and wrestled with the chronic problems of support—both financial and spiritual. The bishop, clergy, and laity working together held the line and the faith. They also made some progress, as indicated by comparable data for 1885 and 1905 (see Table XII-1).⁴³

Possessed of recognized powers of concentration and clarity of thought and speech, Bishop Watson was a strict canonist and pure Gospel preacher.⁴⁴ His influence, spread by precept and example and a life well lived, was marked and won him the love and respect of his people and of many outside the Church.

*Awakening Years: The Promise of Bishop
Strange's Short Service as Chief Pastor,
1905-1914*

Robert Strange had been well "trained up" under his predecessor for taking charge of the Diocese. Born on 6 December 1857, the son of Colonel Robert Strange, C.S.A., a Wilmington attorney, and Caroline, daughter of Thomas Henry Wright, he attended the Wilmington schools, Horner and Grimes Military Academy at Hillsborough, and the University of North Carolina where he received a B.A. degree in 1879. The next year he became a candidate for Holy Orders and in 1883 completed his theological studies at the Berkeley Divinity School in Connecticut. Ordained deacon by Bishop Watson on 23 April 1884, he served as a missionary to the blacks in Brunswick County, Virginia. He traveled in Europe and after his return was advanced to the priesthood on 1 November 1885 by Bishop Lyman, in whose diocese he became rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh. In 1887 he went to his home church, St. James's, Wilmington, and in 1900 to St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Virginia. He had been honored with the Doctor of Divinity degree by his alma mater, the University of North Carolina, in 1894. Elected Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese of East Carolina on 26 May 1904 and consecrated on All Saints Day, he became diocesan in April 1905 on the death of Bishop Watson.⁴⁵

The keynote of Bishop Strange's administration was set in his address to his first Council in 1905.⁴⁶ It was, he noted, a time of growth and change—a time of material progress and also a time of mental and spiritual progress. The grip of old patterns was weakening and people were "more open to new aspects of truth." This presented an opportunity to the Episcopal Church. The bishop identified a number of tasks for himself and his Diocese. First, he called for a de-emphasis of sectarianism within and outside the Church. Second, he advocated support of the public educational institutions and the established Church schools, singling out for special mention the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, St. Mary's School at Raleigh, Trinity School at Chocowinity, and St. Paul's School at Beaufort. Further, he hoped that a divinity school would be founded in the Diocese. Third, he urged a renewed missionary effort led by the bishop and every clergyman from established centers, recognizing

the ever-present problems of men and money to carry out this work. Bishop Strange also noted with satisfaction the action taken by the state legislature to repeal the lax divorce laws due to the efforts of Church people led by Bishop Cheshire, the Episcopal dioceses, and other Protestant bodies.

A decision was reached by the Council to build a new bishop's house on the same property at a cost of about \$11,000 (later raised to about \$14,000) to be financed by apportionment among the parishes and missions.⁴⁷ East Carolina extended aid to her sister Diocese of California following the earthquake of 1906.⁴⁸ An archdeacon for work among blacks in East Carolina was appointed in 1907. That year the Council supported a proposal in the General Convention for black jurisdictions but opposed the one for black suffragans, although Bishop Strange spoke favorably of having black bishops for these jurisdictions.⁴⁹

The Mission Herald, published under the auspices of the Convocation of Edenton, was adopted as the official organ of the Diocese in 1907 after previous proposals (1892 and 1905) for a diocesan paper had been dropped and Bishop Strange had become more favorable to the idea.⁵⁰ Since 1907, except for the years 1909–11, when it was merged with *The Messenger of Hope* of the Diocese of North Carolina to form the publication *The Carolina Churchman*, *The Mission Herald* has held and merited that official status in East Carolina under a succession of able editors and business managers.⁵¹

Bishop Strange, like his predecessor, gave due recognition to the work of the Woman's Auxiliary and under his leadership it organized the Woman's Parochial Missionary Society in 1908. The same year saw the closing of Trinity School, Chocowinity, after thirty-two years (not including the eighteen years of operation previously) of continuous service to the Dioceses of North Carolina and East Carolina under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Hughes and his son, the Reverend Nicholas Collin Hughes, Jr., who nurtured a goodly number of sound scholars and dedicated churchmen.⁵² The two dioceses formally joined in 1909 to support the Church's work with students at the University of North Carolina, in which Bishop Strange had strong personal interest and in which he had participated from the outset of his episcopate.⁵³ The Reverend Richard W. Hogue had recently left the rectorship of St. James's Church, Wilmington, to carry on this ministry. Other events of 1909 were the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Diocese, a revision of its constitution and canons, and the

bishop's "Clergy Retreat," held in the spirit of his "Quiet Hour" during Council sessions.⁵⁴

The matter of changing the Church's name to the American Catholic Church was again (as in 1903) before the Council in 1913.⁵⁵ Bishop Strange said that if he had to choose between that name and the present one, he would stand with the present name. He suggested, however, a compromise that would emphasize both its Catholic and Protestant aspects: namely, "That Branch of the Holy Catholic Church Known in Law as the Protestant Episcopal." For its part, the Council adopted the Reverend William H. Milton's resolution against change pending modification of the basis of representation in the House of Deputies or a referendum of dioceses and parishes. Approved in 1913 and 1914 was a change in the diocesan constitution to permit women to vote in elections for vestries.⁵⁶

In his visitations Bishop Strange carried on the good soldierly tradition set by his predecessor, traveling the length and breadth of the Diocese by horse and buggy, boat, and train.⁵⁷ He became seriously ill in mid-1913 and on 13 November transferred the ecclesiastical authority to the Standing Committee, which acted for him in routine matters, while other bishops took over some of his visitations.⁵⁸ He participated in the Council of May 1914, but he and Mrs. Strange were forced to withdraw from many activities of the Diocese. On 23 August, Robert Strange died. He was buried beneath the chancel of St. James's Church in Wilmington.⁵⁹

Robert Strange was by nature a nobleman, by training and devotion an able administrator and a good preacher.⁶⁰ Loyal to the Protestant Episcopal Church and to the Diocese of East Carolina, as was Bishop Watson before him, Bishop Strange had a somewhat broader and fresher outlook. He was a less strict sectarian and canonist. Within limits, but perhaps more flexible limits, he worked for Church unity.⁶¹ He won support from most but not all within the Diocese both because of his character and his reasoning abilities; and he won support from many outside the Church.⁶² He was a member of his Church's Joint Commission on Social Service, of the American Red Cross, and of the Universal Peace and International Arbitration Movements.

During the short years of Bishop Strange's leadership, the Diocese entered into an era of awakening to change. Its achievements, in part, are revealed in comparative data for the years 1905 and 1915 (see Table XII-2).⁶³ As his successor and his clergy noted, Bishop Strange had



*Alfred Augustin Watson, first bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina, 1884–1905.
Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina,
Kinston.*



*Robert Strange, second bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina, 1904–14.
Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina,
Kinston.*



Thomas Campbell Darst, third bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina, 1915-45.

Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina, Kinston.



Thomas Henry Wright, fourth bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina, 1945-73.

Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina, Kinston.

TABLE XII-2

Comparative Data: The Tenure of Bishop Strange, 1905 and 1915

	1905	1915
Parishes and missions	40 and 39	39 and 54
Clergy	28	32
Confirmations	285	548
Communicants	4,229	5,776
Sunday schools	50	73
Teachers	357	492
Pupils	2,863	4,328
Contributions		
Parochial	\$29,837.75	\$55,630.37
Diocesan	4,139.30	14,414.48
National	3,905.27	10,785.01
Total	\$37,882.32	\$80,829.86
Property Value (estimated)	\$325,570.00	\$572,550.00
Bishop's salary	\$2,500.00	\$3,000.00

Source: Tables of Statistical Abstracts, *East Carolina Diocesan Journal* 1905 and 1915; see also Diocesan Statistics, 1905, 68, and 1915, 117.

laid sound foundations for future growth.⁶⁴ He had kept well and furthered the faith and the work handed down to him by Bishop Watson.

*Years of Continued Inspiration and Transition:
The Episcopate of the Right Reverend T. C.
Darst, 1915-1945*

Like Bishop Watson, the newly elected third Bishop of East Carolina was not a native of North Carolina and had been first a Presbyterian. Thomas Campbell Darst was a Virginian, born in Pulaski County on 10 November 1875, the son of Major Thomas Welsh Darst and Margaret Glendy. He received his higher education at Roanoke College (A.B., 1899) and at the Episcopal Theological Seminary

in Alexandria (B.D., 1902). Ordained deacon in 1902 by Bishop Peterkin of West Virginia and priest the next year by Bishop W. L. Gravatt of West Virginia, he was first an assistant at Christ Church, Fairmount, West Virginia (1902–3) and then successively rector of Meade and John's Parishes, Upperville, Virginia (1903–5); St. Mark's Church, Richmond (1905–9); St. Paul's Church, Newport News (1909–14); and St. James's Church, Richmond (1914–15). On 7 October 1914, on the twentieth ballot—from a field of fifteen candidates—he was elected Bishop of East Carolina by a Special Council, which then made his election unanimous. He was consecrated on 6 January 1915 in St. James's Church, Wilmington, by Bishops Tuttle (the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church), Cheshire, Horner, Guerry, Gravatt, and B. D. Tucker.⁶⁵

In his first annual address, Bishop Darst commented on the awakened spirit he found in the Diocese and attributed it to the leadership of Robert Strange and the Every-Member Canvass.⁶⁶ The Council set 31 October, the eve of the tenth anniversary of the late bishop's consecration, as Bishop Strange Memorial Day, which was to be marked by services throughout the Diocese and collections for a Memorial Fund.⁶⁷ In 1915 a new edition of the constitution and canons was printed.⁶⁸ The same year, when the General Convention asked the opinion of the dioceses, Bishop Darst expressed his opposition to the proposed racial episcopate. A committee reported favorably on it in 1916; after much discussion the Council voted to approve it as a future policy, but declared that the time was not suitable for final action and that the bishop should confer with other southern bishops.⁶⁹ In 1919 the services of a black bishop, the Right Reverend Henry Beard Delany, Suffragan Bishop of North Carolina, were made available to East Carolina and accepted by Bishop Darst.⁷⁰

On 17 May 1917 the Centennial of the organization of the Diocese of North Carolina was celebrated in Christ Church, New Bern, and Bishop Darst was the preacher.⁷¹ The annual Council of 1917 met with the country at war. The bishop spoke of the ways in which the Diocese of East Carolina was able to serve: through its sons in the armed services, through the financial contributions of its members, through the food produced by its farmers, through its clergy acting as chaplains, and through the prayers of its people.⁷² East Carolina responded well, giving for service most of its able-bodied young men and seven of its clergymen, all but one of whom were nonparochial.⁷³ The Standing Committee suggested that only two delegates from a

parish should attend the Council during the war emergency, but this suggestion does not seem to have been followed.⁷⁴ In 1918, 1919, and 1920 the bishop called on clergy and laity alike to help provide the spiritual leadership needed for the world in the transition time that was at hand.⁷⁵

The General Convention's Nation-Wide Campaign—to mobilize all the financial and spiritual resources of the Church for carrying out its work in the diocese, in the nation, and in the world—got under way in East Carolina in 1919.⁷⁶ In 1920 the committee in charge was able to report that the Diocese of East Carolina had exceeded its financial goal under the able leadership of the Reverend William Hammond Milton, D.D., rector of St. James's Church, Wilmington, who became the first executive secretary of the Field Department of the Protestant Episcopal Church.⁷⁷ East Carolina was one of four 100 percent dioceses. The bishop and the Diocesan Convention took pardonable pride in Dr. Milton as organizer of the Nation-Wide Campaign (having initiated the Every-Member Canvass in his own parish in 1912), and subsequently as a member of the National Council, director of its Field Department, and participant in the Bishops' Crusade for Spiritual Awakening. Adding his tribute to that of the 1919 General Convention, Bishop Darst said in his address of 1920:

I feel that we of East Carolina have a right to be justly proud of our part in the Nation-Wide Campaign. One of the originators of the great movement, and one who has given himself without stint to the arduous task of presenting its far reaching plans to the people of the American Church, is a clergyman of this Diocese. . . . Overcoming obstacles, changing indifference into zeal, lifting the eyes of men to fairer visions, Dr. Milton and his associates have made a contribution to the progress of the Kingdom that will stand through the years as something very real and definite and worth while.⁷⁸

A revision of the canons in 1920 provided for "The Bishop and Executive Council" to more effectively organize the work of the Church in the Diocese.⁷⁹ At first, the Executive Council carried on its work through five departments: Missions and Church Extension, Religious (later Christian) Education, Christian Social Service, Finance, and Publicity. Other departments were added later and changes made in their name, procedure, or function over the years. The Reverend Walter Raleigh Noe, of Wilmington, was the active and

efficient executive secretary in addition to his many other offices and duties. In 1924 Bishop Darst, in line with the Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops, commented on the controversy precipitated by the Modernists in the Church concerning the authority of the Creeds, especially in relation to the Virgin Birth, and took his stand with the bishops in defending the traditional statement.⁸⁰

By action of the Council, the name of the annual meeting was changed from Council to Convention beginning in 1925.⁸¹ That year was the tenth anniversary of Bishop Darst's consecration, which was commemorated at a special service with a series of addresses on his administration of the Diocese, his relations with clergy and laity, and his services to the National Church.⁸² Darst, who had had an opportunity to rest and gain perspective during a short vacation in Europe in the summer of 1924, modestly spoke of his own labors and limitations and of the gratitude he felt for the support given him by the "loyal band" of clergymen and the "splendid body" of laymen and laywomen of the Diocese.⁸³ He noted the progress that had been made during the decade and especially since the last Council. The Committee on the State of the Church reported on "the spirit of unity and a new determination to press forward" that was evident in the Diocese under his leadership.⁸⁴ After the work of young people was studied by a special commission, the Young People's Service League (since 1957 called the Episcopal Young Churchmen) was organized under the supervision of the Executive Council's Department of Religious Education.⁸⁵

In 1928 Bishop Darst called his people to "deeper consecration" in a time of complacency in an "America, proud, rich, powerful [that] stands in the sunlight of a deadening prosperity."⁸⁶ A new budget procedure, based on the acceptance of increased apportionments among the parishes and missions with a future goal of "an apportionment equal to 100% of their reported Current Expenses," was proposed and adopted in the Conventions of 1929 and 1930.⁸⁷ In the latter year, the fifteenth anniversary of the bishop's consecration was noted by Darst and the Convention; and the Camp Leach property on the Pamlico River below Washington, valued at about \$8,000, was acquired for \$1,400 as a "Summer Conference and Training Center."⁸⁸ As the economic depression following the 1929 stock market collapse spread and deepened, its effects were felt in East Carolina. But Bishop Darst, although sympathizing with their troubles and commending their sacrifices, exhorted his people not to use the depression as an

excuse for lack of faith, selfishness, or retreating but rather to dedicate themselves to continued efforts.⁸⁹

The fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Diocese was commemorated in 1933 with a historical address by Major Bartholomew R. Huske of Fayetteville; and, on the initiative of the Diocese of Western North Carolina, a renewed but fruitless effort was made to modify the lines of division with the Diocese of North Carolina.⁹⁰ Discussion of a proposed constitutional change to permit the election of women delegates to the Diocesan convention, begun in 1921 and dropped in 1922, was resumed in 1933 and continued until 1937, when the question was finally resolved by an affirmative vote.⁹¹

In 1935 the twentieth anniversary of Bishop Darst's consecration was observed, and a plan for the Bishop's Anniversary Fund to pay off the diocesan debt and support the episcopate was adopted.⁹² The bishop gave a brief survey of the accomplishments of the last twenty years, during which he had confirmed 7,461 persons and ordained 89 clergymen. Moreover, the Diocese of East Carolina, with only 14 self-supporting parishes, had conducted "the largest diocesan Missions program, per capita, of any diocese in the entire South." He turned the attention of the members toward their part in the Forward Movement of the Church and in the solution of the world's problems, which they must face with renewed spiritual energy and valor.⁹³ He pointed out, in 1940, that the problem of Church dropouts—more than 2,000 since 1915—was the result of inadequate preparation for confirmation or a failure of fellow members to give them sufficient personal attention.⁹⁴

A new black institution under diocesan sponsorship, the Good Shepherd Hospital at New Bern, had opened in 1938 to crown the efforts begun sixteen years earlier by the Reverend Robert I. Johnson, rector of St. Cyprian's Church.⁹⁵ Mr. Johnson had placed himself and his church at the service of his people when the area was devastated by fire in 1922.⁹⁶ He became vice-chairman of the Red Cross Disaster Committee and directed much of the relief work, while the church was used as a hospital. From this experience came his dream and the drive to provide a hospital for the blacks of eastern North Carolina; at the time, only one hospital bed was available for every 10,000 black people, whereas the national average was one bed for every 2,000. In 1930, the dream was given its first organized backing when Bishop Darst appointed a Committee on the Proposed Hospital for Colored People of New Bern.⁹⁷ The chairman was the Reverend Guy H. Ma-

dara, rector of Christ Church; the secretary was the Reverend Mr. Johnson; and the treasurer was the Reverend Walter R. Noe, who succeeded to the chairmanship. Mr. Johnson also received some northern financial support. In his first report to the East Carolina Diocesan Convention, he announced the choice of the name Good Shepherd Hospital and Training School and challenged the Diocese to serve black people. Construction of a building began in 1936 on property left to the Diocese by the Reverend E. M. Forbes.⁹⁸ Completed in 1938 with support both from within and outside the Diocese, notably from the Woman's Auxiliary, the building was dedicated on 26 June in services presided over by Bishop Darst.⁹⁹

Good Shepherd Hospital was described as "a unique venture in interracial cooperation." With a building and equipment valued at \$68,000, which was free of debt, the hospital celebrated its first anniversary in 1939. An association of "The Friends of Good Shepherd Hospital" was formed to work in its behalf. Mr. Johnson noted that in its first year of operation the hospital had treated 416 patients in its wards and 4,000 in its clinics. It had received widespread commendation for its service to a portion of the 300,000 blacks in the Diocese by fulfilling its "mission of bringing the healing ministries of our Lord through the Church to a people who need these ministries more than is often understood, even by themselves."¹⁰⁰ With fees supplemented by financial support and supplies from Church people, friends, the community, county and state agencies, and private foundations, the institution was endeavoring to provide the needed care while staying within its means and reducing the per capita cost of its operation. Good Shepherd Hospital was also said to be in a position to train black doctors and nurses to help their own people.¹⁰¹ In reporting on the first five years of the hospital's operation, Johnson cited statistics of service rendered and praised the fine work of the staff physicians, both white and black.¹⁰² He announced that the federal government, "realizing our fitness to be chosen for the task," would finance an addition with a capacity of twenty-five beds at a cost of \$35,000. He spoke of the new challenge presented by the personnel of the marine and army installations in the area, and of the need to look for more support from within the Diocese and the South. Good Shepherd, he said, was "a house of prayer" and the superintendent was its chaplain. The federal government also provided \$46,000 for a nurses' home.¹⁰³ In May 1943 the hospital was incorporated. Its connection with the Church was maintained by the require-

ment that the trustees be elected by the Diocesan Convention with the bishop as *ex officio* chairman. Superintendent Johnson stated in 1945 that the hospital had fifty-five beds and that the nurses' home was finished.¹⁰⁴ He added that, although the population of New Bern had doubled since 1938, the number of doctors remained the same with a consequent "terrific" demand on them. Costs and wages had increased, the latter doubling, but more patients were able to pay their way. In 1943 the Reverend Mr. Johnson was appointed Archdeacon of the Colored Convocation, a major concern of Bishop Darst and the Diocese from the outset of his administration.¹⁰⁵

Meanwhile, in 1939 St. Paul's School at Beaufort closed after forty years of service to East Carolina, a record for which much credit was due to the inspiration of the Reverend Thomas P. Noe and Mrs. Nannie P. Geoffroy.¹⁰⁶ In 1924 Bishop Darst had suggested that, provided it could finance the undertaking, the Diocese should take over the institution and operate it as a diocesan boarding and day school. He announced that the Board of Incorporators of St. Paul's School had organized a board of directors with the bishop as chairman and the Reverend Walter R. Noe as secretary-treasurer, and that he had called together ten representative churchmen and women to discuss a plan proposed by Mr. Noe to establish the St. Paul's School Association. This association would be made up of individuals, Sunday schools, and guilds and branches of the Woman's Auxiliary that agreed to give \$5 a month or \$60 a year to the school's maintenance fund. This plan was enthusiastically endorsed and a committee was appointed to implement it. A Convention committee in 1924 noted the school's past services to Church, state, and community; its financial handicaps and needs; and the desirability of establishing a closer relationship between the school and the Diocese. The following resolutions were proposed:

1. Resolved, That this Convention cordially approves of the plan of forming an Association for providing necessary funds for the support of St. Paul's School, requests the Bishop to forward the plan and pledges its hearty and loyal support.

2. Resolved, That for the purpose of bringing St. Paul's School into close connection with the Diocese of East Carolina and to facilitate the work of the above Association we now proceed to nominate Seven Directors to the Board of Directors of St. Paul's School, Incorporated with the distinct understanding and stipu-

lation that the Diocese of East Carolina does not thereby assume any responsibility for appropriating any money out of its treasury for the financial support of St. Paul's School.

The first resolution was adopted and the second was referred to the Executive Council with power to act. At a meeting on 28 January 1926, the Council concluded that it must with regret inform "the Management of St. Paul's School, Beaufort that it is unable to come to the financial assistance of the School or to aid it in continuing its work."¹⁰⁷ The diocesan treasurer was instructed in 1928 to send \$645.69 of the funds contributed to the St. Paul's School Association to the Thompson Orphanage as authorized by the donors, and the treasurer reported remitting \$659.42 to the orphanage.¹⁰⁸ In 1929, the \$298 in the school fund was transferred to diocesan missions.¹⁰⁹ The school was continued for another decade, however. Mrs. Geoffroy died in 1937. After the school closed, a part of its dormitory and dining hall was used by the Church as a parish house.

After 7 December 1941 world war again offered Bishop Darst and his Diocese opportunities for service. As before, they provided fighting men, money, ministrations, and chaplains.¹¹⁰ Later, a Special Gifts Fund for this work was established. Despite the efforts of all its agencies and people, especially the congregations near the military establishments, the Diocese fell short in meeting the burgeoning needs, which were greater in East Carolina than in most other dioceses, and it was helped out by the National Church.

Bishop Darst was laid low by illness in 1943 and, although he recovered to a considerable degree, he gave notice in May 1944 that he would decide by November whether to offer his resignation to the House of Bishops in January 1945.¹¹¹ The decision to retire was made, but the bishop agreed to serve until 1 May 1945. He thus presided over the 1945 Convention, which celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of his consecration and heard his closing address.¹¹²

Another good shepherd in the line of East Carolina's bishops, Thomas Campbell Darst received due recognition from the Standing Committee and the Committee on the State of the Church in 1945.¹¹³ He was as conservative as Bishop Watson in holding the line for fundamentals, and as alive to the changing times and the needs for a wider outlook and expanding leadership as Bishop Strange. Above all, he never lost sight of the importance of personal spiritual concern and consecration. As bishop and preacher he was an effective evan-

gelist. Organization, he said, could not “take the place of the spirit of God.”¹¹⁴ In a world of heightened tension he stressed the need for “dignity and beauty of worship,” for a “quiet confidence in the overshadowing power of God,” and for “belief in the inherent goodness of man.”¹¹⁵

A newcomer to East Carolina, Bishop Darst soon won the hearts of the people and in time made himself one with the Diocese, as both they and he came to realize.¹¹⁶ The material progress of the Diocese during his episcopate may be measured in part by a comparison of data for the years 1915 and 1945 (see Table XII-3).¹¹⁷ The bishop took personal as well as episcopal interest in the efforts to restore historic St. Thomas’s Church at Bath, a diocesan shrine, and the town of Bath itself.¹¹⁸

Bishop Darst’s abilities as a missionary won national recognition and praise for both the bishop and his Diocese.¹¹⁹ As a member of the Field Department of the National Council, he gave unsparingly of his time and talents in presenting the Church’s program for continuing the spirit of the Nation-Wide Campaign. In a letter of 31 December 1923 to the Reverend Walter R. Noe, the executive secretary of the Field Department expressed the department’s appreciation of the bishop’s services as a speaker and of the Diocese’s cooperation in making him available, adding that the department would need him again for 1924.¹²⁰

East Carolina was the first diocese to present a specific program for evangelism to the National Commission on Evangelism, and Bishop Darst served as its first chairman from 1925 to 1934. In 1926, he informed the Diocesan Convention that the Church recognized the need for evangelism and that plans for a “great spiritual crusade” were being made.¹²¹ His “inspiring leadership” of that campaign—called the “Bishops’ Crusade for Spiritual Awakening”—and the Diocese’s willingness to part with him were gratefully acknowledged by the commission.¹²² He faithfully attended the commission’s meetings and, in April and May 1926, went on a six-week speaking trip to the West Coast and back in behalf of the commission’s work.¹²³ In September he set up offices in the National Cathedral at Washington, D.C., to prepare for the Bishops’ Crusade, to which he gave full time during a six-month leave of absence from his diocesan duties. He returned to East Carolina in March 1927 and thereafter did “double duty,” which he reported to be strenuous but worthwhile and a priv-

TABLE XII-3

Comparative Data: The Tenure of Bishop Darst, 1915 and 1945

	1915	1945
Parishes and missions	39 and 54	48 and 49
Clergy	32	49
Lay readers	29	50
Confirmations	548	381 ^a
Communicants	5,776	8,350
Sunday schools	73	70
Teachers	492	415
Pupils	4,328	3,536
Contributions		
Parochial	\$55,630.37	\$158,552.60
Diocesan	14,414.48	55,958.58 ^b
National	10,785.86	6,051.95 ^c
Total	\$80,829.86	\$220,563.13
Property Value (estimated)	\$572,550.00	\$1,803,410.00
Bishop's salary	\$3,000.00	\$6,000.00

Source: Tables of Statistical Abstracts, *East Carolina Diocesan Journal* 1915 and 1945; see also Diocesan Statistics or Summary, 1915, 117; 1945, 63-66.

^aBishop Darst's illness should be noted in connection with the decline in confirmations reported in 1945.

^bDiocesan and National.

^cOther receipts.

ilege.¹²⁴ Darst had declined a request to give full time to the Crusade for a four-year period but continued to share his time and was given more adequate assistance. He also continued over the years to make his leadership felt in the General Conventions and was much in demand throughout the Church as a speaker. He was awarded the Doctor of Divinity degree by Roanoke College, the Virginia Seminary, the University of the South, Duke University, and the University of North Carolina.¹²⁵

*East Carolina Enters a New Age:
The Vigorous Leadership of Bishop Wright*

For the fourth Bishop of East Carolina, taking over the administration of the Diocese was a homecoming. Born on 16 October 1904 at Wilmington to John Maffitt Wright and Josie Young Whitaker, Thomas Henry Wright was raised up in St. James's Church. He prepared for and graduated from the University of the South in 1926, worked as a clerk for the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (1926–27), and entered the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Virginia, from which he was graduated in 1930. He was ordained to both the diaconate and the priesthood by Bishop Darst and ministered (1931–32) to the Episcopal students at the University of North Carolina. In 1933–34 he was acting secretary of College Work for the National Church and from 1934 to 1941, while rector of the Robert E. Lee Memorial Church at Lexington, Virginia, served as chaplain at Washington and Lee University (which honored him with the D.D. degree) and the Virginia Military Institute. Dr. Wright was dean of Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, California, from 1941 to 1943, and rector of St. Mark's Church, San Antonio, Texas, from 1943 to 1945. Unanimously elected Bishop of East Carolina on 24 May 1945 (his being the only name presented), he was consecrated in St. James's Church, Wilmington, on 5 October by Bishops Henry St. George Tucker (the presiding bishop), Darst, and Noble C. Powell of Maryland.¹²⁶

The order of the day for the new administration was set by the National Church's Reconstruction and Advance Fund of 1945, as reported to the 1946 Diocesan Convention by the bishop and Executive Council.¹²⁷ A goal of \$30,000 to be raised by a canvass in the parishes and missions was accepted for the Diocese of East Carolina. Supervision of *The Mission Herald* was assumed by a board of publication in 1946.¹²⁸

On the death of Archdeacon Johnson in 1946, Ozzie T. Faison became superintendent of Good Shepherd Hospital and faced problems of plant renovation and finance.¹²⁹ The Executive Council authorized a special committee to pay what the Diocese owed the hospital and "work out a plan to subsidize the Hospital into an All-Protestant Hospital."¹³⁰ The Council also approved Bishop Wright's purchase of the government-owned buildings at the hospital for \$1,000, the

money to be paid from hospital funds over a five-year period. In 1949, the Diocesan Convention, having received a purchase offer, unanimously resolved "that the Good Shepherd Hospital be retained by our Church and that no action be taken by the Hospital Board to transfer the Hospital to the Roman Catholic Church without referring the matter to the Convention of the Diocese."¹³¹ The Committee on the State of the Church in 1950 commended the members of the hospital board for "their great contribution of time and the splendid results gained."¹³² At the time the hospital consisted of an attractive one-story building containing fifty-eight beds and eight bassinet beds, a modern operating room, and a nurses' home; the facility was valued at more than \$150,000. Superintendent Faison reported that Good Shepherd had handled every type of case, saved many lives, and lost few patients.¹³³ He credited the Woman's Auxiliary, which in 1949 had answered an appeal for \$1,000 for equipment, and the Diocese of East Carolina with 50 percent of the progress achieved. Other dioceses throughout the country and the National Council also provided supplies. Faison declared that community service, which had been the hospital's watchword from the beginning, was being expanded, but he pointed out that serving people who were least able to pay without an endowment and with rising costs was no easy task. For these reasons Good Shepherd Hospital limited its charity cases to 30 percent of total patients served, whereas 60 to 65 percent of the patients served by the average hospital were charity cases. The superintendent asked the churches of the Diocese to set aside a Sunday each year as "Good Shepherd Hospital Day" for a special collection to help defray the cost of charity work, depreciation, and new equipment. The next year he was able to report that services to the indigent had increased; a laboratory X-ray technician had been hired (the hospital had been without one since 1946); the North Carolina State Board of Health had approved the laboratory; the services of a radiologist were available for the first time; and, with the assistance of Bishop Wright, the Duke Endowment, and friends of the Church, a modern X-ray machine had been installed at a cost of \$10,500. Patients' fees had covered operating expenses for the last three years but not capital outlay.¹³⁴

Good Shepherd Hospital maintained its "A" rating during 1951, was licensed by the North Carolina Medical Care Commission, and applied for approval by the American College of Surgeons. Superintendent Faison considered 1952 to be one of the most successful years

in the hospital's history. Many improvements had been made and much new equipment added; the medical staff had been enlarged and the nursing staff was complete, with ten registered nurses; donations had increased; and finally, the hospital had a cash balance and no outstanding bills.¹³⁵ In December 1954, after twenty-two years of service to the Protestant Episcopal Church as a medical missionary in China and Alaska, Dr. Lula M. Disoway, a native of New Bern, became medical director.¹³⁶ That year the hospital acquired a new wing costing \$90,000, and two years later it was eligible to receive a grant of \$22,900 from the Ford Foundation.¹³⁷ Damage to the hospital by Hurricane Hazel in 1954 amounted to \$1,000, of which only \$375 was covered by insurance. The North Carolina Division of Surplus provided two diesel electric power units and a gasoline water pump to make possible more efficient service in the event of a power failure.

Superintendent Faison's Tenth Annual Report to the hospital's board of directors and the Diocesan Convention in 1957 summarized a decade of progress (for comparative data for the years 1946 and 1956, see Table XII-4).¹³⁸ He announced as a project for 1957 a new wing to be financed by grants from the Ford Foundation and the Duke Endowment. The Good Shepherd Hospital's twentieth anniversary was marked by the award of accreditation for a three-year period by the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals, by the continuing increase in the cost of hospitalization (the per diem per patient rose from \$13.10 in 1957 to \$14.41 in 1958), by continued dedication to service, and by the hope of completing the hospital's chapel, which was sponsored by the men's group of Christ Church and the rector of St. Cyprian's Church, the Reverend Francis G. Johnson.¹³⁹

The work in behalf of the men in the armed forces was continued by white and black churches in the Fayetteville, Goldsboro, Elizabeth City, New Bern, Jacksonville, and Wilmington areas with the help of the Woman's Auxiliary and the Army and Navy Commission of the National Church.¹⁴⁰ East Carolina stood first among the dioceses in its response to the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief, giving 225 percent of its expected quota.¹⁴¹

Once again in 1948 the campaign for realignment of diocesan boundaries was resumed with the appointment of a committee, under the chairmanship of Junius D. Grimes, the Chancellor of the Diocese of East Carolina, to hold joint discussions with the other two dioceses.¹⁴² This committee presented to the Convention of 1949 a detailed and statistical report of its work in proposing the cession by

TABLE XII-4

Comparative Data: Good Shepherd Hospital, New Bern, 1946 and 1956

	1946	1956
Financial status	Deficit of over \$3,000	No deficit
	Unable to pay monthly bills	Able to pay
Condition of plant	Run down	In much better condition
Plant capital	\$99,632.46	\$177,938.17 ^a
Support		
from Welfare Department	\$600 per year	More than \$17,000 per year
from City of New Bern	\$50 per month	\$150 per month
Total income	ca. \$36,000	ca. \$142,000
Number on payroll	18	36 ^b

Source: *East Carolina Diocesan Journal* 1957, 76-77.

^aOver \$30,000 of equipment had been purchased since 1946.

^bA medical director, anesthetist, 2 laboratory technicians, radiologist, and record librarian were added.

the Diocese of North Carolina of Wilson, Edgecombe, Nash, Halifax, and Northampton counties, and of the continued opposition of North Carolina. Although this meant another rebuff for East Carolina, the campaign was not terminated.

The same year a committee recommended acceptance of the terms of the owners, Mrs. Alice Hoffman and others, for the acquisition by the Diocese of the Bogue Sound property known as the Quentin Roosevelt Memorial Site to be used as a campsite and conference center.¹⁴³ Also in 1949 the Bishop Darst Memorial Fund was initiated in tribute to the late bishop, who had died on 1 September 1948, leaving three sons by his first wife, Florence Newton Wise of Alexandria, Virginia, who died in 1914, and a daughter by his second wife, Fannie Lauriston Hardin of Wilmington.¹⁴⁴ Further, since 1949 the Diocese of East Carolina has been associated with the work of the North Carolina Council of Churches.

A diocesan survey committee, suggested in 1948 and created in

1949, made its report in 1950.¹⁴⁵ The report advocated a long-range study and program for realignment of the mission fields and revision of the canons. A proposed change in the classification of congregations was adopted in 1950.¹⁴⁶ Three classifications were established: full parishes, aided parishes, and missions. Full parishes were churches that were entirely self-supporting, paid all of the rector's salary, maintained a "suitable rectory," and met "promptly their mathematical apportionment." Aided parishes were churches that contributed at least one-half of the clergyman's salary, rectory allocation, and travel allocation; or that were part of a self-sustaining field and contributed at least one-third of salary and rectory and travel allocations. Missions were designated as diocesan or parochial. Also in 1950 aid for displaced persons abroad was undertaken by the bishop and the Diocese in answer to the National Church's call, and the Korean War added to the demands on the Diocese's armed forces ministry.¹⁴⁷

The Diocese had set a goal to be self-supporting when the five-year campaign to raise monies for the Bishop Darst Memorial Fund was concluded.¹⁴⁸ Of the financial quota of \$100,000, \$92,000 was raised by 1953 and \$125,000 by 1955.¹⁴⁹ Self-support, a concern of each of East Carolina's bishops, was finally attained by the end of 1954.

A resolution from the Department of Promotion to establish a committee to consider a new location for the diocesan headquarters was adopted in 1953.¹⁵⁰ As of 1963, this had not gone beyond the discussion stage. Involved were geography and convenience on the one hand, and history and sentiment on the other. Greenville and Kinston were two possible choices. In Wilmington, the Diocese acquired a new Diocesan House presented in 1953 by Mrs. Walter Marvin (Lucile Murchison) and Dr. David Reid Murchison as a memorial to Lucy Wright Murchison Giles and David Reid Murchison.¹⁵¹

The end of the campaign for the Bishop Darst Fund coincided with the beginning of the Builders for Christ Campaign in 1954 to raise \$75,000 for six national and diocesan projects,¹⁵² including the National Council's Work, Work among Blacks, Army Work in the Diocese, College Work at East Carolina College, and the Bogue Sound Property and Camp Leach Property for summer youth camps. This campaign proceeded under the supervision of a committee headed by A. H. Jeffress of Kinston and sparked by the efforts of the indefatigable executive secretary of the Diocese, the Reverend Daniel W. Allen, a true and worthy successor of the versatile and devoted Walter Raleigh Noe.

Two other important actions were taken at this time. To bring the constitution and canons up to date, a number of revisions were made in 1954 and 1955.¹⁵³ In 1954, the College Work Commission was established to direct that developing and significant area of diocesan effort, in which the work at East Carolina College (now University) played a major role.¹⁵⁴ Work among the students at the Greenville institution had begun in 1920s in conjunction with St. Paul's Parish. The Woman's Auxiliary contributed to the support of a worker in 1929, the Diocese raised a fund for a student center at St. Paul's Church in 1930, the National Church's Department of Religious Education added its support in 1932, and the work was made full time under the direction of the rector and a chaplain in 1954.¹⁵⁵ Through the local parishes, work was also carried on among the students at Elizabeth City State College, Flora Macdonald College at Red Springs, and Wilmington College.¹⁵⁶ Beyond its boundaries East Carolina had responded to the solicitations of the Protestant Episcopal Church's theological seminaries; to those of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, and St. Augustine's College at Raleigh; and especially to those of St. Mary's School at Raleigh and the Thompson Orphanage at Charlotte.

In 1897, when St. Mary's School was chartered as a Church institution, the Diocese of East Carolina began to contribute to the school's operational and scholarship funds.¹⁵⁷ East Carolina was represented on the St. Mary's Board of Trustees and received the reports of its representatives and school officials. East Carolina girls attended the school and joined the ranks of its alumnae. In 1912 the Convention was informed that St. Mary's needed \$50,000 to retire its debt and \$100,000 for endowments, and the next year the Reverend Locke W. Blackwelder, rector of Grace Church, Plymouth, was named commissioner to raise funds for the school in East Carolina.¹⁵⁸ In 1917, a special committee was appointed to work with the trustees in the school's campaign for \$250,000,¹⁵⁹ of which this Diocese was expected to raise \$50,000. There was pressure to conclude the campaign in 1919 to clear the way for one in behalf of Sewanee.¹⁶⁰ East Carolina's pledges to the campaign fund were reported in 1921 to be \$24,517.¹⁶¹

In 1929, the Executive Council of the Diocese authorized the Committee on Finance to appropriate \$500 a year for St. Mary's.¹⁶² The Convention in 1944 endorsed the school's plan to raise \$500,000 for repairs and improvements, and the Woman's Auxiliary contributed to the campaign.¹⁶³ November 1948 marked the end of the Centennial

Campaign and the beginning of the Living Endowment Fund of St. Mary's School and Junior College.¹⁶⁴ The five owning dioceses, of which East Carolina was one, were reported to have contributed \$3,000 toward the school's support in 1949 and \$4,100 in 1950. St. Mary's was allotted \$500 in East Carolina's budget for 1951.¹⁶⁵ In that year, the Diocese approved the school's campaign to raise \$300,000 for building and repairs. East Carolina girls made up 23 percent of St. Mary's enrollment in 1952. In 1953 the Diocese pledged \$18,884.75 to the Development Fund Program out of a tentative goal of \$60,000 set for the area. East Carolina increased its budget allotment for St. Mary's Junior College to \$1,000 in 1956 and to \$1,500 in 1957.¹⁶⁶

The association of East Carolina with the Thompson Orphanage and Training Institution had begun before it opened in 1887 on property used for a boys' school built as a memorial to Lewis Thompson and his daughter Pattie of Bertie County and deeded to the Diocese of North Carolina by the Reverend Benjamin S. Bronson, rector of St. Mark's Mission, Charlotte.¹⁶⁷ East Carolinians continued to contribute to the institution's financial support and to participate in its activities and administration. Beginning in 1890 and throughout the period of this chapter, the Diocese of East Carolina was represented on the board of managers, and the Diocesan Convention received annual reports from its representatives on the board and from the superintendents of the orphanage. The 1898 report stated that East Carolina had "placed twenty orphans there and its contributions should aggregate one thousand dollars in money or eatables." The orphanage was commended "to the prayers and the purses of the Churchmen and the philanthropic in East Carolina" in 1905 by the diocesan representatives, the Reverend Dr. Carmichael and Walter G. McRae, who added: "You have done well in the past, you can do better in the future."¹⁶⁸ Through the Nation-Wide Campaign, East Carolina contributed \$2,576.06 in 1920.¹⁶⁹

East Carolina did not join the other dioceses in the \$150,000 Building Fund Campaign approved by the Inter-Diocesan Committee in 1923. Instead, the Diocese undertook to carry out a separate solicitation and to build two cottages to which would be applied the money left by Mary C. Dodd Elliott of Fayetteville.¹⁷⁰ Bishop Darst announced in 1925 that Mrs. Graham Kenan of Wilmington would provide one cottage (\$21,000); Mrs. Lawrence Sprunt of Wilmington, Mrs. Charles R. Thomas of New Bern, and Mrs. Harry M. Cason of Edenton each contributed the cost of a room (\$2,000), and St. Paul's

Parish, Edenton, two rooms. The Diocese's contributions to the orphanage were reported to be \$1,545.67 for 1924 plus \$2,363.43 from the Thanksgiving Offering, whereas for 1925 total cash receipts of \$5,627.94 were credited to East Carolina.¹⁷¹ A Convention resolution of 1926 guaranteed the orphanage \$7,000, to be raised by the parishes accepting a set amount as their share and designating the Thanksgiving and/or Christmas Offerings for that purpose. The diocesan committee suggested the need for a study of ways and means and included in its report detailed replies it had received from the superintendent in answer to its queries. In 1927 the committee announced that the money had been raised for 1926 and that a similar goal was set for 1927. Actual receipts from East Carolina in 1927 reported by the orphanage were \$6,102.29. In 1928 the Executive Council adopted a resolution to guarantee the orphanage \$5,000 and to try to raise \$7,000. East Carolina requested and was granted representation on the orphanage's executive committee. The Convention authorized the transfer of funds from the Elliott Legacy for building a cottage to the construction of a new chapel—provided that it could be done legally under the terms of the will. East Carolina was assigned a quota of twenty-five children to be cared for at the orphanage, but at times more were there. In 1929 the cost of their care was \$7,697.50, whereas cash receipts from East Carolina totaled \$3,527.91. In 1931, A. S. Bynum of Farmville in the Diocese of East Carolina became assistant superintendent of the orphanage.¹⁷² Individuals and organizations in the Diocese answered Superintendent Wheeler's call for funds in 1935 to avoid an impending deficit. In 1940 and 1941, East Carolina did not quite meet its quota of \$3,000 for the orphanage.¹⁷³ Approval was given in 1944 to the orphanage's plan to raise \$50,000 for a Revolving and Permanent Improvement Fund.

Outstanding among the diocesan organizations that assisted the Thompson Orphanage was the Woman's Auxiliary. In 1931 it clothed twenty-five children, and in 1938 it donated forty-six boxes of new clothing amounting to \$1,127.91. In 1943 its Christian Social Relations Department contributed \$637.82. Over \$1,000 in cash and gifts was given in both 1944 and 1946. In 1959, the auxiliary reported that during the preceding year it had contributed over \$4,000 worth of Christmas gifts, clothing, allowances, graduation gifts, government bonds, used clothing, and cash.¹⁷⁴

East Carolina's Thanksgiving Offering to the orphanage declined between 1947 and 1949 from \$6,034.19 to \$5,258.33, but in 1953 it

was reported to be \$6,532.32 and in 1959 it was \$6,705.93. The Diocese approved the orphanage's plan to develop its Charlotte real estate.¹⁷⁵

At the time of its 1955 meeting, the Woman's Auxiliary was not only maintaining but also expanding its great work of long standing in the Diocese, work that had sustained and won the appreciation of each of its bishops from Watson to Wright. Under its new name, the Episcopal Churchwomen (1958), this organization supported the missionary and social service activities of the Diocese and the National Church at home and overseas.¹⁷⁶

Over the years the laymen of the Diocese, who had served individually as lay readers, diocesan and parochial officers, and committee members since Bishop Watson's time, gradually became organized and assumed a more important role in the life of the Diocese. The Missionary Movement in 1910 and especially the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, established in 1930, led to the formation (1936–39) of the Laymen's League, which began its United Thank Offering in 1941. It was reorganized in 1947 as the Laymen's Association and became a division of the Executive Council in 1959.¹⁷⁷ The association's parochial and diocesan meetings and projects, such as the development of the Bogue Sound Property, attested to its new vitality and won merited recognition.¹⁷⁸

A Camps and Conference Board took over, in 1955, the supervision of Camp Leach, the Hoffman Center on Bogue Sound, and, in 1956, the new Camp Oceanside on Topsail Island for black campers, who had previously used Camp Baskerville in South Carolina.¹⁷⁹ East Carolina also participated in the activities and support of the Lake Kanuga Center.

In 1955, the Diocese took note of the tenth anniversary of Bishop Wright's consecration, and the bishop called for lay evangelism—"each one sponsor one."¹⁸⁰ The following year a committee was named to plan for a Diocesan Survey to be carried out by the Department of Research of the National Council.¹⁸¹

A primary concern of Bishop Wright was how to increase the minimum salaries of the missionary clergy.¹⁸² Believing that "a proper and morally adequate level" had not been reached, he proposed salaries of \$4,200 and \$3,600 for married and unmarried clergymen, respectively, as well as a rectory and pension assessment for both. The Episcopal Foundation—to provide an endowment to carry out the

work of the Diocese, especially to help worthy young men and women prepare for religious work and to supplement clerical salaries, and to receive and manage property for such purposes—was revived in 1957 with Will G. Gaither of Elizabeth City as president.¹⁸³ In 1959 the foundation received a gift of about \$100,000 from the estate of the late Reverend and Mrs. Thomas P. Noe.¹⁸⁴ At the suggestion of the bishop and the Reverend John W. Drake, rector of St. Paul's Church, Greenville, a Diocesan Cycle of Prayer for the extension of the Church and evangelism in the Diocese was inaugurated in 1957.¹⁸⁵

A Diamond Jubilee was celebrated in 1958 on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Diocese's formation in 1883. A year later, the Convention adopted a new missionary strategy taking into account East Carolina's geography, economy, and society and concentrating on one missionary area each year.¹⁸⁶ The ministry to the especially large and constantly changing personnel in the various military establishments within the boundaries of the Diocese of East Carolina led in 1959 to the creation of an Armed Forces Commission.¹⁸⁷ This commission was concerned with the services provided to Fort Bragg and Pope Air Force Base (Fayetteville parishes), Seymour Johnson Air Force Base (Goldsboro parishes), Camp Lejeune and Marine Corps Air Facility (St. Anne's Church, Jacksonville), the United States Marine Corps Air Station at Cherry Point (St. Christopher's Church, Havelock), and the United States Coast Guard (Elizabeth City parishes).

To the Diocese of East Carolina Bishop Wright brought vigor, vision, and militant leadership equal to the changing conditions of the postwar world. This strength was coupled with a warm personal touch that won for the bishop, his wife (the former Hannah Hagans Knowlton, known as "Miss Hannah"), and their four children the heartfelt response of the people of East Carolina. Bishop Wright exhorted them to help the Church meet the challenge of communism, war, and human misery.¹⁸⁸ He spoke of a "moral peace" and pointed out the grounds for optimism in the struggle, the signs of progress in the midst of apparent defeat or stalemate.¹⁸⁹ He believed that the Church held the answers to the world's needs if its people would but draw on its resources, practice the Gospel, and proclaim it to the world courageously.¹⁹⁰

To implement his plans for the Church in East Carolina, Bishop Wright stressed the need for evangelism.¹⁹¹ In 1954 he took up the

matter of confirmations, which had markedly increased over the years, especially during his episcopate, but not enough; and he set a goal for the Diocese to increase communicant strength by 8 percent.¹⁹² He called for a personalizing of missions and the maintenance of unity in difference and free discussion, together with an inner peace and quiet confidence.¹⁹³ The bishop could take satisfaction in the Diocese's ability to become self-supporting, in the development of an expanded and rather efficient organization to carry out the work of the Diocese, and in his people, who, while still grounded in the historic East Carolina heritage, were adapting to change, widening their horizons, and giving themselves to meeting needs and solving problems at home and overseas—both within and beyond the Anglican community.¹⁹⁴

Bishop Wright's personal interest encouraged the Diocese to step up its efforts in many areas of concern—the missions, social service and improved race relations on the diocesan and to a degree (with some notable instances) on the parochial and community levels, college work, work with the armed forces, and world peace and relief. He was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of the South and the Virginia Theological Seminary in 1946; and he was called on to serve the National Church overseas.¹⁹⁵ Diocesan progress under his leadership, as measured by comparative data for 1945 and 1959, is shown in Table XII-5.

A Christian militancy and charity—expressed in a variety of ways arising out of different personalities and different times—have characterized all four of East Carolina's bishops discussed here. Watson and Darst perhaps were more conservative and reserved, Strange and Wright more liberal and flexible in approach. Each, whether a native of the Diocese or not, made himself a part of it and became a good shepherd of his flock. There was preserved down through the years since 1883 a basic continuity of aims and principles. Especially had the Diocese of East Carolina been a missionary diocese from the start, despite its traditional rural, agricultural provincialism and its limited financial means.

Shifts in population and changing needs resulting from new and growing military bases, colleges, industrial centers, and urban areas brought new problems and new outlooks to the Diocese and its people. Missions were the result of deepening individual vocation as well as of extending organizational effort. These trends and problems bid fair to continue and to become more complex. Drawing on its

TABLE XII-5

Comparative Data: The Tenure of Bishop Wright, 1945 and 1959

	1945	1959
Parishes and missions	49 and 49	34 and 49 ^a
Clergy	49	58
Lay readers	50	172
Confirmations	381	561
Communicants	8,350	9,379
Sunday schools	70	63
Teachers	415	635
Pupils	3,536	4,957
Contributions		
Parochial	\$158,552.60	\$605,514.33
Diocesan and National	55,958.58	54,185.80
Other receipts	6,051.95	837,192.90
Total	\$220,563.13	\$1,496,893.03
Property Value (estimated)	\$1,803,410.00	\$6,450,563.56
Bishop's salary	\$6,000.00	\$10,000.00

Source: Tables of Statistical Abstracts, *East Carolina Diocesan Journal* 1945 and 1959; see also Diocesan Summaries, 1945, 63-66, and 1959, 39.

^aIn 1959, parishes and missions were classified as follows: 25 full parishes, 9 aided parishes, 49 missions, 1 preaching station, and 2 parochial shrines.

historical heritage and inner spiritual strengths and following the vigorous leadership of its bishops, the Diocese of East Carolina has advanced to meet them with confidence in the essential rightness of its cause and course. Every East Carolina clergyman, layman, churchwoman, Canterburyan, young churchman, and Church schoolchild may well say with his or her bishop: "Christi Cruce Confido."

*The Episcopal Church in Western
North Carolina, 1894-1948**ELIZABETH N. THOMSON*

The first Episcopal presence west of the Catawba River was that of Robert Johnston Miller, affectionately known as "Parson" Miller, who moved to Lincoln County in 1786 where he served in Lincolnton, Rutherfordton, and Lenoir. The next incursion of Episcopalians came up the Buncombe Turnpike from Charleston, South Carolina, when the healthful air of the mountains was discovered by families seeking to escape the heat and the malaria of the lowlands. A group of Charlestonians moved into Flat Rock and brought its own chaplain with it. A small wooden chapel was built but burned only a few years afterward. Then a brick church was built and consecrated in 1832-36, making St. John's-in-the-Wilderness at Flat Rock the oldest existing church building in western North Carolina.

As the road continued northward, so followed the Church, and St. James, Hendersonville, and Calvary, Fletcher, were organized. These Episcopal churches were fairly isolated. As John Stark Ravenscroft, the first Bishop of North Carolina, said in his address to the Convention of 1825, "It is evident that the present strength of the church is in the eastern section . . . in the western section of the diocese the prospect is very discouraging."¹ For many years the bishop even omitted the few places in the west from his visitation, giving as his reason "the impossibility of so dividing my time as to give such distant places any profitable portion of it, and . . . the very gloomy prospects for the church in this section . . . did not seem to justify the sacrifice the visitation would cost."² He did visit occasionally, however, for there is evidence that he held services in Asheville as early as 1828. In fact, one story of this bishop bears repeating. While holding a service in the upstairs room of the courthouse, it came time for the declaration of the faith in the saying of the Creed. Noticing that the congregation had remained seated, the bishop shouted,

“Stand up and say your Creed like Christians.”³ It is reported that the members stood!

The next bishop, Levi Silliman Ives, was an indefatigable missionary who wanted to extend the work of the Church into the western portion of his Diocese. The story has been told of his trip in 1842 when he became lost and rode into a most beautiful valley. Naming it Valle Crucis, he determined to bring Christianity and the Church to the people of that valley. This was the beginning of the Episcopal Church in the more northern mountain areas. It was at the training school for ministers established there by Bishop Ives that Jarvis Buxton was trained. While he was in charge of St. Francis, Rutherfordton, Buxton was asked to go to Asheville to baptize a baby. We can conjecture that this young missionary had discovered Asheville after the Hickory Nut Turnpike was completed in 1847. He was fond of horseback riding and through Hickory Nut Gorge was a beautiful ride.⁴ Buxton continued to make this journey, forty-one miles each way, as Trinity Church, Asheville, began to be organized. Finally, he gave up the work in Rutherfordton and moved to Asheville where he became Trinity's first rector.

In 1853, Bishop Thomas Atkinson was elected to succeed Bishop Ives and, being much interested in education, wished to start a school for boys after an attempt in Raleigh had failed. The Convention of 1854 decided to establish such an institution in Pittsboro, North Carolina, and called the Reverend Jarvis Buxton of Asheville to head it.⁵ The people of Asheville were reluctant to give up their rector and offered to establish such a school in Asheville. Called Ravenscroft School, it was successful for some years, though it closed in 1864 because of the Civil War. After the war it was reorganized and used as a training school for postulants.

The building of railroads brought Deacon Milnor Jones from Spartanburg to Tryon, perhaps at first because of his interest in investing in mountain lands.⁶ Wherever he went, he preached. He was attracted by the people of this primitive section, and the free and irresponsible work of an itinerant missionary suited his temperament. Jones gave up his parish in South Carolina and established a base in Polk County, North Carolina, in 1882. Much of the work in Polk County and later even in Henderson County, except for St. James in Hendersonville, can be attributed to his zeal.⁷

Asheville was now becoming the center of western North Carolina,

as the railroads had brought with them significant growth and prosperity. George Vanderbilt acquired thousands of acres of forest land and started building the famous Biltmore House. He was also instrumental in the creation of All Souls Church in 1895. By 1890 Asheville had a population of 8,000. Trinity Church, which had started with two families, in 1889 had 140 families and 310 communicants.

Trinity Church and the postulants at the training school were instrumental in extending the work of the Church in the area to Beaver Dam, Haw Creek, Chunn's Cove, West Asheville, and Waynesville. Grace was a mission from Trinity and St. Matthias was established for blacks. This expansion occurred despite the fact that roads were few and far between, mostly dirt, and in the rainy season almost impassable. After the Civil War, stagecoach service carried both passengers and mail into the western areas, but the service was slow and the ride uncomfortable. Electricity did not reach this part of the state until after the turn of the century, and there were no telephones in many communities until after World War II. Because communication was difficult, the western churches began to feel the need for their own bishop and their own organization. Bishops, too, felt the need for relief in ministering to this area.

The Movement for Independence

In his address to the Diocesan Convention in 1891, Bishop Lyman, then seventy-seven years old, outlined his summer visitation in the mountains. Leaving his office on 31 July and not returning until 15 September, he held services, preached, and confirmed in twenty-eight congregations, traveling, as he reported, over some "very rough mountain roads."⁸ From Cashiers Valley to Cullowhee, he "feared a very unpleasant journey" as the day was misty and threatening but later the clouds dispersed.⁹ In his address to the Convention of 1893 he pointed out a "matter of no little interest and importance, both to the Diocese and myself, which I desire to bring to the notice of the Convention." The "matter" was this: "At the close of my long visitation in the mountain districts last summer, I found myself much oppressed and without my usual elasticity of spirits. . . . I must not forget that I am not as young as I was ten years ago, and possibly I ought, in some degree, husband my strength."¹⁰ He then urged the appointment of a committee to con-

sider a solution. The Convention immediately adopted a resolution to elect an assistant bishop who would be paid a yearly salary of \$2,500. Nominations were made and, on the thirty-ninth ballot, Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., was elected.¹¹ He was consecrated on 15 October of the same year. Two months later, and only three days after the twentieth celebration of his consecration to the episcopate, Bishop Lyman died and Assistant Bishop Cheshire succeeded him as the Bishop of North Carolina.

Bishop Cheshire soon understood that the hardships of travel would prevent him from ministering to the western area of his jurisdiction. The Convention of 1894 adopted a resolution asking that a committee of five be appointed to "consider the advisability of requesting the General Convention to set apart the western portion of this Diocese as a Missionary Jurisdiction, and that they report to the next convention."¹² The committee was duly appointed and the next year presented a resolution to that effect.¹³ At the same time, the Convention set the line of division from the east at "the counties of Alleghany, Wilkes, Alexander, Catawba, Lincoln and Gaston."¹⁴

The Missionary District of Asheville

A special portion of the bishop's report for 1895 on "Our Diocesan Missionary Work" shows that Bishop Cheshire had seriously considered the work of the western portion of his Diocese:

This is first in place because first in importance. The whole life and hope of the Church in North Carolina are bound up in this work. As the weak and seemingly insignificant fibrous roots which spread away furthest from the trunk really gather the nourishment by which the tree lives, so shall we in this Diocese grow and strengthen just in the measure that we push our missionary enterprises beyond the limits of our larger and stronger parishes. . . .

I have dwelt more at length upon the work in this [western] part of the Diocese because it is more purely missionary, and because the necessities of this part of the work will come prominently before the Convention in connection with the proposition which has been made to memorialize the General Convention in

favor of erecting this portion of the Diocese into a Missionary Jurisdiction. . . .

It does seem to me that if our general authorities can be persuaded to undertake the burden of this work, and to support a Bishop and missionaries in this mountain region of our State, it will not only be a relief to this Diocese and allow us to give ourselves more effectively to the development of the work in our smaller territory, but it will give a wonderful impetus to the growth and development of the Church in the region set off. . . . Much, therefore, as we should all regret the separation from our friends and brethren, we must see that the interests of God's Kingdom demand this, if the Church is prepared to undertake the work.¹⁵

Accordingly, at the General Convention of that year, Bishop Cheshire presented a memorial from the Convention of North Carolina requesting that a portion of his Diocese be made a missionary jurisdiction. On his motion, the memorial was referred to the Committee on the Admission of New Dioceses.¹⁶ It subsequently was referred to the Committee on Domestic Missions,¹⁷ which reported adversely:

Your Committee believes the territory can be administered for the next three years without serious loss to the Church.

For the Committee,
EDWIN G. WEED¹⁸

Nevertheless, by responding promptly and firmly, Bishop Cheshire prevailed, and it was announced that "the House of Bishops hereby constitutes that portion of the Diocese of North Carolina which, by the action of the present General Convention, has been accepted as a missionary territory . . . to be known as the Missionary District of Asheville."¹⁹

The new Missionary District comprised 28 counties and 11,720 square miles. The bishop's salary and the missionary stipends would continue to come from the Diocese of North Carolina, with western North Carolina assuming as much of the support as possible—a generous offer given the fact that the amounts paid by western North Carolina in previous years were less than the amounts paid out to the missionaries.

The first Convention of the Missionary District of Asheville was

held at Trinity Church in Asheville on 12–13 November 1895, with Bishop Cheshire presiding. It was mainly an organizational meeting with a roll call of twelve clergymen and eight members of the laity. At the time sixteen priests and six deacons resided in the District, which consisted of eight parishes, thirteen organized missions, and thirty-five unorganized missions. In his address, the bishop said he was encouraged by the prospect for growth and development but regretted that the separation “takes from me a part of my former field in which I have been deeply interested, and severs pastoral relations with many who have become very dear to me.”²⁰ He further expressed optimism that “it is surely not saying much when we say that two to three years may see sufficient growth to give us the required number of self supporting parishes for a Diocese.”²¹ In fact, in later action that day a committee of five was appointed to confer with the Dioceses of North Carolina and East Carolina about organizing the three Dioceses of North Carolina into a Province. The first resolution of the Convention stated that the name assigned, Missionary District of Asheville, “caused many of us grief that the necessity has arisen for us to give up the name of North Carolina, the state of our pride and love,” and “we are determined that this shall in no wise diminish our constant devotion to her best interests.”²²

The Convention of 1896 reported that there were nine parishes and forty-six missions, so the new jurisdiction was already showing growth. In his address that year, Bishop Cheshire succinctly stated the position, though again regretting the necessity of giving up part of his Diocese. He felt this was, however, “an act of wise and provident statesmanship. The work demands greater Episcopal attention.”²³ He continued, “A missionary who has three or four counties under his charge, and five, six, even ten or a dozen points where he is expected to keep up services, needs the visitation of the Bishop and values it, and is helped and cheered by it.”²⁴

Some of the main items of business in these early Conventions concerned the transfer of property to the new District, the support of the episcopate, and the stipends to missionaries. The Ravenscroft School property was the most valuable single piece and in 1896 the Convention “resolved that Schoenberger Hall and the land be controlled for the benefit of the Jurisdiction.”²⁵ The Diocese of North Carolina was somewhat reluctant to give up this valuable source of revenue. However, the Executive Committee of that diocese agreed to continue funding missionary stipends for some years.

The question of the Ravenscroft property and an endowment known as the Hix Fund was still not resolved in 1897. Bishop Cheshire had recommended that the funds be transferred but that a greater portion of the Ravenscroft land be retained by the Diocese of North Carolina. Although acknowledging that the "portion to be retained was justifiable,"²⁶ the bishop urged that the matter not be approached in a spirit of controversy. After discussion with Haywood Parker, an extremely influential layman, he further stated that he was convinced he had been wrong and changed his recommendation to the Convention at Charlotte. The Convention duly considered his proposal, then instructed the trustees of the Diocese of North Carolina to convey to the Missionary District of Asheville all rights and titles to the Ravenscroft property and funds. The matter was amicably solved without the necessity of bringing a friendly suit to be decided by the Supreme Court, as had been suggested earlier by Parker.²⁷ At this time both the Ravenscroft Training School and a school for boys were being operated on the property. A board of fellows had been elected in 1896 and the Reverend Alfred H. Stubbs was appointed manager by Bishop Cheshire. Later he also was in charge of the Ravenscroft Associate Missions and lived in Schoenberger Hall along with Bishop Horner after the latter's election. Stubbs figured very prominently in the organization of the District, was the first historiographer, served on the Standing Committee, and for some time was dean of the Convocation of Waynesville.

A seal for the District was adopted in 1897, described as follows:

A shield in the ordinary ecclesiastical form . . . divided horizontally in the middle. On the upper half, an outline of Mt. Pisgah, above the mountain a hand holding a cross surrounded by a glory (this taken from the seal of the Diocese of North Carolina). In the lower half, a maltese cross on a ground sable. The whole surrounded by a border with a cross in the border. At top and bottom are the words: "Seal of the Jurisdiction of Asheville" and on the other side, "Domus domini in vertice montium" which is taken from Isaiah and means "It shall come to pass in the last days that the house of the Lord shall be removed into the top of the mountain."²⁸

This Convention also expressed its regret "that the House of Bishops has for so long a time refused to elect a Bishop for the Jurisdiction."²⁹

At the same time, there was great appreciation for "the service rendered . . . by the beloved Bishop in charge."

By 1898, still without its own bishop, but with the good offices of Bishop Cheshire, the Missionary District was growing. Besides the schools at Ravenscroft, there was a school for girls, St. Agnes, in Franklin, directed by the Reverend John A. Deal. More and more day schools were being established at the missions, a trend that continued until World War I when the public schools became more widespread. The Committee on the State of the Church mentioned the work at Waynesville under the direction of the Reverend William Wey: "his success in gathering the children and the good work thus done" was very gratifying.³⁰ It also reported that "missionaries [were] spreading themselves over more territory than any one man can cover successfully."³¹

At the Convention of 1898, delegations were present from the Dioceses of North Carolina and East Carolina to present the views of their Conventions on "the abolition of the jurisdiction of Asheville,"³² reabsorption of the District into North Carolina, and redistricting of the two remaining Dioceses, giving more territory to East Carolina from North Carolina. Although the eastern diocese favored such action, both the Diocese of North Carolina and the Missionary District of Asheville opposed it. The Convention of Western North Carolina "refuses to consent to the rescinding of the action whereby it was erected into a Missionary Jurisdiction,"³³ and intended again to approach the General Convention regarding the election of a bishop. The Diocese of East Carolina would have greatly benefited by the addition of some counties, but North Carolina could not afford any further diminution of its territories and resources.

At this time, the Missionary District had 20 priests, 4 deacons, and 25 postulants. There were 38 church buildings, 17 chapels, and 13 rectories, 3,634 baptized persons, 1,808 communicants, and a general budget of \$20,144.01. But the District still had no bishop of its own. In the three years Bishop Cheshire had been in charge, communicant strength had increased by 500 members. He had urged his clergymen to know the people, to preach to them in words they could understand, and to make their religious activity an integral part of their lives. In his charge to the clergy in 1896, he had stated: "It is not primarily the duty of a minister to build Churches, or Chapels, or schools or parsonages. His first duty, where there is no church, is to preach to men, and to bring them under the power of the truth, and

to minister to them in spiritual things. Thus bringing men to the truth, he comes to need churches, and the rest. But except as he catches men he has no need of all these things, and his appeal for them can have no legitimate basis except in the success of his more important work of catching men.”³⁴

As of 1898, all of the objections of the Committee on Domestic Missions of the National Church had now been met. The jurisdiction owned the Ravenscroft property, the Ravenscroft fund of \$8,600, and the Hix Fund of \$4,700. By the time of the General Convention, a guarantee of \$2,500 per year for three years for the support of the episcopate had been made by George Vanderbilt, who personally donated \$3,332.92 to add to the \$4,167.08 pledged. The Board of Missions of the National Church, however, attempted unsuccessfully to persuade the General Convention and the House of Bishops to delay electing a bishop for Asheville, because it would be obliged to pay at least part of his stipend. And the Board of Missions was in great financial difficulty. Dr. Langford, its head, had spent “the summers of 1895 and 1896 in making personal appeals to prevent financial disaster. On the 30th of June, 1897, he sat at his desk, sending out one last plea,”³⁵ and then went off for a much needed vacation. Two days later, he died. However, his plan for apportioning the amounts needed among all the dioceses had been approved.

The First Bishop: Junius Moore Horner

At the General Convention held in Washington, D.C., in October 1898, the House of Bishops nominated the Reverend Junius M. Horner to be Bishop of the Missionary District of Asheville. With the House of Deputies’ concurrence, the way was ready for his consecration.³⁶

Junius Moore Horner was born in Oxford, North Carolina, on 7 July 1859, the son of James Hunter Horner and Sophronia Moore Horner. His father was headmaster of the Horner Military School in Oxford, which Junius attended. He went on to win distinguished honors at the University of Virginia, where Woodrow Wilson was a classmate and friend, but had to leave college due to his father’s impaired health. Young Horner filled his father’s place at the Oxford school and taught Greek and Latin. When his father’s health was restored, he was able to finish his studies and was graduated from the

Johns Hopkins University. In 1890 he was graduated from the General Theological Seminary in New York City and was ordained deacon at Oxford by the Right Reverend Theodore B. Lyman, Bishop of North Carolina. Bishop Lyman immediately sent him to work in Leaksville and Reidsville; one year later he was advanced to the priesthood in Henderson, North Carolina. Once more it became necessary for him to return home to assume his father's place, and for eight years he and his brother, Jerome Channing Horner, were coprincipals of the Horner Military School. Junius also ministered to two mission stations outside of Oxford.³⁷

The call to the episcopate came when the Reverend Mr. Horner was just thirty-nine years old, thus making him the youngest member of the House of Bishops. His portrait shows a man tall and austere; subsequent experience proved him authoritative. There is evidence that he was not always tolerant of different viewpoints, especially in theological and liturgical matters. At the same time, he was noted for his fairness and loyalty to his clergy. He is remembered as "of good stature, energetic in his ways, of dignified bearing in officiating in the Church's worship, faithful to the calls of duty . . . and beloved throughout the field of the jurisdiction."³⁸

The consecration of Junius M. Horner to the episcopate took place at Trinity Church, Asheville, on 28 December 1898. According to the newspaper account, it was "an imposing service with all the formal ceremonies of such an ordination. . . . The services for the consecration of a Bishop in the Episcopal church are always of the most solemn and impressive character, the rubric and canons requiring not less than three Bishops to unite in the imposition of hands, whereby the authority for his high commission is transmitted."³⁹ The Right Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire acted as consecrator; the coconsecrators were the Right Reverend Alfred A. Watson, Bishop of East Carolina, and the Right Reverend Ellison Capers, Bishop of South Carolina. Horner was presented by the Bishop of Georgia and the Bishop Coadjutor of Virginia.

The new bishop immediately reported that he had "found all papers and registers so completely arranged and systemized that it was not a difficult matter for me to enter intelligently upon the duties of the office of Bishop."⁴⁰ For this he credited Bishop Cheshire. After taking office on 1 January 1899, he visited every parish and most of the missions. At the Convention that year, Bishop Horner suggested that the Missionary District of Asheville conform with the General

Convention and the majority of the U.S. missionary districts in nomenclature; that financial reporting be more uniform and systematic (this was a plea for cooperation with the clergy and would be repeated over the years); that there be a clear understanding of the status of the trust funds; and that education be emphasized, especially for children who were without educational facilities in many places, for “the work to be done in the mountains is great.”⁴¹ At the same Convention it was reported that court proceedings were underway to clear the title of the Ravenscroft property, and that various renovations and repairs had been made.

When Bishop Horner took charge, the District already had a Lay Readers Association organized in 1896 for “the maintenance of Parish and Mission services, Sunday School and Bible classes, under the direction of the Bishop and Rector or minister in charge.”⁴² Not much more was heard of this until many years later when it was suggested that the association be reactivated. There were, however, some groups of the Woman’s Auxiliary; with strong support from the bishop, this organization continued to grow in strength.

Three themes run through the Convention proceedings over the years: the push to become a diocese, education, and money. The official journals do not always show a well-rounded picture and often might give the impression that the main concern was money. There is no doubt that the Missionary District of Asheville was often in financial straits. Yet, a close reading of the parochial reports reveals the zeal and deep commitment of the clergy and the missionary spirit of the District. For many years, every *Journal* reports that new missions were being organized and new parishes admitted. So though money, or the lack of it, was important, it was not the primary issue.

Education

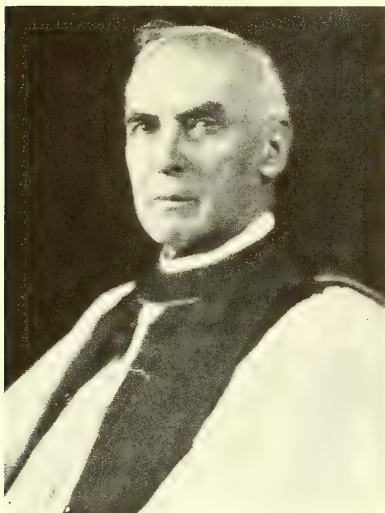
The Episcopal Church has always assigned primary importance to education. Wherever there were schools, there was the witness for Christ. Religion and education went hand in hand. Certainly, the new bishop supported this principle. When he was consecrated in 1898, the Missionary District already owned two schools: the Ravenscroft School for Boys and the Valle Crucis Mission School. The Ravenscroft School for Boys had been established in 1856 on approximately thirteen acres of land in Asheville.⁴³ It closed in 1864,

probably because of the Civil War, yet four years later Bishop Atkinson and the Reverend Jarvis Buxton had the vision to reopen it as a training school for ministers. In 1887, the Convention of the Diocese of North Carolina decided to reestablish the Ravenscroft School for Boys, making it necessary to find another location to house the young men of the training school. A generous friend, John Schoenberger, gave money to build a new hall and a chapel on the property, at the corner of what is now Church and Hilliard streets in Asheville. The boys' school remained in the original house. The training school for ministers was discontinued about the time of Bishop Horner's election, and Schoenberger Hall was set aside as the bishop's residence.

The boys' school continued at 29 Ravenscroft Drive, with various headmasters such as Haywood Parker, Frank Valentine, and others, until some time after the turn of the century though the records are incomplete. Later sold, it became a boarding house called "Chateau Nollman" and was subsequently threatened with demolition. In 1979 it was nominated for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, purchased by Dr. and Mrs. Stuart D. Tauber, and restored for professional offices.⁴⁴ In 1957, Schoenberger Hall was sold by the Diocese to a daughter-in-law of Bishop Horner who operated it as a Gay Nineties Tearoom. In 1976 it was purchased by Richard Whittington as a new site for Groves Printing Co. Efforts to save the old building proved futile and, as it was not economically feasible for the structure to be used by the printing company, it was demolished in 1978.⁴⁵

The beginnings of the Valle Crucis Mission School go back to the era of Bishop Ives, but at the time of his resignation the school closed, the buildings decayed, and most of the property was lost to the Church. When Joseph Blount Cheshire became bishop in 1893, he determined to revive the work at Valle Crucis and persuaded Deacon Milnor Jones to return from the West Coast for this purpose.⁴⁶ Fifteen acres had been purchased and, after a successful preaching tour in the North to raise money, Deacon Jones was able to establish mission schools at Valle Crucis and Beaver Creek. In 1897 a mission house was erected.

Coinciding with Bishop Cheshire's efforts to expand and revive the missionary work in the mountains was the movement to create the Missionary District of Asheville. Bishop Horner thus inherited the revitalized work at Valle Crucis. In 1903, Horner was able to get



Junius Moore Horner, first bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Western North Carolina, 1898–1933. Episcopal Diocese of Western North Carolina, Black Mountain.



Robert Emmet Gribbin, second bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Western North Carolina, 1934–47. Episcopal Diocese of Western North Carolina, Black Mountain.



St. John's-in-the-Wilderness, Flat Rock, erected in 1832–33 and enlarged in 1852. This building is the oldest in the Diocese of Western North Carolina. North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.



*St. Paul's Church and congregation, Edneyville, early 1900s.
Episcopal Diocese of Western North Carolina, Black Mountain.*



*St. James's Church, Hendersonville, ca. 1902. The church was constructed in 1860.
Episcopal Diocese of Western North Carolina, Black Mountain.*

the jurisdiction to purchase 435 acres of the original land owned by Bishop Ives on which to establish an industrial school. Apple orchards were set out, a herd of registered Holstein cattle was bought, and later even a hydroelectric plant was installed. Ironically, the same year this purchase was made, the members of the Educational Committee informed the Convention that, due to the lack of money, "they had not been able to keep up as many day mission schools as last year."⁴⁷ One of Bishop Horner's dreams was to establish industrial schools and he pursued this goal vigorously.

Valle Crucis provided classes from the first grade through high school, and many students were able to work their way, earning money on the farm. Boys attended as day scholars, but the boarding students were all girls. The bishop's sister, Miss Mary Horner, was principal. All this was fully established about 1910, and in the *Convention Journal* for 1911 there is a detailed description of the facilities, costs, and number of teachers and students.⁴⁸ Students received not only academic instruction but also training in kitchen and laundry work, housework, and native weaving as well as up-to-date methods in farming, woodworking, blacksmithing, and so forth. At one time there was even a wagon factory.⁴⁹ The school had the first electric light plant in Watauga County.⁵⁰

In 1936, with the advent of better roads and improvement in the public schools, the first six grades of Valle Crucis School were dropped and only girls were admitted, either as boarding or day students. In 1943, due mainly to the unavailability of teachers and staff because of the war, the school was closed. For some years after the war, the facilities were used by a summer training program for seminary students interested in small town and rural work, and as a summer inn. In the 1960s the property and facilities were converted into an Episcopal Church Conference Center, open year-round for church groups of all denominations.⁵¹

The Valle Crucis Mission School had a tremendous impact—religious, cultural, educational, and economic—on the lives of the people in that area, as well as on its students and staff.

Another school inherited by Bishop Horner, though not strictly a diocesan institution, was Christ School in Arden. The bishop gave this school all the financial support that the Diocese would allow. It was the dream of the Reverend Thomas C. Wetmore who, with the able assistance of his wife, came to minister at St. James, Hendersonville. He and Mrs. Wetmore lived on property that she had inherited

in Arden. Nearby was an eleven-acre site they hoped to use for a school. Around 1900, when this became possible, the Wetmores began to devote their energies to starting Christ School, so called because "Christ is all and in all."⁵² In 1902, the Convention was informed that "Christ School is primarily an industrial school teaching practical Christianity for all young men and women who are desirous of helping themselves."⁵³ The tuition was paid for in work and the board was \$5 a month.

One story is told of Father Wetmore's search for money to open the school. He went to New York, where he had many friends, and was taken on a visit to the Stock Exchange. As he and a friend, a member of the Exchange, were looking around, Father Wetmore explained his plan. His friend suggested he tell everyone and called for attention. All work stopped as this mountain priest described his dream. The hat was passed and in a short time \$500 was contributed for his work. It is said that Father Wetmore raised the money to build the first church in St. John, Upward, in the same manner.

Unfortunately, Father Wetmore lived only six years after founding Christ School, but his wife carried on faithfully until a new headmaster could be found. In those two years, the rector of St. James, the Reverend Reginald N. Willcox, served as chaplain, riding up the twenty or so miles on his motorcycle, a gift from Deacon Milnor Jones. Willcox also represented the school when appealing for funds on his preaching or "begging" trips (as he called them) to northern cities, at the same time also trying to find another chaplain for the school. In a letter to his wife, he reported that, although a chaplain could not be found, "more money had been pledged for Christ School than for his own mission schools."⁵⁴ Finally, the Reverend R. R. Harris was called to be both headmaster and chaplain. This proved to be a felicitous choice. Father Harris was not only a staunch churchman who introduced the daily celebration of the Eucharist, but he was also an educator who could teach many subjects. Moreover, he was handy and could repair equipment and even take care of the chickens if the need arose.

The purpose of Christ School was to give the boys and girls of the mountain country a better education than was possible through the public schools under Christian influence.⁵⁵ At the beginning there were two dormitories for boarders—one for boys and one for girls, and day students were also admitted. The first year ninety-one students attended, some of them walking ten miles or more each day to

get there. The school became an all-boys' institution even before Father Wetmore's death. As public schools improved, the original purpose of Christ School changed. At the same time, its fine reputation had spread beyond the boundaries of North Carolina. In 1907 it was incorporated as a private, self-supporting institution. When Mrs. Wetmore died, all of the land she had inherited from her grandfather, Henry Robertson, more than one hundred acres, was left to the school. Christ School became a fully accredited, private high school.

Another private school, mentioned in the 1898 *Journal* but never thereafter, was St. Agnes School for Girls in Franklin under the charge of the Reverend John A. Deal. It was established in 1891-92 in a building at the rear of the church. In 1901 the school was destroyed by fire; because it was not insured, the house and furnishings were a total loss. Patterson School might be said to be an offshoot of Valle Crucis, for it was after a visit to that school in August 1908 that Samuel Legerwood Patterson conceived the idea of founding a similar school for boys.⁵⁶ Knowing that Bishop Horner supported this type of industrial education, and being himself a devout and active Episcopalian, Patterson naturally turned to the bishop and the church as a means of promoting his idea. He, therefore, willed his property, first to his wife, but on her death, there being no children, to the "Missionary Jurisdiction [District] of Asheville." Patterson died on 14 September 1908, less than a month after visiting the school at Valle Crucis. When his wife died the following February, the Patterson land became the property of the Missionary District.

About three years earlier, in October 1906, a farm school had been started at St. Paul's Mission in Burke County after the people of the District had appealed to Archdeacon Walter Hughson, then serving in Morganton. Father Hughson described their needs and desires while preaching to a branch of the Woman's Auxiliary in Ohio. He spoke of an old blind man who had tramped many miles to beg for a teacher. The people would give land, logs, and labor if a teacher were sent to them.⁵⁷ These women were so impressed that they pledged \$400 for each of the next two years, and by August 1906 the school building was completed in time for the October opening.

When the Patterson property was turned over to the Missionary District, it was decided to change the name of St. Paul's Farm School to the Patterson School, and to move the location from Burke County to the Patterson home, "Palmyra," in adjoining Caldwell

County. The same students would be accommodated as well as many more. Bishop Horner selected two young clergymen to run the school: the Reverend Malcolm Slicer Taylor as headmaster and the Reverend Alfred S. Lawrence as his assistant. In describing the work of these early years, Doris Brenda Sparks noted that "Patterson School is the only preparatory school *owned* by the Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina."⁵⁸

The Appalachian School at Penland was made possible because Bishop Horner's passion for education was becoming well known. Wesley Conley, a Baptist preacher, had purchased a tract of land within sight of Mount Mitchell, the highest peak in the Appalachians. Here, beginning in 1910, he operated a school called "The Seven Springs Baptist Industrial School," devoted principally to the teaching of the three Rs.⁵⁹ Soon he found it too difficult to carry on alone and invited Bishop Horner to visit, look over the land, and hopefully purchase it. The bishop was favorably impressed and determined to see what he could do. At the time, a young man from his District, Rufus Morgan, was studying at the General Theological Seminary in New York City. Bishop Horner knew that Morgan, himself a native of the Penland area, dreamed of starting such a school. During a trip to New York in 1912, the bishop asked him to consider one of three propositions: either a position at Patterson School or at Valle Crucis, or a chance to start a new school under the auspices of the Church. The theological student expressed interest in the latter option, and that summer he and the bishop traveled to Penland. After one look, Morgan was willing to assume leadership of the undertaking. The property was purchased, and in the summer of 1913 Morgan spent his vacation there preparing the way. He visited every home in the neighborhood and won the confidence and friendship of the people. This community, like most mountain communities, was predominantly Baptist. Morgan made no outward attempt to proselytize but rather to draw the inhabitants to the Episcopal form of Christianity by example. On this basis he was accepted and welcomed. It was on these visits that he first saw samples of weaving with rare old patterns, an art that unfortunately seemed to be dying out. Only in the home of "Aunt Susan" Phillips, who was almost ninety, was weaving still being done. It seem to Morgan that a revival of this craft would fit into his concept of training heart, hand, and imagination. He wrote to his sister Lucy, then a student at a teachers' college in Mich-

igan, that he thought she might find her niche in the mountains. He had even found someone to teach her to weave, a Mrs. Finlay Mast who lived at Valle Crucis, forty-three miles away.

In 1914 Morgan was graduated from the Theological Seminary, married a young woman from Boston, and moved with his bride to Penland. At first there were only two buildings on the property. Laurel Cottage, the home of Wesley Conley, was purchased later. One building housed the classes; the other, a tiny crude log cabin, became the home of the Morgans for the next three years. When in 1917 Father Morgan took a parish in South Carolina, he induced a friend, Miss Amy Burt, to become interested in the work. For a time Miss Burt could serve only during the summers, as she was on the faculty of the teachers' college where Lucy Morgan had been a student. However, her contributions were important, and eventually she gave up her northern position to devote herself full time to the Appalachian School at Penland.

Slowly new buildings were added. The first was Ridgeway Hall, designed to be a workshop for boys, but also used as a dormitory, for classrooms, and as a chapel. The whole purpose of this school was to educate not only the children but also the adults of the community in many ways. Neighborhood meetings were held with entertainment of music, lectures, and slide shows. The school nurse filled a real need, for there were no country nurses and few trained physicians in the area.

In 1920 Lucy Morgan, the sister of Rufus, arrived to assume the post of principal and primary teacher, as well as performing Miss Burt's duties when she was away in the winter. In 1923, Lucy went to Berea College in Kentucky to learn weaving. Her interest in this eventually led to the formation of the Penland Weavers, a school well known in the crafts field and completely independent of the Episcopal Church. The academic school, however, continued and grew, and many of its students went on to Church high schools such as Christ School and Patterson. At Penland only the first eight grades were taught, and both boys and girls attended throughout its existence. In 1934 the Reverend Peter Lambert joined the staff as chaplain and teacher; two years later he was made headmaster. In a 1943 account, Norvin Duncan described him as "a deeply consecrated man, doing a splendid work."⁶⁰ Father Lambert served Penland for thirty years and much of its success as a service institution is due to this dedicated man. He had to relinquish the headmastership in 1961 because of ill

health but still continued as rector and teacher. In 1964 Bishop Henry closed the school and transferred Father Lambert to Deerfield.

Mission Day Schools

Although the four industrial schools established while Junius M. Horner was bishop seemed to be his highest priority, the records show that many of the missionaries in those days established schools as part of their work. These were not "Sunday Schools," though those were also maintained, but five-day-a-week schools open to all in the community eight to nine months a year no matter which church they attended. In 1900 it was reported that there were parochial schools in every part of the District.⁶¹ In all, 1,021 students attended 25 schools with 36 teachers. Public schools, on the other hand, were open only four months of the year and were scattered very far apart.

So important were these parochial schools considered to be that in 1902 it was suggested that "an effort be made at once to secure a reference library for each mission, for use of teachers and workers, of at least 20 volumes."⁶² Some of the teachers were supported by United Thank Offering funds, some by the Education Committee of the Missionary District, but most by the solicitations of the missionaries who took long, hard journeys to the more prosperous North to beg for funds. Because these monies never appeared in the financial records of the Diocese, it is not possible to draw a true financial picture. In 1906 the general missionary, the Reverend Edmund N. Joyner, complained that his visit to the North had been a failure because he had followed too many others.⁶³ He suggested that there should be a system as to who should go, when, and with what authority; and that the needs of the Missionary District should be made known "in a dignified manner, in due season." Still he commended "the sublime manner in which our Missionary clergy are giving themselves to the work."⁶⁴ Joyner also stressed the value of the mission schools and felt that the District needed a full-time general missionary instead of one who served for only three months.

The next year this matter was referred to a committee which "respectfully recommends that no one except the Bishop shall hereafter go outside the District for the purpose of soliciting funds."⁶⁵ The bishop made the same recommendation in his address to the Conven-

tion, adding that he would “disapprove of anyone going outside the District for the purpose of soliciting funds other than the Bishop.”⁶⁶ This policy was tried for two years. During that time the missionaries really began to feel the pinch, as much of the money solicited by Bishop Horner was used for the industrial schools so dear to his heart. For example, when the Embury fund of \$15,000 plus other funds totaling \$3,300 were received for missionary work, \$14,000 was immediately loaned to Valle Crucis at 5 percent interest and \$1,000 each to Appalachian and Patterson, leaving only \$2,300 for missionary work.⁶⁷ In 1908 one missionary asked leave to “solicit funds out of the District for the purpose of paying the balance of the purchase price of the Rectory.” This rectory was badly needed as the family was living in a very old, snake-infested house that was totally inadequate. The request was turned down because of the Convention’s resolution of the previous year.⁶⁸ The bishop finally acknowledged the problems posed by this policy in his 1909 address:

The experience of the past two years warrants us in taking the position now that it is far better, all things taken into consideration, to give our endorsement and approval to any Clergyman of the District, who is engaged in a work of this kind, to go to the people and Churches especially interested and tell them (in propria persona) about the work under his care. The people who give these special gifts wish to have this personal contact with the man who is directing the use of the money they give. There are disadvantages and hindrances incident to any policy of this nature, but we will have to try to counteract these disadvantages and hindrances as far as possible, and if all our Clergy, who have these peculiar responsibilities, will work together and in harmony, I am quite sure the burden will be greatly lessened in each case. . . .

Ten times what we are doing now could be undertaken with profit, if we had the money. There are at least fifteen or twenty thousand children in the Mountains today, who need and would embrace the opportunities we can now offer to only about sixteen hundred.⁶⁹

The frustrations of all concerned appeared often in the official records. During the years that the missionaries were not allowed to solicit funds, Haywood Parker, a prominent and dedicated layman, was

head of the Educational Committee. He made an extensive survey of the mission schools, contacting all the teachers. His report is revealing.⁷⁰ According to Parker, the teachers told of sacrifices made by parents and students in order that at least some education might be obtained, of long cold walks on rocky, muddy mountain roads. One teacher noted that at first she was not quite in sympathy with giving secular education such a prominent place in a Church school, but soon discovered that spiritual development often followed. All denominations were admitted to the schools, as the local people were mostly Baptist or Methodist. But the children were allowed to choose a denomination for themselves and "on this we build our hope for the future."⁷¹ This teacher, Miss L. A. Springer, was affectionately known as "Ma" Springer by the people of Edneyville whom she served. When she reported on educational work to the Convocation of Waynesville, introduced by her rector, the Reverend Reginald N. Willcox of the Henderson Associate Missions, she was the first woman ever to do so.⁷²

As a report from the Committee on the State of the Church pointed out: "This is a peculiar District. There is nothing like it in the church; no other which has the same problems to deal with, the same difficulties to surmount in presenting to the people the Gospel of Christ as we have received and teach it. We are called to labor among a people who for generations have been isolated from the great social, industrial and intellectual movements which have influenced the national life; who are not dwellers in towns but form an agricultural community; whose opportunities for education and intercourse with the outside world have been few; whose conception of religion deals chiefly with its emotional and social aspects; and who have inherited prejudices against the Church and its ancient order."⁷³

The policy introduced by Bishop Horner and pursued during his administration was educational. "The schoolhouse has been planted beside the chapel. . . . We are ministering to the new generation."⁷⁴ Unfortunately, too often money to support the schools was scarce and "often the missionary in charge takes a good part of his own meager stipend to pay the deficit on the teachers' stipends."⁷⁵ In an appeal printed and distributed at his own expense, one missionary priest stated: "These mountains teem with people—perhaps the least, but still His brethren—who do not know the Christ of the Church's gospel. People suffering and dying both physically and spiritually through ignorance. A people of fine stock, capable of great develop-

ment. . . . I glory in my office of messenger. I appeal to you to exercise your stewardship." One mission requested \$400 for two teachers, plus a new bell for the steeple to replace the old locomotive bell (the church still has the same bell); another mission requested a new chimney and pump at a cost of \$350, plus \$450 toward the stipends of two teachers; and still another requested \$350—all puny amounts by any standards, but not always forthcoming.⁷⁶ On the average, the general support of schools cost \$14.13 per pupil for eight months of schooling, and the question was asked, "Don't you think it pays? Do you know of any better returns?"⁷⁷

The mission teachers and nurses came from other states, often with college degrees, or from teacher training programs, with a burning desire to serve; they labored diligently, and loved the people. Often they lived alone in the mission houses; sometimes they boarded with local families. They tramped the roads (seldom was there money for a horse and buggy or later a car!), visiting families in distant and lonely coves or on the top of mountains. Besides teaching the children, they tried to teach the parents and found the women especially receptive. They taught sanitation and health care and the rudiments of needlework. They helped distribute the clothing that arrived in missionary barrels, but that was not "given" as the people were too proud for charity. Instead, there were auctions where a coat or dress could be purchased for ten cents, a pair of shoes for five cents. The people repaid as they could and certainly were always generous with what they had—produce from their gardens and love.

Not all the mission schools were in remote mountainous regions. The dean of the Morganton Convocation reported: "Gaston County, of 370 square miles, is in the heart of the cotton manufacturing section of the South and contains 52 mills. . . . Religious census shows only about 40% of the workers are affiliated with any religious organization. . . . The church should be alive to the great responsibility . . . and in no better way can she hope to meet it than by the establishment of schools."⁷⁸ Schools for the children of mill workers were established and filled a need.

When, in 1911, it was realized by those not directly involved that missionary work and educational work were inseparable, it was recommended that these two diocesan committees be combined.⁷⁹ The missionary priests had shown remarkable persistence, though all found "the present method of securing money for missionary endeavors to be unsatisfactory. All clergy would like to be relieved of

the necessity of having to leave their fields of labor to go out to collect money to keep the school work going forward.”⁸⁰ Moreover, there was a serious problem with primary education in the rural sections of the state. The state expended a total of three dollars per year per child for four months of schooling. It required two and one-half years to make a grade; thus, if a child went every year from age six to twenty-one, he or she would complete only six grades.⁸¹

Most of the mission schools continued until after World War I. In 1917 it was reported: “Several of our small mission schools have been discontinued principally because of lack of funds to keep them open. This has not worked so great a disadvantage, however, because the public schools are in better condition to take care of the situation than they were a few years ago.”⁸² In the *Journal* for 1918, the Educational Committee asked to be discharged because it was “without funds to disperse, in debt” and therefore powerless to accomplish anything.⁸³ Even the Valle Crucis School had to close for lack of funds.⁸⁴

Sunday Schools

According to a 1902 report, there were forty-seven Sunday schools in the Missionary District. Those experiencing the greatest growth had regular mission teachers. The report cited a lack of support on the part of the parents and that very few, if any, of the men took any part in this work.⁸⁵

Taught were the Catechism, the Bible, and the fundamentals of the Christian faith. By 1907 it was reported that “great progress has been made in this department of church work . . . and we should make an effort to find out what is being done elsewhere.”⁸⁶ “The time has come for a forward step,” the Committee on Sunday Schools stated in 1909. It wished to “emphasize and lay urgent stress upon the need and duty of the men of the church . . . feeling their obligation, and the privilege of engaging personally in the work of the Sunday School, and not throw the whole burden of the business upon the clergymen and women.”⁸⁷ The committee also asked, “Are we, in the District of Asheville, keeping pace with the forward march of the Sunday Schools in our church? . . . If we measure by the number of children enrolled, as compared with the communicant lists of the Church, we find that we are two or three times as great as the average in the United States. If we measure by the amount of money given

by the children in proportion to the ability of the church in the District, for the extension of the Kingdom of God in all the world, we find they are giving 3 or 4 times as much as the church at large.”⁸⁸

By 1922 1,053 males and 2,665 females attended Sunday schools conducted by 204 officers and teachers, at a rate of 18 pupils per teacher. It was the same old story, concluded the report of that year: “sluggards, laziness, indifference.”⁸⁹ In 1912 the Committee on Sunday Schools asked that it be abolished and a Commissioner of Sunday Schools appointed, citing the “difficulties of travel, lack of funds, want, and spare time” and the fact that conditions had become “unwieldy and impracticable.”⁹⁰ The work continued, though “nothing has been accomplished along the line suggested, by appointment of a special commissioner. . . . We could not secure the services of a suitable man [yet] the various rectors and missionaries [and missionary teachers] have done excellent work along individual lines.”⁹¹

The problems and perplexities of instructing children—both Church and non-Church—in elements of morality and religion were continually mentioned through the years. Methods used in large, well-organized urban congregations did not work in the more rural areas. The lack of teachers, trained or untrained, was a constant cry, especially men “who are willing to give the hour or more on Sunday to work with the children, and several hours during the week to preparing . . . and to calling at the homes of the members of their class. . . . Here is where our church life is defective; in other bodies of Christians we find the best men . . . busy businessmen, present in the schools and enthusiastic for the work. Why can not we get our men to feel and work thus? What is the cause of the indifference?”⁹² Practical suggestions offered included providing teacher training workshops at the annual Conventions when so many of the laity were gathered together, a practice class to explain and exemplify methods, all “so that we may rear the children [to] grow in grace.”⁹³

By 1921 it was reported “that the Sunday Schools, too, have caught the vision of the greater opportunities of service.”⁹⁴ By 1926 the Missionary District had established a Department of Religious Education, which met with the four other Carolina dioceses at Valle Crucis.⁹⁵ And in 1930 a field secretary, appointed in 1927, reported that there were eight accredited teachers of religious education in the District and that she was continuing to hold teacher training classes as many more were needed.⁹⁶ These were the years of growth and organization.

The Work of the Woman's Auxiliary

When Junius M. Horner became Bishop of the Missionary District, one of his first acts was to appoint Miss Fanny L. Patton secretary of the Woman's Auxiliary. At that time twelve branches of the Auxiliary were already in full operation, and by 1900 twenty-five branches had contributed \$1,176.07 to assist the District. In his address of that year, the bishop remarked that they had "accomplished an unusual amount of work . . . and were very helpful to the missionaries."⁹⁷ The Committee on the State of the Church also commended their work. "Your committee cannot speak too highly of the Women's Auxiliary. . . . We owe to them much of the success which has already aroused our efforts. We should give to them our full, hearty and thankful support."⁹⁸

In almost every subsequent address to the Convention, the bishop commended the women for their influence, helpfulness, and enthusiasm, and he urged his clergy to encourage and support their work. A Junior Auxiliary was also organized. In 1910 Bishop Horner mentioned "a year of progressive work. . . . It seems difficult to impress some of the rectors and missionaries with the possibility and desirability of a Women's Auxiliary in each parish and mission. . . . Lack of response is traceable to the clergymen."⁹⁹ Seven years later he stated that "the Women's Auxiliary . . . is becoming more and more a necessary part of the Church work in every live Parish . . . [and is] most helpful in our missionary work."¹⁰⁰

During all these years, Bishop Horner continued as the presiding officer of the Diocesan Woman's Auxiliary, appointing a "Secretary." In 1920, after changes had been recommended by the General Convention, he conceded his willingness "to leave to them the working out of the way they are to function in the future."¹⁰¹ The bishop believed that elections brought politics into the Church and that "women need to be less concerned with administrative duties and more concerned with serving God and His church."¹⁰² Even when the District became a Diocese in 1922, he was reluctant to give up the reins. However, the women continued to express their desire to elect their own officers and run their own organization, and finally the bishop conceded.

The work of the women continued to grow over the years. Their support of the missions, the missionaries, and the parochial and Sunday schools, as well as their concern for other social issues, all made

a great contribution. The United Thank Offering “for the blessings and privileges of our Christian womanhood” provided money for many mission workers, teachers, and nurses in rural areas, thus “truly giving the gift of life.”¹⁰³ There is little doubt, as Shilda Burns has said, that the Episcopal Church in western North Carolina “is the result of the labors of women over the past century.”¹⁰⁴

The Struggle to Become a Diocese

From its early years, the Missionary District of Asheville entertained the hope of becoming a diocese. The greatest obstacle was, as always, the lack of funds because a diocese must be financially independent. As noted above, at the first Convention in 1895 Bishop Cheshire expressed great optimism when he predicted “that 2–3 years may see sufficient growth to give us the required number of self-supporting parishes for a Diocese.”¹⁰⁵ Bishop Horner, elected in 1898, was more realistic and becoming independent was not his primary goal, though he did say in his address to the Convention in 1902, “I think the greatest obligation resting upon us, and the one that will be so considered by the Church in the United States is to become a self-supporting Diocese at the earliest possible date, and our growth in financial strength in the last few years warrants the calculation that within the next few years we can apply to the General Convention for the organization into a Diocese.”¹⁰⁶

The big challenge was to have a sufficient endowment to provide income for the support of the episcopate. Therefore, Bishop Horner strongly advocated the appointment of a Committee on Endowment.¹⁰⁷ This committee was duly appointed, but in 1903 reported, “At the present time it is inexpedient to make any effort to raise an Episcopal Endowment Fund.”¹⁰⁸ Instead, it suggested that any net revenues be paid to the order of the Missionary Committee to add to the “meager stipends already paid,”¹⁰⁹ but after the bishop’s notes for the rectories at Brevard and Waynesville were paid. In other words, there just wasn’t enough money. No mention was made of the purchase of property at Valle Crucis though it occurred the same year.

In 1904, the Convention asked the bishop to “appoint a committee . . . to solicit funds both within and without the District of Asheville for an Episcopal endowment, to the end that we may become a diocese.”¹¹⁰ This resolution was adopted and another committee ap-

pointed. In 1905 this committee reported that its responsibility was too vague and asked to be discharged. However, members of the Convention felt otherwise and resolved "that the parishes and missions . . . take two offerings a year for the Episcopal Endowment Fund."¹¹¹ Because the majority of the parishes and certainly all of the missions were unable to support themselves, this resolution was palpably unrealistic. Nevertheless, by 1907 some progress was reported, and it was suggested that money might be secured from a Men's Thank Offering, although there is no further mention of this in the *Journals*.

The next few years saw very little progress toward financial independence, as money was so urgently needed to carry on what was, after all, the primary purpose of the Church, spreading the Gospel. Finally, in 1914 another committee was appointed to formulate a plan. Its report, made the next year, showed that, twenty years after the formation of the Missionary District, the Episcopal Endowment Fund amounted to only \$798.12. It was concluded that somehow \$4,000 more a year would have to be realized if the District was to be self-supporting by the date of the General Convention of 1916.

This enlarged committee recommended to the 1916 District Convention that every asset of the District be put into the endowment fund, and that parishes and missions be assessed the amount necessary to complete the stipend to be paid the bishop.¹¹² Bishop Horner strongly objected to this proposal:

As Bishop of this District, I have from the very first looked forward to such organization, and have desired it, but have objected to two methods, which have seemed to some the simplest and most desirable. One of these methods was for the Bishop to go outside and secure contributions, sufficient to make, with what assets we have, an endowment for the Diocese. I have had all I could do to get money from outside in sufficient amounts to carry on the school and evangelical work of the District, and I objected both as a matter of principal and as a matter of practicability to this method.

The other method advanced has been the one I understand the present committee is prepared to propose to this Convention. That is, to take all the present available assets which have, up to this time been used to supplement the meager stipends of the Missionary Clergy, and to put such amounts into a special fund

for an Episcopal endowment and to trust to the new impetus given by Diocesan organization to make up the loss to the Missionary Clergy. Such impetus may possibly be sufficient to make up to the Clergy the loss in their stipends they would thus surrender. I doubt it, however, very seriously.¹¹³

Despite the bishop's objections, the planning committee recommended "that the necessary canonical action be taken at this time to organize the District into a Diocese." After animated discussion, and on motion of Haywood Parker, the Convention adopted the following resolution: "That it is the desire and request of this Convention that the Bishop call a Convention of this District to meet within the next sixty days for the purpose of considering and taking such action as may be necessary to make proper application to the next General Convention for erecting the District into the Diocese."¹¹⁴ It was further resolved that the planning committee be continued "to bring the merits and methods of this matter before the Parishes and Missions."¹¹⁵ The bishop therefore called a Special Convention to meet on 16 August 1916, an action he was required to take although he opposed it.

On 10 August, because of a disastrous flood throughout the mountain region, Bishop Horner cancelled the Special Convention though some questioned his authority to do so. "All possibility therefore, of the formation of a Diocese in 1916 was thus frustrated."¹¹⁶ There was no doubt that every cent of the money that had been put aside would be needed to help in flood relief. Alfred H. Stubbs described his efforts to get to Hot Springs, one of his missions: "Struck with flood devastation. Worse than I expected. Told by R. R. Hand if I could see condition of track, I would get off and walk. . . . Desolation at Marshall. . . . Nothing left of the bridge [at Hot Springs] . . . had to ferry over river. . . . Hotel conditions very bad. . . . Bishop returned from Penland after long and tedious trip."¹¹⁷ This was a crisis situation and formation into a diocese would have to wait.

Both clergy and laity continued to push for diocese status. In 1918 the Convention resolved that the District become self-supporting by 1919 and that the money be raised "by an assessment of parishes and missions to pay missionary stipends rather than these being taken from invested funds."¹¹⁸ The bishop asserted that "we must realize we are not yet ready to assume self support and independence,"¹¹⁹ for, as he pointed out, only about four parishes in the District did not require outside help to maintain their rectors.

America's entrance into World War I posed many problems for the Missionary District. At the 1918 Convention, the Committee on the State of the Church declared, "The old question of keeping open the many Mission stations which for some time past have not received the ministrations of the Church, should be considered both from the point of view of the Church's responsibility to her scattered sheep, and her ability to shoulder that responsibility."¹²⁰ It proposed that a general missionary be appointed, not only to minister to those congregations but to help them work toward self-support. Too many, the committee continued, "have been willing that a larger portion of the support should come from the Board of Missions and Specials."¹²¹ Because of the war, it pointed out, "people are learning the lesson of personal self-sacrifice and responsibility . . . and it would seem that this is the time to make an appeal to their individual moral and financial responsibility to the Church of Jesus Christ in the community."¹²² The war had depleted the ranks of the clergy,¹²³ and the laity—caught up in the fervor of war—was not giving to the Church.

The bishop emphasized these concerns in his address:

We are passing through the second great crisis in the world's history—this one being second only to the great tragedy enacted on Calvary. . . . The people are beginning to realize more and more as each day passes that there is a spiritual side to this great world war. . . . We of the clergy, whose first duty is to look after the spiritual things, and of the laity, whose duty, for the time being in a gathering like this, is to look after spiritual things, must be the more careful in such a world crisis as this, to be faithful to the trust committed to our charge. . . .

. . . We cannot neglect our duty here and now without doing harm direct or indirect to our cause in this great world conflict.¹²⁴

He then spoke of the need to pay into the Pension Fund and to raise clerical salaries. "Diocesan organization is more or less directly connected with this matter of clerical salaries and has to do with the finances of the District."¹²⁵

Again the Bishop requested the planning committee "to put to the practical test the financial attitude of the laity, both of the Parishes and Missions."¹²⁶ In his preface to *Struggle for a Diocese*, published in 1919 in an attempt to bring about the District's organization into a Diocese, the Reverend Rodney R. Swope stated, "At the Convention of 1918, an overwhelming majority expressed its will that the District

should become a Diocese forthwith" (namely, at the 1919 General Convention).¹²⁷ As the bishop noted in his address to the 1919 District Convention, and as the *Journal* proceedings show, no such official action was taken. Instead, the Convention had turned the matter over to the Missionary Committee, directing it to prepare and submit a budget to every parish and mission indicating exactly what diocesan organization would cost. This would constitute a test of whether the parishes and missions were able and willing to support an independent diocese.

The Missionary District of Asheville lacked financial stability. The panic of 1907, which had depleted many of the funds on which so much depended, was followed by the war, and in 1919 many places were decimated by the "influenza scourge."¹²⁸ In fact, in 1920 the Convention had to be postponed from February to May because of the flu epidemic.

Despite the "unsettled conditions of the country financially and the high cost of living,"¹²⁹ the latter also meaning that the salaries of the clergy should be increased, 1920 was a year of hope. As Bishop Horner commented in his address, "We may confidently look forward to the organization of this District into a Diocese before another General Convention [1922] meets."¹³⁰ In 1921 he reported that "the working of the Nation Wide Campaign in our District has developed so much latent strength that it seems we are now financially able to assume Diocesan organization."¹³¹ He therefore gave canonical notice to all parishes and missions so that such organization might be accomplished legally at the next Convention. An Executive Board was created (whose membership included three women), and all legal steps were taken to hold a special convocation for this purpose in 1922. It was also proudly reported that "our people are giving for mission purposes more per capita than the richest Dioceses in the Church; for the first time no begging has had to be done."¹³² An interesting side-light of this year, when Prohibition was in effect in the country, occurred when the bishop told his clergymen that for communion wine they could not use "unfermented wine," as this was "unwarranted by the action of our Lord."¹³³

The Diocese of Western North Carolina

At the April 1922 Convention, it was reported that the Missionary District of Asheville could now meet all canonical re-

quirements to become a diocese and it was suggested that it be called "The Diocese of Western North Carolina."¹³⁴ Because this had been the name most desired from the beginning, it was adopted despite a resolution that the name be the Diocese of Asheville. In his address, the bishop stated:

We are now in condition to comply with these requirements of the Canons—that is: to organize on the basis of these necessary requirements. We have the number of Parishes and Clergy required and we have an endowment fund at the disposal of this Convention and can organize on this basis of minimum requirements. . . . If we organize as a Diocese, we surrender our standing as a Missionary District, and it is probable that our appropriation from the National Council will be reduced by \$32,000.00 . . . so that we will be short only about \$24,000.00.¹³⁵

The Convention then voted to assume this burden and to become a diocese, twenty-seven years after first being separated from the Diocese of North Carolina as a Missionary District.

Accordingly, Bishop Horner prepared to apply to the General Convention of 1922 for the creation of the Diocese of Western North Carolina. Three main canonical requirements had to be met. The first was sufficient funding for the episcopate. Papers were presented from the Wachovia Bank and Trust Company showing that the District had more than \$100,000 in cash and secured notes for this purpose.¹³⁶ As noted, most of this came from the sale of properties owned by the District. The salary for the bishop was set at \$4,200 per year, plus a \$500 allowance for travel and automobile, all of which would be provided by interest from the securities.

The next requirement was that the diocese contain at least six parishes. A list of the following sixteen churches was submitted as fulfillment of that stipulation:¹³⁷

Trinity, Asheville	Ascension, Hickory
St. Mary, Asheville	St. James, Lenoir
St. Matthias, Asheville	St. Luke, Lincolnton
All Souls, Biltmore	Grace, Morganton
St. John, Flat Rock	St. Francis, Rutherfordton
Calvary, Fletcher	Holy Cross, Tryon
St. Mark, Gastonia	Grace, Waynesville
St. James, Hendersonville	St. Paul, Wilkesboro

TABLE XIII—I

Names of Presbyters Submitted to the General Convention and Dates of Their Canonical Residence

Alfred Houghton Stubbs, 1895	Hibbert H. P. Roche, 1913*
John Archibald Deal, 1895*	Charles M. Hall, 1914
William Francis Rice, 1895*	Willis G. Clark, 1915
James Thomas Kennedy, 1895	Albert New, 1916
Chalmers D. Chapman, 1896*	Arthur W. Farnum, 1917
William R. Savage, 1903	John H. Griffith, 1918
Edmund Noah Joyner, 1905	John C. Seagle, 1918
Hugh A. Dobbin, 1907	J. W. Canteley Johnson, 1920
Frederick D. Lobdell, 1908	Albert G. B. Bennett, 1920
George H. Bell, 1909*	Sanders R. Guignard, 1921
Reuben R. Harris, 1911	Basil M. Walton, 1921
William P. Browne, 1912*	Norvin C. Duncan, 1921
Robert P. Hairston, 1912*	Edwin E. Knight, 1921
James B. Sill, 1912	Clarence S. McClellan, Jr., 1921
Benjamin S. Lassiter, 1913	Jacob R. Jones, 1921
Samuel B. Stroup, 1913	George M. Manley, 1921

Source: Western North Carolina Diocesan Journal 1922, 34.

*Retired on pension or nonparochial.

The final requirement was that the proposed diocese have no fewer than six presbyters, who have been for at least one year canonically resident within the bounds of the diocese. They were also to be regularly settled in a parish or congregation and qualified to vote for a bishop. The names of thirty-two presbyters were submitted along with the dates of their canonical residence (see Table XIII—I).¹³⁸

The General Convention of 1922 met in Portland, Oregon, from 6 to 23 September. Bishop Horner was a member of the House of Bishops; in the House of Delegates were four clergymen and two laymen from the District: the Reverends Samuel B. Stroup of Hickory, Willis G. Clark of Asheville, J. W. Canteley Johnson of Gastonia, and Arthur W. Farnum of Hendersonville, for the clergy; and William L. Balthis of Gastonia and H. V. Smedberg of Brevard, for the laity. Also elected but not present were two other laymen: Haywood Parker of Asheville and Henry Norris of Rutherfordton.¹³⁹

At the opening session of the House of Delegates, the Reverend

Mr. Stroup presented a memorial or petition asking for the admission of the Missionary District of Asheville as a diocese "to be known as the Diocese of Western North Carolina." The next day Bishop Horner presented the same memorial to the House of Bishops. Following a favorable report from the Committee on New Dioceses in each house, the petition was approved on voice vote by both houses, as required. On 11 September, a roll call in the House of Delegates officially recognized the contingent from the former Missionary District of Asheville as the representatives of the Diocese of Western North Carolina.¹⁴⁰ It was not necessary to change Bishop Horner's status. Victory had been achieved.

On 18 October 1922, the first Convention of the Diocese of Western North Carolina was held at the Church of the Ascension in Hickory. Bishop Horner, who had agreed to serve as the first bishop, presided. It was a joyous occasion. Bishop Horner had served the Missionary District of Asheville faithfully for twenty-four years, and would continue this difficult task for eleven more years until his death on 5 April 1933. Turning this mountain region into an independent diocese had been a struggle for all concerned—the bishop, the devoted clergy, and the laity, who ultimately provided the financial resources.

The bishop greeted all those present:

Brethren. . . . May the Holy Spirit guide us in planning our work here and in the execution of it as we go to our several fields in the mountains. . . . The central objective [of the Church] is to love and bless these people with the story of the Gospel and its message of loving kindness and mutual helpfulness, as this Church has received the same. . . . The work of the Church, done with such a large mission field adjacent to small parishes, and with missions in such great proportion to organized parishes as is shown, will for a long time need the fostering care of the life of the whole church. . . . However, for a continued forward policy in the face of constant need, the Diocese of Western North Carolina will be inevitably for many years both the opportunity and the field for missionary endeavor on the part of the whole American Church through its National Council.

In season and out of season, the faithful clergy of the District are presenting the Gospel of our Lord and Master as representing Him and His Church, in this noble and beautiful land, and co-

operating with them, in an earnestness and ever increasing responsiveness and ability, are the many devoted and able men and women who make the laity of the Church. The unanimous action for this request in convention assembled has brought both enthusiasm and force for this chosen course.¹⁴¹

The struggle to become a diocese was over.

Bishop Horner was correct in his assessment of the needs of the Diocese. Financial assistance from the National Church was still required, and for many years thereafter. Most of the money was used for missionary activities—that is, for salaries and to support priests working in the rural areas. The central purpose of the Diocese remained the same as that of the Missionary District at its inception: “to love and bless the people of the mountains with the story of the Gospel and its message of loving kindness and mutual helpfulness, as the Church has received the same.”¹⁴²

Even the seal remained the same except for its title, which was changed to “Seal of the Diocese of Western North Carolina”: “Under Divine guidance, we shall mount upon eagle’s wings, we shall run and not grow weary” (Isaiah 40:31).¹⁴³

In the twenty-seven years of its existence, the Missionary District had almost tripled its strength:

1895	1922
1,368 Communicants	3,628 Communicants
22 Clergymen	35 Clergymen
8 Parishes	16 Parishes
11 Organized missions	30 Organized missions
35 Unorganized missions	27 Unorganized missions

Yet, as the Committee on the State of the Church reported succinctly at the District’s last Convention: “Statistics are the poorest kind of guide as to what the Church is doing. They are never accurate and hardly ever complete. If the state of the church which is engaged in great spiritual enterprises, seeking and obtaining spiritual results which are unmeasurable, could be expressed in figures . . . we would be very certain that the Church of God is a colossal failure; but . . . we can thank God and rejoice at the outward evidences of inward life and vigor.”¹⁴⁴

Spreading the "Good News"

Convention *Journals* are poor sources for evidence of the inward life and vigor of the Church, yet evidences can be found of the true work of the Church, that is, spreading the "Good News of Jesus Christ." Growth there was, as the 1922 figures show: the number of parishes had doubled, the number of communicants had tripled, and the number of congregations had increased from fifty-four to seventy-three. Unfortunately, the number of clergymen had not increased in proportion and a simple calculation will show that most clergymen were serving more than one congregation. In fact, it is the story of the missionary clergy, the teachers, and the United Thank Offering workers that needs to be told. As Bishop Cheshire had stated: "A missionary had 3 or 4 counties under his charge and 5, 6, 10 or a dozen points where he is expected to keep up services."¹⁴⁵ This meant travel by foot, by horseback, or by horse and buggy until just before World War I when cars began to be used. The roads were not the superhighways of today—often just rough dirt roads winding up and down the mountains, with precipices or steep cliffs on one side or the other. The many small creeks and streams usually had to be forded as there were few bridges. In dry weather this was possible, but after a mountain freshet (it should be called a near flood) the roads were all but impassable. The missionaries held services at these distant points, sometimes two or three on a Sunday, often fortified by no more than hot soup in a thermos. These intrepid missionaries also made house calls, visiting the sick and dying, regardless of the weather. Sometimes the horse had to be tethered halfway up the mountain and the rest of the journey made on foot. Then there might be a baptism or a Eucharist with well water and homemade bread. Some of the missionaries had medical training and could give first aid. Other arrangements would need to be made—for a doctor or nurse, for clothing, or for a funeral. One missionary's wife recalled waiting up night after night until she heard the sound of the horse and buggy. First the horse had to be cared for; although she would have food ready when her husband came in, often he was too tired to do more than collapse into bed.

In some places the missionaries were not well received, for, as stated before, there was much prejudice against the Episcopalians, especially clergymen who wore the clerical collar. This prejudice ex-

isted, and occasional threats were made, until the people began to appreciate the love and care of the missionaries.¹⁴⁶ The missionaries continued “spreading themselves over more territory than any one man can cover successfully,”¹⁴⁷ as the people were in great need of spiritual nourishment. Who could refuse? More laborers in the field were certainly needed, yet there was never enough money for those already at work. In 1900, it was reported that only \$1,400 was available for the stipends of eleven missionaries. Even in those days, that was little enough for a man to live on, much less support a family. The bishop was urged to seek more funds to increase the work of the Church.

These same missionaries devoted themselves to diocesan work, as well as conducting special preaching missions outside their own areas. They edited diocesan papers such as “*The Crusader*,”¹⁴⁸ or “*The Missionary News*,”¹⁴⁹ which kept open the lines of communication and inspired other missionaries, and they contributed articles to *The Carolina Churchman* and the *Spirit of Missions*. They also worked in hospitals. Indeed, missionaries helped to organize Grace Hospital in Morganton and Biltmore Hospital (later Mission Memorial) in Asheville.

In 1906, Bishop Horner had appointed the Reverend Edmund N. Joyner as general missionary and the Reverend Walter Hughson as archdeacon in charge of educational work. Each of them also had regular parishes, charges, or missions, but devoted some of their time to diocesan work,¹⁵⁰ including “going North” to raise money. That year Archdeacon Hughson reported raising \$6,200, whereas the general missionary raised only \$400. Most of this money went to the Missionary District’s schools or to the missions under its direct control. The other missionaries made their own preaching tours, usually to cities where they had contacts, friends, or former schoolmates who held more affluent parishes—for example, in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, D.C., and Chicago. The travel was not easy and sometimes the missionaries were not treated well. One reported that he slept in the basement of a cold parish house with only his overcoat for cover; another time he waded waist deep in snow across a field, only to find that the clergyman with whom he had an appointment had not waited for him, but had gone home “because of the snow.”¹⁵¹ Already mentioned were the feelings of “isolation and loneliness . . . of time being wasted.”¹⁵²

At the same time, members of the clergy enjoyed a camaraderie, a

sharing of ideas, and lively debates on theological questions at convocation meetings. Their relationship with the bishop was not always so friendly. As has been pointed out, Bishop Horner had very strong opinions and was not always tolerant of views that differed from his own. Theologically, he seemed to adhere strictly to the "Articles of Religion" rather than to the more Catholic beliefs of those who had come under the influence of the Oxford Movement. Moreover, there was some dissatisfaction among the clergy with the way the bishop exercised his authority to fix the stipends of missionaries. An example of this dissatisfaction was expressed by the Reverend Reginald N. Willcox, rector of St. James's Church, Hendersonville, and in charge of Henderson County missions. After being informed without previous consultation that he was being cut from the stipend list because the bishop felt that his parish could make up the \$200 difference, Mr. Willcox wrote Bishop Horner a strong letter of protest:

I do not doubt for a moment that the action you have taken in this matter you took because you thought it was for the best interests of the church in this Diocese—and it may be for the best; in which case I and my family must be sacrificed . . . but would it not be well to talk over these matters . . . before taking action. . . . I believe you lose greatly both in the joy of your work and in its efficiency by not taking at least the clergy more into your confidence [the next was scratched out] and letting us feel that this is at least a constitutional monarchy. The feeling of being governed arbitrarily, however beneficially, by one whom we neither elected nor have power to remove produces an unwholesome atmosphere. I do not question your *right* to govern as you do, I am only questioning its policy. Such a policy must lead to estrangement and misunderstanding between the Bishop and his clergy to the real loss of both and injury to Christ's work.¹⁵³

The letter went on to say that a bishop ought to care for his priests, that to cut \$200 from a salary of \$800, which supported a family of six children, was too great a burden to bear. This sacrifice was asked of a priest who in his thirteen years of service in the Missionary District had established five schools at his missions, plus three new missions and numerous preaching stations. Willcox noted that he had turned down two calls to more affluent work because he loved the people in the mountains as well as in the town where his main parish

was located. "I want my vestry to add \$200 to my salary this year and I know they want to do so . . . but I want and need this not to take the place of some other two hundred but in addition thereto."¹⁵⁴

A letter from one neighboring missionary to another stated: "I feel just now rather subdued as the Bishop gave me a 'talking to.' The Bishop told me he could not give you a . . . teacher nor could he give one for this Associate Mission. I know you must be hard put to it, as I am, to carry the schools along without a certain definite aid forthcoming."¹⁵⁵ A priest who had accepted a call to Massachusetts wrote of his indignation after learning that one of his flourishing former missions

had been closed for months and many people in sickness and sore need. Some time ago I wrote to Dr. Swope, but he just expressed his appreciation of my interest (for sooth) and asked what could be done. Done? Move heaven and earth to put a Christian priest in charge. . . . It is hard to think of 50 Godchildren being lost to the Church through such incapacity and neglect, to say nothing of the hundreds to whom I ministered. I have written to the Bishop pretty plainly, though courteously, suggesting that he himself might go if he can't send somebody.¹⁵⁶

The Reverend Mr. Willcox suggested the following plan to resolve these difficulties with Bishop Horner:

The matter of raising the money to carry on our work in this District is of course no new problem. . . . I am convinced after 14 years experience with conditions in this diocese and with the Bishop—whom may God enlighten—that if we are going to work effectually we must organize apart from the Bishop, which is uncatholic; but which his individualistic, short-sighted, inefficiency has made necessary, if we are not merely to sit still and "watchfully wait" for his translation to another diocese or a better world, neither of which I believe to be imminent. I am convinced that the center of an efficient organization for the financing and developing of the missionary work in this diocese must be a reorganized missionary committee. This committee should report to the Bishop and cooperate with him so far as possible in his policy (if he has any) for the spread of the Kingdom in this diocese; *but* the Bishop should not be the chairman of the committee—the committee should elect its own chairman and secre-

tary and treasurer and financial agent. . . . Every priest in charge of two or more missions should be a member of this committee by right not by vote or appointment; and no one should be a member of this committee except he be in charge actively of missionary work—except the deans of convocation *ex officio*. If we cannot accomplish this or something like it through convention (which means of course with the Bishop's consent) then I think we should form a federal council of missionaries and pool our interests as outlined above and do the same work unofficially as the official committee would do.¹⁵⁷

The Problem of Money

Though now a full-fledged, independent diocese, Western North Carolina was by no means self-supporting, and the same old problem prevailed—there was never enough money. As far back as 1910, the Committee on the State of the Church had expressed dissatisfaction with the way funds were collected and administered:

Our efforts to ascertain the program of the church have been handicapped by the omission of necessary information. There is no record in the Journals of the money received from outside the District, or of the manner of its spending. This is a serious omission, as it represents by far the largest amount used in the work. The General Missionary makes an annual report. . . . Yet there is nothing to show what salary he receives, if any, and whence it is raised. It is the opinion of your committee that for the welfare of the church in this district, the Convention . . . should be advised of all monies raised for the work of this District and how spent.¹⁵⁸

In 1923, its first year as independent diocese, Western North Carolina owed \$6,385.77. The National Council had pledged \$5,000 to pay this off, but it too suffered from a shortage of funds and could pay only the interest.¹⁵⁹ "Our Diocese is the weakest, financially, in the Province," the bishop reported in 1924. "Our work is almost entirely rural and though most important, is most expensive."¹⁶⁰

Tragedy struck in 1925 when "Palmyra," the original building at Patterson School, burned to the ground. In his address to the Convention that year, the bishop said he hoped that "this Convention will

take some definite action . . . and that we will see to it that the money is forthcoming. . . . Each one of you knows how little he has done thus far to help.”¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, the Diocese had continued to support a general missionary. Archdeacon Griffith pursued this work diligently, traveling throughout the Diocese and giving services to small churches that had no one in charge, either because no one could be found or because the church could not afford a pastor. In 1924, his report of these missions was discouraging: “Saluda has well done her part, maintaining her services and contributing generously [though] crippled by removal of officers and parishioners. . . . Micadale Mission is the poorest financially. . . . The people are just poor, that’s all [there is] to it. While the services are largely attended, and the people interested, yet it will take years to put the mission on anything like a paying basis. I consider Micadale worthy of a mission worker. [There was no diocesan money to pay for a mission worker and eventually Micadale had to be closed]. . . . the church building at Cashier’s Valley is rapidly going to decay.”¹⁶² Yet, the following year it was reported that missions showed “two to three times greater growth than city parishes.”¹⁶³ No wonder the Convention gave Archdeacon Griffith a “special resolution of commendation for his untiring energy and diligence . . . the great importance of his work.”¹⁶⁴

In 1925, the archdeacon resigned as missionary-at-large and took a parish because the bishop had no money to pay him.¹⁶⁵ In one year, he had served in 13 counties and held 168 services at 30 places. “Mission congregations are begging for more services,” he reported, and they have “larger congregations than found elsewhere. . . . Our rural people are actually hungry for Jesus Christ.”¹⁶⁶ He ended by begging someone to find the money. “Don’t leave them orphans.”¹⁶⁷ His final report concluded with these words: “The Episcopal Church in these mountains will never be the church of the mountaineer until we of the clergy fraternize and come down from our lofty heights of ecclesiasticism, sacerdotalism and offishness.”¹⁶⁸

At the 1925 Convention, the Executive Council felt it important to set the policy that “no money subscribed for missionary purposes [should] be used for the Diocesan expense account.”¹⁶⁹ The Council also planned optimistically to pay off the Diocese’s debt and to ask the parishes and missions to contribute their share. In fact, it would take many years to pay off the debt.

The year 1926 was one of unusual financial strain, but the Diocese managed to get through it without a deficit, despite the cut in

the appropriation from the National Council.¹⁷⁰ As Bishop Horner stated, "We are functioning as an organized Diocese, but limpingly and under great financial strain, for we should still be denominated, as far as financial ability is concerned, a Missionary Field, and I beg of the National Council not to cut the appropriations to this Diocese too rapidly."¹⁷¹ At the same time, Western North Carolina continued to meet its apportionment to the National Council "in full with a small surplus on the advance work of the program."¹⁷²

The Wall Street crash of 1929 and the subsequent depression was not felt at first in this area. Diocesan funds remained intact but interest rates were down and so was giving. The Executive Council reported, "We have not improved in our financial outlook,"¹⁷³ and the Department of Missions complained, "We reverse the Scripture and say at a time when we boast of the greatness of our land, 'It is more blessed to RECEIVE than to give!'"¹⁷⁴ But the bishop declared: "We must not let the financial depression . . . deaden our endeavors for the building up of the Church. The women have proven in their faithful service that God's work can go forward under most difficult and adverse circumstances."¹⁷⁵ He challenged "the men of the church to take more interest in the spiritual side of church life, and not merely confine their efforts to the handling of money and looking after the material properties of the church."¹⁷⁶ The women themselves urged the organization of an Advance Work Program so that the Church might look toward a "speedy and courageous discharge of this our Missionary privilege and obligation."¹⁷⁷

For the first time, Bishop Horner had to admit that, although all four industrial schools were running well, they were "more than a Diocese of this size and strength can possible take care of from its own resources."¹⁷⁸ Still, he continued: "We are not justified in making excuses for our shortcomings. . . . We must take courage and believe that God is with us as He promised."¹⁷⁹

The depression continued and worsened. Again Bishop Horner challenged the men "to imitate [the women] in their efforts to build up the kingdom of God."¹⁸⁰ "We have not solved our financial problems," he continued, speaking of closed banks and an actual shortage of money, though "there has been no loss from fire, flood or earthquake."¹⁸¹

It must have cost Bishop Horner considerable soul searching to realize that his industrial schools were causing "uneasiness on the part of some as to the financial obligation of the Diocese for these

schools." Accordingly, he suggested "that each of the schools be incorporated and placed under a special board of trustees as Christ School is at present."¹⁸² Later this was done, to the advantage of the schools. The financial situation remained grim, and again the bishop commended the women's groups "in this time of financial distress. They are showing by what they have accomplished that Church work can be carried on under difficult conditions . . . [and] have accomplished things with or without money. They do not complain or cry hard times."¹⁸³

Indeed, it is gratifying to note that the Lord's work continued throughout these difficult years. The Bishops' Crusade emphasized evangelism and spirituality, and "every member of the church has been urged to realize in his own life the responsibility that rests upon him as a Christian to deepen his own spiritual life."¹⁸⁴ By 1925, giving to the Diocese had increased five times and to the missions, ten times.¹⁸⁵ It is interesting to note that in the same year the courtesies of the Convention floor were extended to women.¹⁸⁶

The spirit of evangelism grew during this period. Much Christian social work was being done in the schools and at Grace Hospital, in Morganton, where in 1930 a new hospital was erected. This hospital had been started and largely supported by the Episcopal church in that city.¹⁸⁷ In many parishes the laymen were organizing chapters of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, establishing contact with the sick, teaching Bible classes, and working with those in jail.¹⁸⁸ Adversity was arousing the spirit and, though there was little treasure to give, there was time and talent. "In adversity they [the people]," exhorted the bishop, "are ready to look into the far future . . . heavenward. Let us then make the most of the spiritual opportunity and the financial problem will also be taken care of."¹⁸⁹ This must have worked, for in 1932 he proudly announced that "our Diocese has been able to balance its budget."¹⁹⁰

Growth and Service

Individual clergymen and laymen continued to serve wherever they were needed, and to furnish leadership and encouragement. And the Department of Christian Social Service, organized during World War I, continued to help support and coordinate such efforts. The department's report of 1932 was encouraging: "Help

given to the unemployed and to underprivileged children is heartening and the number assisted in a multitude of constructive ways, as well as the number assisting is large.”¹⁹¹ The report mentioned that Episcopalians assisted with the work of county welfare, community chest, the Red Cross, libraries, playgrounds, juvenile courts, county homes, and jails. They distributed school lunches to undernourished children, often where parents were unemployed; supported girls’ clubs, and the Boy Scouts; and the department itself endeavored to “build up standards.”¹⁹²

During this period the Diocese also became interested in and supportive of larger issues, including Church Unity and the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, Switzerland. All mourned the death of Bishop Charles Henry Brent, the leader of this movement, “an inspired prophet of God with a message to the people, who had responded too freely to the demands made on him.”¹⁹³ Parishioners contributed to the Near East relief for Armenian children.¹⁹⁴ Some of the clergy held services at the camps of the Civilian Conservation Corps. There was an underlying spirit of the “high privilege and sacred duty of unwrapping the talent and using it to lead a friend to Christ.”¹⁹⁵ However, discouraging reports were received of parishes without clergymen. The entire territory west of Waynesville and Brevard, with eight churches and chapels, had no leadership. One parish reported that “a whirlwind blew the church away.”¹⁹⁶

Somehow during these years the Diocese was able to support a Field Secretary for Religious Education, though she labored nine months of the year for the munificent sum of \$80 a month. Such field secretaries made great contributions, encouraging lay people to attend training classes and helping parishes to set up their Christian education programs.¹⁹⁷

One of the most devoted ministries was that of James Thomas Kennedy in his work with his own race. When he was made Archdeacon for Colored Work in 1920, he had seven churches to serve, traveling from St. Cyprian’s, Franklin, in the west, to St. Stephen’s, Morganton, in the east. In between were black missions at Lincolnton, Edneyville, Tryon, Rutherfordton, and Green River. Kennedy was born in South Carolina of slave parents in 1865. He was confirmed at age eighteen and immediately began serving as a lay reader and postulant. In 1887, in a Church periodical, he saw an appeal for a Church worker in Macon County. The hardships of the journey from his home to Franklin are graphically described in Mary E. Walters’s ac-

count of his work now held in the archives of the western diocese.¹⁹⁸ On 15 January 1887, Kennedy began teaching at a mission school, which eventually became St. Cyprian's, while studying for the diaconate. He was ordained three years later. He was made archdeacon by Bishop Horner in 1920 and served in the position until his resignation on 1 November 1936.¹⁹⁹

Though "retired," the Venerable Archdeacon Kennedy continued to serve where needed until 1950 when, at age eighty-five, it became difficult for him to travel frequently. In 1947 he was honored by the National Boy Scouts for "the opportunities . . . to Negro boys in Buncombe County" given by the troop he organized and kept alive at St. Matthias in Asheville. As Walters stated, "there are pioneers and pioneers."²⁰⁰ For example, in 1925 he reported "travelling 6,000 miles,"²⁰¹ and the next year he made "120 trips."²⁰² Kennedy lived well into his nineties, beloved by all.

The Highland Churchman came into being during this period of growth. The need for better communication had been felt since the early days, but each attempt had faltered due to the lack of support. In 1925, it was reported that "while the daily press reaches many of the general public . . . the matter acceptable to it does not meet the specific needs of a church constituency."²⁰³ The Convention therefore recommended and approved a resolution that a diocesan organ be instituted.²⁰⁴ Accordingly, *The Highland Churchman* published its first issue in July 1925;²⁰⁵ it has appeared ever since except for five years during the 1934–39 depression, when it had to be discontinued for lack of money.

The Kanuga Conference Center, now such an important asset, came about after a chance visit by businessman George Stephens to Hendersonville. He acquired the property around Kanuga Lake and developed it in 1910 as an exclusive private club or resort area. "The Club prospered for a time but faced rough sledding in the 1920s. Just at this time the Episcopal Church in the Carolinas was catching the vision of the place of camps and conference centers in the church's program of Christian education."²⁰⁶ The Diocesan Convention of 1924 therefore proposed that the Kanuga Lake property be developed as an Inter-Diocesan Assembly Grounds.²⁰⁷ The dream became a reality in 1928 after five dioceses cooperated to raise the money and secure possession.²⁰⁸ The Diocese of Western North Carolina was particularly fortunate in having the conference grounds located within

its borders. Kanuga continued to grow and provide new opportunities and new challenges.

The End of an Episcopate

When Junius M. Horner was consecrated Bishop of the Missionary District of Asheville in 1898, he was thirty-nine years old and one of the youngest members of the House of Bishops. On the tenth anniversary of his episcopate, Bishop Horner said he was "much gratified and deeply touched by evidence of loyalty and love on the part of the clergy and laity," adding these words of optimism: "The year has been the most progressive in the history of the district. In the midst of a financial depression we have had more liberal response in money . . . than ever before, a larger number of confirmations and baptisms, and we hope these are true indications of spiritual growth. . . . The figures show substantial and healthy growth, and yet, brethren, we have, as it were, only begun the work to be done."²⁰⁹

The bishop's twenty years of service were celebrated at Trinity Church at a Eucharist. In his sermon, Bishop Horner "reviewed much interesting history of the district in the last two decades. At the close of the service the Vestry presented Bishop Horner with a silver basin."²¹⁰ A few years later the Missionary District became an independent Diocese, and only the year after that the bishop's twenty-fifth anniversary was celebrated, again at Trinity Church.²¹¹

By 1932 the strain was beginning to tell on a man who had reached his seventieth birthday in the same year as the Wall Street crash. The bishop had realized his dream of establishing industrial schools, but at what cost. There had been a constant struggle for sufficient funds to do the work. Sometimes other diocesan work had had to suffer so that the schools could be continued. Bishop Horner had seen his District through World War I, had shepherded it to independence in 1922, had admonished his clergy regarding the problems of Prohibition and obtaining communion wine, and had said good-bye to many old friends and supporters. He seemed particularly to miss the Reverend Alfred H. Stubbs who, as warden of Ravenscroft, had shared his quarters and his confidence while living in an apartment at

Schoenberger Hall, the bishop's residence. Father Stubbs died in 1924.

Though in failing health, Bishop Horner struggled on. In the August 1931 issue of *The Highland Churchman*, it was reported that he was "on the mend," but this did not prove to be true. At the 1933 Convention, delegates were told that the bishop was confined to his home due to illness, yet he wrote his address to be delivered by someone else. In it he "regretted that my sickness prevents my sharing with you the labors which will be before us."²¹² Though neighboring bishops were helping out, clergy and laity alike were feeling the strain of the situation and the need for more vigorous leadership. The Department of Missions and Church Extension noted, "Most of us are grateful if we have been able to maintain a fairly normal status in our work by abnormal effort."²¹³

On 5 April 1933, at age seventy-three, Bishop Horner died "after a long, painful illness, borne with the same patience with which he has borne the difficulties of a long episcopate."²¹⁴ A special edition of *The Highland Churchman* contained the tributes of many people. Haywood Parker, chancellor of the Diocese, who had been associated with the work from the beginning, summed up the bishop's tenure most astutely:

Few officials ever gave more undivided, unselfish and untiring attention to duties. . . . His election came as a surprise . . . representatives of the Jurisdiction had not been consulted. There was a feeling . . . that it was a mistake to elect as Missionary Bishop the headmaster of a school who had no experience as Rector of a Parish. Naturally reticent and sensitive, the consciousness of this feeling, and that he came as one sent and not as one called, made him over-cautious in his approaches, and he had few confidants and seldom sought advice. . . . Bishop Horner was instinctively schoolminded. . . . It was inevitable that he should turn to schools as chief instruments of his work . . . and should devote much of his energies and the influence of his office to their development. He did not always have the sympathy or cooperation of his people, and there was much misunderstanding and some criticism of his engrossing interest in the schools. He regretted this, but . . . he was convinced he was right and determinedly persisted, at times almost single-handed, in his efforts to realize his ideals. . . . He never knew the art of persuasive argument. He

never learned to delegate work; to him his work was a serious personal duty that no one else could do, and to its performance and its needs he freely sacrificed himself. . . . He died broken in health and financially impoverished . . . a martyr to his ideals. He loved his ideals more than he loved folks, and at times he was lonesome.²¹⁵

On the afternoon of Friday, 7 April, the burial service for this man—who had been the first and only Bishop of Western North Carolina for thirty-five years—was conducted at Trinity Church with due ceremony, attended by many dignitaries, many of his fellow bishops, and most of his clergy. There was a bright, soft April sunshine. As Bishop Penick concluded, “Now the laborer’s task is o’er.”²¹⁶

The Election of Bishop Robert Emmet Gribbin

When a bishop dies in office, the Standing Committee must make whatever arrangements are necessary to keep the work of the Church and the Diocese moving forward smoothly until a new bishop can be elected. This means contacting neighboring bishops so that people may be confirmed when they are both “desirous and ready” and prepared, and providing a higher authority that clergy may consult should this be needed. Neighboring bishops are usually most willing to help out in this way. Then a Special Convention needs to be called to determine the will of the clergy and laity regarding the election of a new bishop. The date for this Convention in the Diocese of Western North Carolina was set for 3 August 1933.

This also seemed a propitious time to reconsider the boundaries of the three Episcopal dioceses within the state of North Carolina. Wishing to be armed with the facts, the Standing Committee made an exhaustive study of the Diocese and its congregations. At this time, there were 18 parishes, 31 organized missions, and 25 unorganized missions. There were 6,233 baptized members with 4,114 communicants, and all of them were served by 27 active clergymen. The Dioceses of East Carolina and North Carolina were contacted and a conference called for 29 July 1933 at Kanuga. The conference was well attended by representatives of all three dioceses, though the Bishop of North Carolina was absent because of illness. The results of the meeting were as follows:

After a thorough consideration in a general way of the matter, three questions were proposed and acted upon: First to delay and postpone a decision . . . defeated. Second, a consolidation of the Dioceses in the State and a redivision into two equally strong Dioceses . . . overwhelmingly defeated (only 2 votes in favor). Third, that the territory of the state remain divided in 3 Dioceses . . . unanimously approved, with the further resolution: that the Diocese of North Carolina be requested to consider the advisability of ceding such of its territory to the Dioceses of East Carolina and Western North Carolina as would make for the welfare and expansion of the Church's work in the state.²¹⁷

Though the latter resolution also passed unanimously, the boundaries were never altered.

The Special Convention convened on 3 August but adjourned after taking no action.²¹⁸ Another Convention was therefore called for 17 October 1933 "to consider the report of the Standing Committee re the Diocesan boundaries in the State of North Carolina and to elect a Bishop after fixing the salary of said Bishop."²¹⁹

When the meeting convened, there seemed to be nothing Western North Carolina could do further about changing diocesan boundaries. Attention was therefore turned to fixing the salary of the bishop. First it was moved that the salary be set at \$4,000, but after the Finance Committee made its report this was amended to \$4,500 and "so agreed."²²⁰ The names of nineteen clergymen were then placed in nomination. On the third ballot, the Reverend Robert Emmet Gribbin, rector of St. Paul's, Winston-Salem, was elected Bishop of the Diocese of Western North Carolina.²²¹

If the Convention *Journals* were the only source of information, it would seem this man had been chosen "out of the blue." Actually there had been considerable correspondence back and forth and the name of Robert Emmet Gribbin had appeared frequently. Many in Western North Carolina had had contact with him, as he had already served St. Paul's for twelve years and Winston-Salem was not a great distance from the Diocese.²²²

The future bishop was born in Windsor, South Carolina, in 1887. He attended the Citadel and Charleston College, the University of the South, and the General Theological Seminary in New York City. Ordained deacon in 1912 and priest the following year, he served churches in Atlanta, Georgia, and Wilmington, North Carolina. Dur-

ing World War I he was a chaplain with the American Expeditionary Force in Europe and had retained his status as a chaplain in the National Guard. In 1921 he had been called to be rector of St. Paul's in Winston-Salem.²²³

An evaluation of the man by the Reverend I. Harding Hughes, a friend and colleague of over ten years, was sent, after inquiry, to a prominent layman of Western North Carolina, Sheldon Leavitt. Hughes described him as "positive in his convictions without being quarrelsome or too dogmatic. . . . unusually well qualified for giving sane and sympathetic advice to priests of the Church as well as laymen. . . . [possessed of] love of scholarship . . . breadth of sympathies, and . . . remarkable commonsense . . . missionary minded . . . very devotional."²²⁴ Further descriptions note that he was the "possessor of a charming personality, a typical Irish sense of humor, and a fine knowledge of human nature [and thus] eminently qualified to carry on his new work."²²⁵

On 25 January 1934, Robert Emmet Gribbin was consecrated bishop with due ceremony in St. Paul's, Winston-Salem. The Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, the Right Reverend James DeWolf Perry, was the chief consecrator. At age forty-six, Bishop Gribbin was officially inducted into office at the evening session of the Convention held in Lenoir on 6–7 February 1934.

One of the first questions to be considered on the opening day of the Convention had been whether Schoenberger Hall, the bishop's residence, should be sold and the monies used to acquire another property for this purpose.²²⁶ This was referred to the Executive Council, which reported the next year that it had been unable to make such a sale. Thus, the building was repaired, modernized, and continued as the bishop's residence.²²⁷

The New Episcopate

In his first address to the Convention, Bishop Gribbin made many important and revealing points. First, he asked the Standing Committee for a complete audit, by a certified public accountant, of the funds of the Diocese "in order that I, coming in as a stranger, might by that means be enabled to understand what the various funds are, how invested, their condition, and what may be expected from

them to aid in the purposes for which they are given.”²²⁸ From that time on, every receipt and disbursement of the Diocese was published in the *Convention Journal*. A search of the previous years shows that this had not always been done.

The new bishop also emphasized the place of each individual in the total picture: “We must remember that just as the Parish is greater than any priest or layman in it, and that just as the Diocese is greater than any Bishop, priest, layman or parish, so likewise the Church is greater than any Diocese in it. We are members of the Church, the whole Church, the one Church, first and foremost, and only incidentally for administration and other purposes members of congregations and dioceses. Our Lord’s promise to be with us always is conditioned upon our going into all the world.”²²⁹

Bishop Gribbin wanted to make a very strong point at the beginning of his episcopate: “The Bishop is supposed to be a spiritual leader by prayer and study of God’s word. This I cannot be if it is required of me to give too large a part of my time to details of administration.”²³⁰ For, he added, saying with the Apostles of old: “It is not reason that we should leave the word of God and serve tables.”²³¹ This was the challenge, that clergy and laity should take over the burdens of administration and allow the bishop to be the spiritual leader, the overseer (the Greek word for “bishop”) he was meant to be. Accordingly, Bishop Gribbin served notice that as he visited congregations he would hope to meet with vestry and lay leaders and really learn about “things and conditions [which] cannot be expressed in figures and in written statements.”²³²

Finally, he told the delegates, “We are a household, that is what the word Diocese means . . . the household of God on the top of the mountains . . . united as a group in . . . love.”²³³ This was to be the theme of his episcopate.

The Depression Years

The year 1933 had been difficult for all concerned, “a trying financial period without the guiding hand of a Bishop,” as the Finance Committee reported.²³⁴ The country was still in the grip of the depression. Parishes had paid only half of their quotas, and it was suggested at the 1934 Convention that “now is the time to reduce expenditures. But, if you do vote for these expenditures or do not

protest against them, please remember we think you are promising to pay your share.”²³⁵ It was emphasized that the work of the Church must continue. For instance, in one of the programs of the depression years, there were eighteen Civilian Conservation Corps camps in western North Carolina, with 4,000 boys needing spiritual leadership. “Six of the camps,” reported the Department of Christian Social Service, “had Episcopalian commandants in charge, all of whom have reported difficulty in obtaining services of the church in their camps.”²³⁶

These conditions made Bishop Gribbin’s first year in office a difficult one. *The Highland Churchman* had to be discontinued from April through December because of the lack of money, and the services of the field-worker in religious education, Mary Wood Sumner, were discontinued.²³⁷ However, the Department of Publicity had arranged for a bishop’s newsletter to be issued until it became practical to revive *The Highland Churchman* and “to take definite steps with a view to increasing subscriptions to our church paper.”²³⁸ As for religious education, lay people would have to take up the slack.

The question of diocesan boundaries had not been dropped, and a special committee was appointed to study the issue further. “The authority of the Diocese of North Carolina considers that the proper course is for this Diocese [Western North Carolina] to act in the matter.”²³⁹ The problem was that whereas Western North Carolina had only one large Church center (Asheville), the Diocese of North Carolina had a number, including Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and others. It was felt “that the Diocese of North Carolina for the good of the whole, might properly be asked to consider the cession of one or more strengthening centers.”²⁴⁰ After much study the special committee submitted maps, data, and comparisons, and requested Convention approval to “petition the Diocese of North Carolina that the territory embraced in the counties of Yadkin, Forsyth and Iredell be ceded to this Diocese.”²⁴¹ This was a fairly modest request, with the only center of consequence being Winston-Salem in Forsyth County. Western North Carolina did not ask for Mecklenburg County and Charlotte which, geographically, might have been more logical. However, the “Mother Diocese” did not cede any territory.

The bishop continued to stress his important themes in 1935. First was the work of the laity. It was recommended that a “committee of laymen [be appointed] to set up and maintain a Diocesan organization

of Men's Clubs."²⁴² This was done. A second theme related to confirmation. Bishop Gribbin reported confirming 316 persons, "the largest number confirmed in any one year in this Diocese."²⁴³ He then exhorted his clergy that these individuals "be followed up with the best of pastoral care and guidance [so] that they shall 'daily increase' as it states in the confirmation service."²⁴⁴ He further suggested that the clergy "promote Bible reading and prayer groups and Bible classes."²⁴⁵ His emphasis was always spiritual. During this first year, Bishop Gribbin also served the larger field, as he was appointed the head of twenty-one teams commissioned by the General Convention to visit "church communities in 81 of the 89 dioceses and missionary districts within the United States. This great missionary itinerary reached more people in a month with a personalized missionary message than ever before in the history of our church."²⁴⁶

At the 1935 Convention, the Bishop asked for a committee to consider the disposition of "a large number of old books in Schoenberger Hall. . . . Many belonged to Bishop Atkinson. Most of the books now have very little value."²⁴⁷ Apparently nothing was done, for in 1939 the request was repeated.²⁴⁸ On a more mundane plane, Bishop Gribbin requested that "each congregation make an offering to the Bishop's discretionary fund once a year, perhaps on the occasion of the visit of the Bishop [for] many calls are made upon me for assistance."²⁴⁹ This became the custom, and an official statement of this fund was thereafter included in the *Journals*.

Of the so-called industrial schools so dear to Bishop Horner's heart, Bishop Gribbin made little mention except to note the dedication of Horner Hall at the Appalachian School in Penland. This was "erected in part through a gift from the United Thank Offering, . . . but the rest of the cost was raised by my godly predecessor, who gave himself without stint to the development of the schools in this Diocese."²⁵⁰ Haywood Parker, chairman of the Department of Educational Institutions, however, reported that, of the four industrial schools, only Christ School was out of debt; that Appalachian School had a falling enrollment, and creditors were pressing and threatening lawsuits; and that the buildings at Valle Crucis badly needed repair, and the department requested authority to sell some unneeded land for this purpose.²⁵¹

One of the first things recommended in this episcopate was representation of the Woman's Auxiliary on the Executive Council, as well as membership of representative women in the various departments.

The auxiliary continued its service and gifts, and in 1935 had "thirty-seven branches, six of which are colored."²⁵²

The problem of small missions and especially of missionary stipends remained. The Committee on the State of the Church recommended that "some plan be worked out toward diminishing the number of clergy who receive stipends and combining more missions and parishes, and thus make our church in this Diocese more nearly self-supporting."²⁵³ A further report suggested "creating a larger ministry to students within our border . . . at A.S.T.C. [Appalachian State Teachers College] at Boone and at Cullowhee."²⁵⁴

A chaplain remained at Oteen Veterans Hospital near Asheville, where not only veterans but also Civilian Conservation Corps boys were treated. This work at the government hospital was deeply gratifying to the chaplain, who was also the rector at St. James, Black Mountain. He reported following Christ's teaching "to visit the sick, minister to the needy, pray with and for the dying . . . and give comfort to the sorrowing. . . . In five short years," he reported in 1935, "I have packed more real ministration of this kind than in the thirty-five preceding years of my ministry."²⁵⁵ He seemed to be the only chaplain seen regularly by the patients.

In 1936 Bishop Gribbin continued to work toward "more careful handling and accounting of finances. Even a cent placed on the alms basin becomes a trust fund. Money offered at the altar deserves to be used as the worshipper who gave it expected it would be."²⁵⁶ Showing his sense of humor, the bishop quoted the old conundrum "When is a businessman not a businessman? When he is a vestryman." He urged vestrymen and other laity to realize the honor and dignity of the work, not only to raise funds and maintain buildings, but also to concern themselves with the extension of God's kingdom.²⁵⁷ "We must stand alone," the bishop urged in reference to money received from outside the Diocese, such as Bishop Matthews's support of the work at Bat Cave and diocesan dependence on the Holt Fund and others. "I mention these because there seems to be a prevalent idea that as a diocese we are doing a great deal of our own work. As a matter of fact, there has been more uninformed criticism, particularly of the schools. . . . The more I learn about the schools, the more I am impressed with the greatness of the service rendered."²⁵⁸ However, his emphasis was on religious, rather than industrial, education in its broadest sense. "Our Bishop," reported the chairman of the Department of Religious Education, "has done much to arouse inter-

est in religious matters by his almost constant practice of distributing books and pamphlets among both clergy and laity.”²⁵⁹

In one area progress was not being made, and that was in the organization of men so they could work together more closely and more productively, as the women did. The committee appointed by the bishop toward this end was forced to report that it was unable to meet the mandate. Except for a Laymen’s League in Asheville, there were no men’s clubs to organize.²⁶⁰ The women continued their good work and in 1936 made special mention of Rosborough House and the United Thank Offering workers at Bat Cave and at Glendale Springs, all three of which they supported.

“The proper promotion of the Church’s work among the negroes is a problem of recurrent interest and obligation,” Bishop Gribbin stated,²⁶¹ and continued to give it his wholehearted support. Though the actual number of blacks in Western North Carolina was small, the work was important. The three bishops in North Carolina decided to have a joint committee to study the whole question, and in 1937 Bishop Gribbin requested the Convention to appoint one.

A constant theme of this bishop during the trying 1930s was from the well-known hymn, “Rise Up, O Men of God, the Church on You Doth Wait.” He wanted action, not words, and stressed that Our Lord said we should send *laborers* into the field. Only 200 people were confirmed in 1937; with 4,000 communicants, this meant “that it took an average of 20 people working (that is, if we worked) a whole year to bring one person to confirmation.” “Draw your own conclusions,” he added.²⁶²

The need was great but too often there was not the means. The Finance Committee reported that it had had to take out of the budget \$1,500 for “extension work in fields and counties now without adequate service because parishes and missions did not accept the full quotas requested.”²⁶³

At the 1937 Convention, the most optimistic note was struck by the Committee on the State of the Church, which disagreed with the bishop (though calling itself presumptuous to do so) and stated its belief “that there is an increased interest in religion . . . [and we are] willing to predict a normal growth in the general work of the church.” It cited the growth of work with blacks and the request for another priest; the “splendid” accomplishments of the Woman’s Auxiliary; and the evident increase in church attendance in almost all parishes and missions. Further, it noted that young people were showing

signs of stability, diligence, intelligence, and interest in things of God. "We must not weaken in our ministry to the mind," the committee stated. It recommended the use of traveling institutes, teaching over the radio, and every other means that enobled and enlightened man.²⁶⁴

On this hopeful note the Diocese started the year 1938. At the Convention of 1939, it was reported that there were 50 percent more confirmations than in the previous year. "I hope," said the bishop, "that we were more evangelistic and that our life was the means of drawing people to us."²⁶⁵ There were at this time seven workers in the Diocese paid by United Thank Offering funds and one woman from the Church Army. Even though Rosborough House had had to be closed due to the illness of the teachers, Valle Crucis School for Girls had doubled the number of its students. In mentioning all the women workers, the bishop declared: "In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female, and we realize in His work that women have a ministry all their own which cannot be performed by the men."²⁶⁶ At the same time, it was noted that there were three active chapters of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, another was being organized, and two lapsed chapters were being revived.²⁶⁷ There was also a possibility that *The Highland Churchman* would be republished.²⁶⁸ The Diocese, like the rest of the world, was pulling itself from the doldrums of the depression and was generally in better financial condition. Also heard, unfortunately, were the rumbles of war. Even at the "top of the mountains," clergy and parishes were urged by the Department of Christian Social Relations to study what could be done for refugees from Nazi Germany who needed help.²⁶⁹

World War II

When war in Europe finally became a reality, Bishop Gribbin reminded his flock that "we must put our trust in the Lord" and carry on.²⁷⁰ He followed his own advice and showed his true missionary spirit by conducting services in places without a minister as well as making his regular visitations to parishes. "Every Sunday I officiated from one to four times."²⁷¹ Others did the same. The dean of the Morganton Convocation "spent his vacation visiting mission points . . . which resulted in renewed interest in the work of the church."²⁷² The Woman's Auxiliary now had 42 branches and sup-

ported many worthwhile endeavors, the schools, and the United Thank Offering workers. "Considerable impetus was given to the church's work by Vacation Schools conducted by Sister Howe [Church Army] and Miss Aline Cronshey [United Thank Offering]." ²⁷³

Nevertheless, the bishop called on his people "to face solemn and serious crises in our religious outlook. There is a world at war. There is human suffering untold in Europe." Moreover, "We are bewildered and confused [and there are] keenly felt divergent opinions among Christians concerning our attitude toward these conditions; especially toward peace and war. . . . Consideration shall be given to prayers and intercessions in these trying times . . . [nor] shall we allow an acrid or intense difference of opinion [to] shatter for us that Christian fellowship which keeps alive our love and sympathy towards all peoples and all races." ²⁷⁴

Despite the war, growth and progress continued. The three diocesan schools finally became independent entities with their own boards; ²⁷⁵ three new churches were built in 1940, two with no debt; and Trinity Church, now free of debt, was consecrated, as was Grace Chapel. ²⁷⁶ In September 1940, the bishop, a reserve chaplain, was called to active duty when the National Guard was mobilized. Before leaving, he had tried to fill as many vacancies as possible. He also welcomed to the Diocese the Reverend David N. Peeples, a priest who had "long felt the call to do [rural] work and he expects that other clergymen and perhaps laymen of similar vocation will associate themselves in this laudable endeavor." ²⁷⁷ Their aim was to keep the work of the Church going in the small churches when a vacancy occurred. "What a Godsend it will be for the Bishop to have a group of clergymen who expect to stay put in the rural field and yet will be ready to go for services wherever needed." ²⁷⁸ Despite the possibility for despair and pessimism, "never was there greater opportunity in the church . . . in our church's calm determination not to allow the figure of Christ to be removed from the human scene, [in] opportunity to go all out for Christ." ²⁷⁹

Bishop Gribbin was on active duty for a year. During this period he had accepted no salary, only traveling expenses, yet returned many times to his Diocese for confirmations and ordinations. Finally relieved of duty on account of his civil responsibilities, he was disappointed to find that "very little has been done in the past year to develop this constructive plan for necessary activities [rural work

under the direction of the Reverend Mr. Peeples].”²⁸⁰ There was, however, cause for encouragement in the southwestern end of the Diocese. Construction by the Tennessee Valley Authority was bringing prosperity to that region, and on the Cherokee Indian reservation there was a devoted and active missionary.

Changes came with Pearl Harbor and the United States’ active involvement in the war. There were many appeals for money, such as the Presiding Bishop’s Fund for World Relief. “We must not flinch,” stated the Committee on Budget, but “let the giving be done through the regular channels of the Church. Let the heart of the church grow and respond in the face of mounting needs of our suffering brethren in Christ!”²⁸¹ “This time of trial is insistently calling for the consolidation of the Church’s ranks and a deepened consciousness for its essential solidarity.”²⁸² Because “money is a recognized expression of things valued,” the Committee on the State of the Church was glad to report that

nearly twenty-five percent of our Parishes and organized Missions OVERPAID their apportionment for the past year. . . . The significance of it is three fold: First, that in a time of increased general prosperity, we have not forgotten to share that prosperity with God. Second, that, with this new pride of accomplishment we are pulling ourselves, by our Diocesan bootstraps, out of the class of “more helped than helping” and taking hopeful strides toward complete self-support; and, third, because this increased giving has gone beyond our Parish treasuries, and a goodly portion even beyond our Diocesan treasury, it therefore shows a whole-church-consciousness growing up in place of parochialism—a very beginning, already, of the next step in the Presiding Bishop’s program, “Conversion to Christ for World Service.”²⁸³

In his address to the Convention in 1943, Bishop Gribbin stated:

Our minds naturally turn to the war-torn world and we think about those who have gone from our homes and congregations to serve in the armed forces. We want our Church to offer that which is stronger than “Blood, sweat, and tears,” and through it all to point to the victory which will overcome the world, even our faith. We cherish the memory of all who died in our defense. We salute all who on the home front are doing their part for the

general welfare. We realize that while kingdoms rise and wane, the Church of Jesus has a continuing responsibility to bear her witness in the world and yet not be of the world. In that spirit, then, let us go forward.²⁸⁴

A valiant effort was made to “go forward.” When the government was constructing Fontana Dam, bringing 5,000 people into the Diocese, Church services were conducted by the Reverend Grant Folmsbee. He told the Convention in 1943 that he held four types of services each Sunday plus a Sunday school with an enrollment of 300.²⁸⁵ The Executive Council also felt the times were propitious to again employ a Field Secretary for Christian Education and instructed that department to do so. Of course, the department had no money for this and had to refer it to the Budget Committee, adding, however, that “we are not sure that this is the time to fill the position, though admittedly, a first-rate field worker . . . is an asset to any Diocese.”²⁸⁶

The war continued, and the work of the Church continued, but there were never enough workers in the vineyard. Many reports contained phrases such as “when a suitable man can be secured,” “for the extension of the Church’s work, laymen . . . are much needed,” and “that is too much territory for one man.”²⁸⁷ Many departments reported that their work was made difficult because of the lack of communication, restrictions on travel due to gas rationing, and the problems with holding meetings by telephone. Conference calls were unheard of at the time, and some of the smaller communities still had no telephones.

Also, the bishop was finding it hard to communicate verbally, to conduct services, and to preach—all due to a chronic laryngitis. In 1944 he offered his resignation to the House of Bishops, explaining that he found his throat condition improved in a warmer climate. Members of the Diocese urged him to withdraw his resignation and to try living at a lower altitude in a warmer climate for a few months.²⁸⁸ This he did, requesting a leave of absence so that he could serve a small church in Florida during the winter.²⁸⁹

Bishop Gribbin had now given ten years of service to the Diocese of Western North Carolina, and the Convention delegates “by a rising vote extended good wishes . . . [and] expressed their gratitude for the privilege of working with him in the past, and the hope that this privilege would continue for many years to come.”²⁹⁰

Victory in Europe Day and the date set for the 1945 Convention

turned out to be the same day, 8 May. The bishop expressed “gratitude over the end of the war in Europe, our gratitude is to God . . . and those who have so gallantly fought for peace.”²⁹¹ There was still a shortage of clergy but the end might be in sight. Concern was expressed for what needed to be done—welcoming returning servicemen to their homes and church families, training youth so that perhaps such a war might not happen again. But would the Diocese be without its much needed leadership? Again Bishop Gribbin asked for an “extended vacation” in a milder climate and his request was approved. He retained full salary and used the compensation he received from the small church in Florida that he served “to take care of any added expense the Diocese may have.”²⁹²

During this time, the Diocese lost a most faithful worker with the death of Haywood Parker “who had served the Diocese and the interests of the church in Western North Carolina for fifty years, since the organization of the Missionary Jurisdiction of Asheville [in 1895].”²⁹³ He had served in almost every capacity—as Convention delegate, Standing Committee member, trustee, Executive Council member, and, finally, chancellor.

“The time is out of joint,” the bishop noted in his Convention address at the end of the war. He reiterated what he had said two years before, that the “task of the church is principally to BE itself . . . to be the fellowship of those who have received the power of the Holy Spirit. . . . Worship is the business of its life. Let us then attend to our own business, seeking first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness.”²⁹⁴

Progress was being made and there was growth. In 1946 “the first Indian congregation in the history of the Diocese was organized” [St. Francis, Cherokee].²⁹⁵ But work among the blacks was now almost nonexistent, “brought about by the difficulty in finding trained workers for this work.”²⁹⁶

For some time it had been known that Bishop Gribbin was not in the best of health. Finally, on 12 July 1947, on the advice of his physician, he resigned as Bishop of Western North Carolina. Because his throat condition had not improved, he felt it was not fair to the Diocese for him to continue. He had served faithfully and well through difficult times—the depression and World War II and its immediate aftermath. His resignation came as a disappointment though not a shock. There was genuine regret that it had become necessary for him to leave. As Duncan summarized:

It was not in his nature to retire to idleness and he sought to serve in vacant parishes and as assistant to other Bishops to relieve them of pressing duties. Also, he has served as lecturer at many summer conferences, chiefly on the Prayer Book, a subject in which he is an expert. Bishop Gribbin is a man of deep Christian humility who has never paraded his great learning, and has chosen deliberately to serve in whatever place he found usefulness. His capacity for warmth of sympathy, understanding, and genial nature have won for him a host of friends, who look upon him first as a friend, and then a Bishop. He has truly been a Bishop in the Church of God, an overseer who ruled with compassion and justice, and served humbly whenever and wherever his mind and heart found a need for his services. His service in retirement seems to many of his friends, to eclipse what he might have accomplished in administering a Diocese. What he has done in a wide service should suggest to the Church the wisdom of consecrating Bishops for special areas of ministry, while being freed from the limits of Diocesan administration.²⁹⁷

His record books meticulously list the names of all those he confirmed after his resignation. In the Diocese of Atlanta alone he held 276 confirmation services and confirmed 5,094 persons.²⁹⁸

Robert Emmet Gribbin died on 23 September 1976 at the age of eighty-nine. As one citation said, "he has made the world better and strengthened the hearts of the generation in which he lived."²⁹⁹ Thus the Diocese of Western North Carolina entered the postwar era under the leadership of a new bishop.

Appendixes

APPENDIX A

Important Dates in the History of the Diocese of North Carolina

- 1587 First recorded baptisms—Manteo and Virginia Dare
1663 Charles II's Charter established the legal status of religion
in the Carolinas
1698 Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
founded
1701 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
(S.P.G.) founded
First Vestry Act passed
First parish (Chowan) organized
1711-13 Tuscarora Indian War
1711 English laws regarding religion declared to be in force in
North Carolina
1729 End of the Proprietary period
1732 First S.P.G. missionary appointed to North Carolina (the
Reverend John Boyd)
1753 First "non-legal" book printed in North Carolina (by the
Reverend Clement Hall)
1762 First Glebe House built in North Carolina (at Bath)
1765 Last Vestry Act passed
1775 Last S.P.G. missionary appointed to North Carolina (the
Reverend Charles Pettigrew)
1776 Constitutional separation of church and state in North
Carolina
1785 Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States
organized
Robert Johnston Miller arrived in North Carolina
1790 Bishop James Madison consecrated at Lambeth Palace
First Convention held at Tarboro
1794 Fourth Convention held at Tarboro
Charles Pettigrew elected Bishop of the Diocese of North
Carolina
1811 Adam Empie arrived in Wilmington

- 1817 Diocese of North Carolina organized
- 1818 First new parish admitted
- First diocesan missionary priest appointed (the Reverend John Phillips)
- First candidates admitted for Holy Orders
- 1819 First confirmations in the Diocese at Fayetteville
- First recorded use of lay readers
- General Theological Seminary opened
- 1821 First priest ordained in the Diocese (the Reverend Robert Johnston Miller)
- 1823 John Stark Ravenscroft elected first Bishop of North Carolina
- 1824 First priest deposed in the Diocese (the Reverend William Hooper)
- 1830 Bishop Ravenscroft died
- 1831 Levi Silliman Ives elected second Bishop of North Carolina
- 1834 Episcopal School opened in Raleigh
- 1842 Valle Crucis Mission established
- St. Mary's School opened in Raleigh
- 1849 Bishop Ives's *Pastoral Letter* issued
- 1852 Bishop Ives went to Rome and resigned as Bishop of North Carolina
- 1853 Thomas Atkinson elected to succeed Ives as Bishop of North Carolina
- 1856 Ravenscroft School for Boys founded in Asheville
- Church Building Society organized
- 1860 First issue of *The Church Intelligencer* published
- 1862 North Carolina ratified the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America
- 1864 Protestant Episcopal Church Publishing Association established in Charlotte
- 1865 The Diocese of North Carolina led in the reunion of the Church at the General Convention
- 1867 St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute founded in Raleigh
- 1873 Theodore Benedict Lyman elected Assistant Bishop (first bishop consecrated in North Carolina)
- 1876 St. Peter's Home and Hospital founded in Charlotte
- 1877 St. James's Home founded in Wilmington
- 1878 St. John's Guild of The Church of the Good Shepherd (Raleigh) established the city's first public hospital

- 1879–88 *Church Messenger* published
- 1881 Bishop Atkinson died
- 1882 Woman's Auxiliary founded
- 1883 Diocese of East Carolina formed
- Convention resolution allowed ordination to diaconate without priesthood as goal
- 1886 Thompson Orphanage founded (opened in 1887)
- 1890 Official seal for the Diocese adopted
- 1891 Good Samaritan Hospital for Negroes opened in Charlotte
- 1892 *Sketches of Church History* published (edited by Cheshire)
- 1893 Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr. consecrated (first North Carolina clergyman elected Bishop of Diocese of North Carolina)
- 1895 Missionary District of Asheville created
- 1897 St. Mary's School (Raleigh) chartered as a diocesan institution
- 1898 Junius Moore Horner became Bishop of the Missionary District of Asheville
- 1900 Diocesan missionary work reorganized (First Archdeacon Edwin A. Osborne)
- 1901 Bishop Cheshire's Twentieth Century Fund established
- Convocation system established
- 1905 Negro Woman's Auxiliary organized
- 1906 Work for the deaf began in North Carolina
- 1909 *The Carolina Churchman* established
- 1914 New diocesan seal adopted
- 1918 Henry Beard Delany elected Suffragan Bishop for the Colored Convocation
- 1919 Diocese successfully participated in the Nation-Wide Campaign
- 1921 Diocesan Executive Committee founded
- 1922 Edwin Anderson Penick elected Bishop Coadjutor
- 1942 Special wartime ministries begun
- 1943 "Episcopal Emergency Sunday School" founded in Charlotte
- 1945 Diocese participated in Reconstruction and Advance Fund
- 1947 Department of College Work founded
- 1949 Negro and White Youth Departments combined
- 1950 Richard Henry Baker elected Bishop Coadjutor
- 1953 Diocesan Survey Commission reported to the Convention
- North Carolina Episcopal Foundation authorized

- 1954 Negro Woman's Auxiliary dissolved itself
- 1956 Approval given to establish "Episcopal Home for the
 Ageing"
- Committee on Racial Subjects founded
- 1959 Bishop Penick died

APPENDIX B

Important Dates in the History of the Diocese of East Carolina

- 1867 First report made on the division of the Diocese of North Carolina
- 1883 Primary Convention of Diocese of East Carolina held
Alfred Augustin Watson unanimously elected first Bishop of East Carolina
- 1885 Constitution and Canons ratified
- 1904 Robert Strange elected Bishop Coadjutor
- 1905 Bishop Watson died
- 1909 Joint ministry to the University of North Carolina established at Chapel Hill
- 1914 Bishop Strange died
Thomas Campbell Darst elected Bishop of East Carolina
- 1926 Bishop Darst became national leader of the Bishops' Crusade
- 1930 Camp Leach acquired
- 1937 Women became eligible for election as delegates to the Diocesan Convention
- 1945 Bishop Darst retired
Thomas Henry Wright elected Bishop of East Carolina
- 1949 Proposed realignment of diocesan boundaries failed again
- 1954 Diocese of East Carolina became self-supporting

APPENDIX C

Important Dates in the History of the Diocese of Western North Carolina

- 1836 Consecration of St. John's-in-the-Wilderness at Flat Rock, the oldest church building in western North Carolina
- 1856 Ravenscroft School for Boys founded in Asheville
- 1882 Deacon Milnor Jones arrived in Polk County
- 1895 Missionary District of Asheville created
- 1897 Official seal for the District adopted
Mission and school at Valle Crucis reactivated
- 1898 Junius Moore Horner appointed and consecrated Bishop of the
Missionary District of Asheville
- 1913 Appalachian School founded at Penland
- 1920 James Thomas Kennedy appointed Archdeacon for Colored
Work
- 1922 General Convention approved the creation of the Diocese of
Western North Carolina
Primary Convention of the Diocese of Western North Carolina
held
- 1925 *The Highland Churchman* established
- 1928 Kanuga Conference Center jointly acquired by five dioceses
- 1933 Bishop Horner died
Conference on altering diocesan boundaries failed
Robert Emmet Gribbin elected Bishop of the Diocese of Western
North Carolina
- 1934 Women became eligible to serve on the Executive Council and as
members of various departments
- 1946 First Indian congregation organized at Cherokee
- 1947 Bishop Gribbin resigned for health reasons

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

- ECDJ* *Journals of the Annual Conventions, Diocese of East Carolina*
- F.G.* Frank Leslie Grubbs, Jr., who has added supplementary information and fresh interpretations to the original manuscripts of Chapters I and II.
- JGC* *Journals of the General Conventions, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*
- MDAJ* *Journals of the Annual Conventions, Missionary District of Asheville*
- NCDJ* *Journals of the Annual Conventions, Diocese of North Carolina*
- WNCDJ* *Journals of the Annual Conventions, Diocese of Western North Carolina*

CHAPTER I

1. *Historical Notices*, 2.
2. Harriot, *Brief and True Report*, E, 4.
3. A large oil painting called "The Baptism of Virginia Dare," painted by William Steene, now hangs in the Hall of History in Raleigh.
4. Lemmon, "Genesis," 426. See also *North Carolina Charters*, 76. The original charter is now in the Hall of History in Raleigh.
5. *North Carolina Charters*, 77. The charter of 1665 retained these provisions.
6. *North Carolina Charters*, 88. For the six versions of the Fundamental Constitutions, 1669–98, inclusive, see *ibid.*, 128–240.
7. *North Carolina Charters*, 88.
8. *Ibid.*, 150.
9. *Ibid.*, 181–82.
10. *Ibid.*, 149.
11. *Ibid.*, 148.

12. E. M. Davidson, *Establishment of the English Church*, 47-48.

13. Lefler, *History of North Carolina*, 1:63-64. See also Weeks, *Religious Development*.

14. *Colonial Records*, 1:215-18. Fox was the founder of the Society of Friends. Edmundson visited Albemarle County again in 1676.

15. Weeks, *Religious Development*, 255-56.

16. The Church in the colonies fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.

17. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:339. For studies of the S.P.G., see Humphreys, *Historical Account of the S.P.G.* See also Justice, "Work of the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts'"; Pascoe, *Classified Digest*.

18. The commissary could not ordain ministers or exercise certain other powers of a bishop. The lack of an American bishop was one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Church throughout the colonial period. The best discussion of the failure of England to send a bishop to the colonies is in Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate*.

19. See Bray, *Apostolick Charity*, and his more important book, *A Memorial, Representing the Present State of Religion on the Continent of North America*.

20. By "Roanoke," he meant the Albemarle Sound area.

21. Quoted in Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:338-39.

22. T. L. Clark, *Travels in the Old South*, 1:48.

23. In a letter to the Bishop of London on 21 October 1703, Deputy Governor Henderson Walker said that Bray "sometime about four years ago" sent "some books . . . to be disposed of and lent as we thought fit . . . and about a year after, did send to us a library of books for the benefit of this place given by the honorable, the Corporation for the establishing the Christian Religion, by one Mr. Daniel Brett, a minister appointed to this place." Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:293. See Thornton, "First Public Library," 11-14. Miss Thornton has a fuller account of the library at Bath in the *Raleigh News and Observer*, 25 October 1959.

24. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:293, 341. No statements were made about Brett's specific offenses. [F.G.: Brett's disorderly behavior may have caused the lay appointment of clergy on a yearly basis. *Colonial Records*, 1:571-73, 689-90. William Gale, apparently referring to Brett, wrote that the only minister in Albemarle had left, "but itt was noe loss to Religion, for he was ye Monster off ye Age." *State Records*, 22:733.]

25. Keith, *A Journal of Travels*. For a copy of Keith's letter, see *Collections*, 29:38.

26. *Colonial Records*, 1:571-72; see also Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:293-94.

27. *Colonial Records*, 1:543. For an account of the early counties and precincts, see Corbitt, *Formation of the North Carolina Counties*.

28. For a list of vestrymen of Chowan Parish, see *Colonial Records*, 1:543.

29. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 52. This book is frequently listed under the name of DeRosset, the publisher. Bishop Cheshire was the editor.

30. *Colonial Records*, 1:601.

31. *Ibid.*, 1:551. The wardens were authorized to collect 5 shillings from each "tythable." At the time there were only 283 tythables in the parish.

32. *State Records*, 1:544.

33. *Colonial Records*, 1:543 et seq. See also *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1:256-57, 261.

34. *Colonial Records*, 1:558-60.

35. *Ibid.*, 1:601-2. See Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:294-95.

36. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:294-98.

37. *Colonial Records*, 1:600; Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:297.

38. *Colonial Records*, 1:601-2; Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:296. The governor referred to was Robert Daniel.

39. The deputy governors of the northern part of "Carolina" during this period were Henderson Walker, 1699-1704; Robert Daniel, 1704-5; Thomas Cary, 1705-6; William Glover, 1706-8; Thomas Cary, 1708-11; and Edward Hyde, 1711-12.

40. For details of Cary's Rebellion, see Connor, *Colonial and Revolutionary Periods*, 92.

41. *Colonial Records*, 1:769.

42. *Ibid.*, 1:787-94.

43. *Ibid.*, 1:762-63.

44. Connor, *Colonial and Revolutionary Periods*, 74.

45. *Ibid.*, 75.

46. *State Records*, 25:153.

47. Lemmon, "Genesis," 428; Cheshire, *Sketches*, 59.

48. *State Records*, 23:c-10. The nine parishes were the Eastern Parish of Chowan Precinct, South West Parish of Chowan Precinct, Perquimans Parish, South West Parish of Pasquotank Precinct, North East Parish of Pasquotank, Currituck Precinct Parish, St. Thomas's Parish, Hyde Parish, and Craven Parish.

49. *State Records*, 23:9.

50. *Ibid.*, 23:6.

51. Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 61.

52. Lemmon, "Genesis," 433.

53. *Journals of the S.P.G.*, 1:225, 237.

54. *Colonial Records*, 1:689. [F.G.: There was also a Reverend Henry Gerrard at St. Paul's, Chowan. *Colonial Records*, 1:615-16. The next

year his vestry criticized him for scandalous behavior and debauchery. Apparently he remained only a year. *Colonial Records*, 1:629–30.]

55. *Colonial Records*, 1:689.

56. *Ibid.*, 1:714. According to local tradition, the school was on Symon's Creek, an arm of Little River, near the present village of Nixon-ton. Albertson, *In Ancient Albemarle*, 52.

57. *Colonial Records*, 1:684, 714

58. *Ibid.*, 1:700–701, 714. For a scholarly essay on Griffin's career, see Paschal, "Charles Griffin," 1–16.

59. *Colonial Records*, 1:702.

60. *Ibid.*, 1:721.

61. By 1714 Griffin was living in Virginia. The next year he was teaching Saponi Indian children at Fort Christanna for a salary of fifty pounds per annum, paid for by Governor Alexander Spotswood himself. Within the next three years he became master of the Indian School at William and Mary College with the title of Brafferton Professor.

62. Journals of the S.P.G., 1:317. Sixty pounds was ten pounds more than the usual salary of a missionary at this time.

63. *Colonial Records*, 1:677, 681, 712.

64. Gordon to the Secretary of the S.P.G., 13 May 1709, *Colonial Records*, 1:711–12.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Colonial Records*, 1:713. [F.G.: According to the Reverend Adams, Gordon had had prior experience with dissidents in England. *Ibid.*, 1:719–20; see also xxviii.]

67. *Colonial Records*, 1:713–14.

68. *Ibid.*, 1:685. [F.G.: The vestry also praised Gordon for his practical preaching and wanted him to return to St. Paul's. *Colonial Records*, 1:685. Gordon had intended to give the parish a library of unknown size, but some of the books were left in Virginia with a Reverend Wallace who apparently never sent them on. After Gordon's departure, the Reverend Urmston wrote numerous letters to the S.P.G. demanding the library for himself. For one example, see *ibid.*, 2:130.]

69. *Colonial Records*, 1:714.

70. *Ibid.*, 1:720.

71. *Ibid.*, 1:722.

72. *Ibid.*, 1:720. Stated in a letter of 4 October 1709.

73. *Colonial Records*, 1:720.

74. *Ibid.*

75. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:313 [F.G.: Adams wrote that he had been attacked by the Quakers, personally, and asked the S.P.G. to transfer him to South Carolina. He lived in the home of Colonel Sanderson and had 25 communicants; he noted that 70 or 80 Indians nearby were totally unadministered to. *Colonial Records*, 1:733–34.]

76. *Colonial Records*, 1:729-30, 884 [F.G.: After Adams's death, both the Reverends Urmston and Rainsford claimed his library; however, Adams's vestry refused to give it up. *Colonial Records*, 2:75. For six years Urmston wrote letters demanding the library. See *ibid.*, 1:884-85; 2:130-32, 310-11.]

77. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 1:351 [F.G.: Hawks may have been too unkind to Urmston. A close reading of his letters indicates he arrived in North Carolina full of hope, perhaps believing his colonial life-style would equal his English one. But the frustration of working with dissidents, the vestries' refusal to pay his full salary, Cary's Rebellion, and the Tuscarora War soon turned him sour.]

78. *Colonial Records*, 1:293.

79. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 1:351.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Colonial Records*, 2:371-72. See also A. E. Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, 141.

83. *Colonial Records*, 2:371.

84. *Ibid.*, 2:416-17. [F.G.: Before his indictment, Urmston's wife had died, and he blamed himself for her death. The next year (1721) his eldest son got the white servant girl pregnant. Urmston turned him out and warned the s.p.g. not to give him money; he also accused his son of cheating him. *Colonial Records*, 2:373-74.]

85. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:353.

86. *Colonial Records*, 1:767. [F.G.: Governor Hyde claimed that most of Urmston's troubles were due to his temper and his "railings" at his congregations. *Colonial Records*, 1:849-50.]

87. *Colonial Records*, 2:432.

88. Pascoe, *Classified Digest*, 850.

89. *Colonial Records*, 1:858.

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Ibid.*, 2:152. Rainsford said that he had learned the Indian language.

92. *Ibid.*, 2:153. [F.G.: Immediately on his arrival, Rainsford was attacked by Urmston whose area he shared. Urmston accused Rainsford of stirring up Quakers, interfering in his parish, and being lazy. There are also indications that Urmston feared Rainsford would drain some vestry money from him. *Colonial Records*, 1:887-88; 2:16-18, 76-78, 125-28, 137-38, 152-53, 218-20, 286-88.]

93. *Colonial Records*, 2:255. [F.G.: Rainsford's move to Virginia after only a few months in North Carolina can be explained by Urmston's constant attacks on him, his debts, his fear of lawsuits, and the Tuscarora War which hurt his opportunity to establish himself. It is untrue, as the myth has circulated for years, that Rainsford was terrified of In-

dians and fled North Carolina. This rumor appears to have been spread by Urmston. See *Colonial Records*, 2:76–78. Actually, Rainsford worked among the Chowan Indians for five months and planned to settle in Virginia among the four nations of Indians on the Meherring River. *Ibid.*, 2:152. (For his debt problems, see *ibid.*, 2:121–22, 152.) Urmston was the one terrified of Indians, and there is no record of his having ever baptized one. His fear was almost hysterical; he referred to Indians as the “Heathen” and often feared being “sacrificed to the Indians.” See *ibid.*, 1:773–75, 850–51; 2:125–28, 138, 143–44, 185–86, 187.]

94. *Colonial Records*, 2:123.

95. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:352.

96. *Colonial Records*, 2:227–29.

97. Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle*, 157. [F.G.: According to *Colonial Records*, 2:245–56, Taylor was actually chosen to come to North Carolina by some S.P.G. missionaries in England when a Reverend Guy could not come.]

98. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:353. Government officials investigated but could not determine Taylor’s fate or what happened to the large sum of money he was supposed to have had. [F.G.: Urmston reported that Taylor lived on voluntary contributions from his congregations. *Colonial Records*, 2:304. Taylor did so because he had difficulty getting a parish. Actually, Taylor was wealthy, living in a good apartment, owning a large library, and, according to the *Council Journal*, “being possessed of a very valuable estate, goods and money of this Government, to the value of divers hundreds of pounds.” See *Colonial Records*, 2:450–51. Taylor deserves to be remembered as the only early Anglican clergyman who made a supreme effort to convert blacks. He planned to make this his life work. But like the Reverend Adams earlier, he was prevented by the owners from continuing to convert their slaves. He also was interested in working among the Indians. See *Colonial Records*, 2:331–33. Taylor’s death is controversial. There is no question he went on a boat with at least two men from Bath to Harbour Island in Core Sound to preach to some temporary residents there. Urmston says he was in the boat ten days and died from a cold. But an investigation did not confirm the “ten days” or whether he died in the boat or on the island. In any case, at least two of the men who carried him robbed his trunk of items and 290 pounds, and at least one man was arrested. Taylor was buried on Harbour Island. *Colonial Records*, 2:380–82, 415, 430, 492–93.]

99. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:354.

100. S.P.G. Abstracts, 47, quoted in *Historical Notices*, 76.

101. *Colonial Records*, 2:531. [F.G.: The Reverend John Boyd had asked for Newnam’s library but did not receive it. *Colonial Records*, 4:7.]

102. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:354.
103. Humphreys, *Historical Account of the S.P.G.*, 141–42.
104. *Colonial Records*, 2:662, 672. [F.G.: A careful reading of the reference suggests the following sequence of events. Blacknell married the couple not knowing the woman was a mulatto. When the fact was discovered, he found himself in the middle of a political dilemma involving his patron Governor Everard and George Burrington, Everard's predecessor, who lost no opportunity to embarrass Everard. Blacknell turned himself in and under the law had to receive one-half of the reward. There is some evidence that he sued the man who married the mulatto.]
105. *Colonial Records*, 2:604–5.
106. *Ibid.*, 2:579–80.
107. *Ibid.*, 2:604–5.
108. *Ibid.*, 2:580.
109. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:356. [F.G.: Everard may have tarnished Bailey's image in London after informing the Bishop of London that he had come to North Carolina "a scandalous drunken man." Bailey and Blacknell both were caught up in the Everard-Burrington feud.]
110. The original Carteret share was not sold and later became the Granville District.
111. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2:357.

CHAPTER II

1. Lefler, *History of North Carolina*, 1:137.
2. *Colonial Records*, 3:110–11.
3. *Ibid.*, 4:357.
4. *State Records*, 23:187–91.
5. *Ibid.*, 23:187; Lefler, *History of North Carolina*, 1:137.
6. *State Records*, 25:298–304. These parishes and the counties in which they were located were St. Paul's, Chowan; Berkeley, Perquimans; St. John's, Pasquotank; St. Peter's, Pasquotank; Currituck, Currituck; Society, Bertie; St. Andrew's, Tyrrell; St. Thomas's, Beaufort; St. George's, Hyde; North-West, Northampton; St. John's, Granville; St. Matthew's, Orange; St. Luke's, Rowan; St. David's, Cumberland; St. Gabriel's, Duplin; St. George's, Anson; Edgecombe, Edgecombe; St. Martin's, Bladen; St. James's, east side of Cape Fear River; St. Philip's, west side of Cape Fear River; St. Patrick's, Johnston; Christ Church, Craven; St. John's, Onslow; and St. John's, Carteret.
7. *State Records*, 23:510.
8. Weeks, *Church and State in North Carolina*, 32–33.

9. Two laws were enacted in 1758, one “for dividing the Parish of St. John in Granville County,” and the other “for dividing the Parish of North West.” *State Records*, 23:497–500. The 1760 law enacted “the upper Part of Beaufort County into a County by the Name of Pitt County, and St. Michael’s Parish.” *Ibid.*, 23:531–34. The 1762 law was entitled “An Act for Making Provision for an Orthodox Clergy.” *Ibid.*, 23:583–85.

10. *State Records*, 23:660–62. See Lemmon, “Genesis,” 429.

11. *Colonial Records*, 7:150–53.

12. Connor, *Colonial and Revolutionary Periods*, 191–92.

13. *Colonial Records*, 7:102–4.

14. *Ibid.*, 7:103.

15. *Ibid.*, 7:103–4.

16. *Ibid.*, 8:12–15, 22c–22. See also Cheshire, *The Church in the Province of North Carolina*, 80–81; Lemmon, “Genesis,” 439.

17. Connor, *Colonial and Revolutionary Periods*, 192.

18. Reed to the Secretary of the S.P.G., 19 July 1774, *Colonial Records*, 9:1015.

19. Connor, *Colonial and Revolutionary Periods*, 192. See section 34 of the state constitution, in Lefler, *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries*, 110.

20. G. MacLaren Brydon, “The Origin of the Rights of the Laity,” 327; Lemmon, “Genesis,” 442.

21. Lefler, *History of North Carolina*, 1:138.

22. Cheshire, *The Church in the Province of North Carolina*, 87–88; Lefler, *History of North Carolina*, 1:138. The best book on this subject is Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate*.

23. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 83–84, quoted by Lemmon, “Genesis,” 435–36.

24. Pennington, *The Church of England*, 35–37; Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 20–25, 850.

25. Clement, “Anglican Clergymen Licensed.” See also Lamb, “Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies”; Weiss, *The Colonial Clergy*.

26. Midwinter, “S.P.G. and the Colonial Church,” 283.

27. *Colonial Records*, 8:23–24.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Midwinter, “S.P.G. and the Colonial Church,” 284.

30. Governor Burrington to the Bishop of London, 10 May 1732, *Colonial Records*, 3:342, 529–30. Lapierre’s name does not appear in the list of South Carolina missionaries given in Pascoe, *Classified Digest*.

31. *Colonial Records*, 3:530. See also Fulham Palace Manuscripts, transcripts, no. 1. [F.G.: Lapierre had to engage in farming to support himself during his fourth year. After Marsden replaced him, he sold his

house and goods and hoped to take his family to New River where he said a congregation wanted him. John Lapierre preached before the Assembly in 1739, 1748, and 1755. *Colonial Records*, 3:391, 624; 4:307, 375, 404, 915, 1024. There is a historical marker to Lapierre at Brunswick town.]

32. Lapierre to the Society, 9 November 1732, *Colonial Records*, 3:391–92.

33. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850.

34. *Colonial Records*, 4:10–14.

35. *Ibid.*, 3:392; 4:277. [F.G.: Lapierre claimed that Marsden was from Liverpool; that he had been a merchant to Lisbon and a chaplain to Lord Portland in Jamaica; and that he had been in Princess Anne County, Va., and had gone from there to South Carolina. *Colonial Records*, 3:624. For his complaints against Marsden, see *ibid.*, 3:339, 400–1, 529–30. Marsden spent a great deal of time as a merchant in North Carolina. Burrington wrote that he “sometimes preaches, Baptizeth children and marrieth when desired.” *Ibid.*, 3:339. Marsden’s granddaughter, Mary Haynes, married General Waddell. *Ibid.*, 4:xliv. His merchant activities troubled the Bishop of London. *Ibid.*, 4:10–14, 244–45.]

36. *Colonial Records*, 3:341.

37. *Ibid.*, 3:341–42. [F.G.: Granville was a nephew of Lord Landsdown. He had left Dublin, Ireland, for Maryland, but had landed in North Carolina instead, thus breaking a pledge to Lord Baltimore to stay in Maryland. *Colonial Records*, 3:339–40.]

38. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850.

39. *Colonial Records*, 3:339.

40. *Historical Notices*, 77.

41. *Colonial Records*, 4:7

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850. [F.G.: Boyd was a landholder and preached several times before the Assembly. However, he was shortly criticized for drunkenness. The story of his being found drunk on the great road to Virginia with his horse’s reins tied to his leg is an example. Tales of his drunkenness were rife in Bertie County. *Colonial Records*, 3:556, 584, 591; 4:66, 118, 263–65.]

45. S.P.G. Abstracts, 1739, p. 58, Library of Congress Transcripts.

46. Fulham Palace Manuscripts. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, part 2, pp. 62, 63.

47. Journals of the S.P.G., B–7, part 1, p. 21, Library of Congress Transcripts.

48. *Colonial Records*, 4:560–62.

49. Garzia to the Secretary of the s.p.g., 16 April 1742, *Colonial Records*, 4:604-5.

50. *Colonial Records*, 4:92.

51. *Ibid.*, 4:604.

52. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850; *Colonial Records*, 4:752. [F.G.: Although Garzia was a landholder, he died leaving his family in debt. The land and houses were sold and his widow petitioned the s.p.g. for aid, asking only that she and her children be allowed to support themselves. *Colonial Records*, 4:872-73; see also *ibid.*, 4:69, 71.]

53. *Historical Notices*, 78. Pascoe, *Classified Digest* does not list Moir as a South Carolina missionary.

54. *Colonial Records*, 4:606-7.

55. *Historical Notices*, 78-79.

56. *Colonial Records*, 4:752-56.

57. *Ibid.*, 4:872.

58. *Ibid.*, 4:878. [F.G.: In 1748, one Christopher Bevis was preaching in Cape Fear, which Moir had so recently left. Bevis went to Cambridge University in England and then was a deacon and priest at Peterborough Cathedral. A "frequent bleeding of the nose" caused him to give up the priesthood in England and come to North Carolina where his health improved. *Colonial Records*, 4:877. Governor Johnston recommended Bevis to the s.p.g. and called him an excellent preacher. Johnston hoped that he would replace Moir at Brunswick, but Bevis was in Cape Fear only two or three years. *Ibid.*, 4:876.]

59. *Colonial Records*, 4:923.

60. *Ibid.*, 4:878. [Ed. note: F.G. has supplied information concerning a hitherto unnoted clergyman of this period. In 1756 a Reverend Michael Smith preached before the Assembly, in 1758 he was in Johnston County, and in 1759 he moved to Hanover County without permission of the s.p.g. In 1760, when the Reverend Mr. Woodmason of South Carolina complained to the s.p.g. about Smith's misconduct, Smith was defended by Benj. Heron of St. James's Parish. In 1762 Governor Dobbs reported to the s.p.g. that Smith had become a chaplain on a man-of-war. *Colonial Records*, 5:58-60, 665, 696, 961-62; 6:221-23, 312-13, 710. Whether these references refer to the same Smith is not certain.]

61. *Colonial Records*, 6:1052.

62. His extant reports to the s.p.g. account for 3,084 white infants, 320 black infants, and only 5 adults—4 white and 1 black. Governor Dobbs thought his reports were exaggerated. See *Colonial Records*, 6:1039-40.

63. Moir to the s.p.g., Suffolk, Va., 13 October 1766, *Colonial Records*, 7:265-66.

64. *Colonial Records*, 7:266.
65. Governor Tryon to the S.P.G., Brunswick, 30 April 1767, *Colonial Records*, 7:458.
66. *Colonial Records*, 6:1039.
67. *Ibid.* [F.G.: Moir's work in North Carolina was hampered by a continuous quarrel with Governor Dobbs. From 1760 to 1764, Moir accused Dobbs and his administration of corruption. *Colonial Records*, 6:221-23, 316-17, 552, 710, 978-80, 1050-53; 7:7.]
68. *Colonial Records*, 6:1040.
69. *Ibid.*, 7:457, 540.
70. *Ibid.*, 6:1020.
71. *Ibid.*, 7:273-74.
72. *Ibid.*, 7:540. [Ed. note: F.G. has supplied information on three other clergymen not mentioned in this chapter. In 1763, the Reverend Mr. Stewart met a Presbyterian minister named John Alexander who wanted to be recommended to the Bishop of London; Stewart refused. In 1769, Tryon inducted a John Alexander from Georgia to Hertford County; Tryon said he had been in North Carolina for one year. *Colonial Records*, 6:976-77. There is some question whether the latter John Alexander was the Presbyterian minister whom Stewart turned down. For an article on Alexander, see Parramore, "John Alexander, Anglican Missionary," 305-15. In 1766, a Mr. Stevens from North Carolina presented himself to the Bishop of London with letters that Tryon considered to be forgeries. Three years later, Tryon reported that a Reverend Mr. Stephens had been ordained and was aboard a man-of-war. It is uncertain whether these two clergymen were the same man. *Colonial Records*, 7:261-62; 8:20. In 1767, a Reverend Theo. Floyd was listed as being in Society Parish, Bertie County. *Ibid.*, 7:457.]
73. Hall, *Christian Experiences*, 1.
74. Hall owned 104 acres in Perquimans Precinct, on which he paid two pounds annually in quit rents. *State Records*, 22:252.
75. *Colonial Records*, 4:346.
76. *Historical Notices*, 80.
77. Hall, *Christian Experiences*, 5.
78. *Historical Notices*, 80.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Colonial Records*, 4:752.
81. *Ibid.*, 4:752-53, 875.
82. Hall, *Christian Experiences*, 12. The schoolmaster at Sarum was a Mr. Mashburn.
83. Quoted in, *Historical Notices*, 81.
84. *Colonial Records*, 4:1314-15.
85. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 71.
86. *Colonial Records*, 4:1315.

87. *Historical Notices*, 84.

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*, 89.

90. Hall, *Christian Experiences*, 18–19.

91. *Ibid.*, 10.

92. Ground was cleared for the present brick church in March 1736, but little else was done for four years. In 1740, the Assembly levied a tax on every “tythable” in the county for its completion and ordered that it be used for vestry meetings as soon as “fit for Divine Worship.” “Ye roof was righted” by 1745, and the first “Divine Worship” was held there on 10 April 1760. The interior woodwork was not finished until 1774.

93. The only known copy of this book is in the Rare Book Room at Duke University Library.

94. Hall, *Christian Experiences*, 1.

95. Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs*, 101, 218.

96. *Colonial Records*, 7:493–94.

97. *Historical Notices*, 96.

98. *Colonial Records*, 6:562.

99. *Ibid.*, 6:734.

100. *Ibid.*, 6:363.

101. *Ibid.*, 6:735.

102. *Ibid.*, 6:996.

103. Stewart to the Secretary of the S.P.G., 10 October 1760, *Colonial Records*, 6:316.

104. *Colonial Records*, 6:316.

105. *Ibid.*, 6:563, 995.

106. *Ibid.*, 6:995–96. In November 1763, four Indian boys, four Indian girls, and two black boys attended this school. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 22, 1302; Journals of the S.P.G., no. 5, pp. 14, 48.

107. Midwinter, “S.P.G. and the Colonial Church,” 297.

108. *Colonial Records*, 7:98.

109. *Ibid.*, 7:126.

110. *Ibid.*, 7:154, 263–64.

111. *Ibid.*, 7:159. [F.G.: Stewart injured a leg during the storm and his health declined thereafter. The Reverend Mr. Reed reports that he was carried around by a horse litter in 1766 and used crutches. Reed remarked that Stewart hoped dipping in seawater might help him. *Colonial Records*, 7:97–99, 154.]

112. *Colonial Records*, 9:7.

113. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850.

114. *Colonial Records*, 6:729.

115. Midwinter, "S.P.G. and the Colonial Church," 294.
116. *Colonial Records*, 6:236.
117. *Ibid.*, 6:225–26.
118. *Ibid.*, 6:553–54.
119. *Ibid.*, 6:236–37.
120. *Ibid.*, 6:537–38.
121. *Ibid.*, 6:537.
122. *Ibid.*
123. *Ibid.*, 6:557. The second Anglican church built in North Carolina (St. Thomas's at Bath, 1734, was the first) and the largest brick church in colonial North Carolina was St. Philip's at Brunswick. It was built in 1740–67.
124. *Colonial Records*, 6:567.
125. *Ibid.*, 6:966.
126. *Ibid.*, 6:928.
127. Midwinter, "S.P.G. and the Colonial Church," 296; *Colonial Records*, 6:730. [F.G.: McDowell had lost his wife and a baby in childbirth, and his vestry had reduced his salary by ten pounds. In 1761 (at age 44), as his health failed, he begged the S.P.G. to take his only son and educate him as a merchant. Again in 1762 he called the Society's attention to his son. He spent the winter of 1762–63 in bed. By March 1763, McDowell found it difficult to breathe. *Colonial Records*, 6:567–68, 728–31, 977–78.]
128. *Colonial Records*, 6:977–78.
129. *Ibid.*, 7:158, 162–63.
130. *Ibid.*, 23:420–21. This parish had been organized in 1715 and the first church was built in 1750. Two years later, George II gave the church a silver communion service, Bible, and prayer book. The grave of Reed, the first rector, is in the churchyard.
131. *State Records*, 23:420–21.
132. *Colonial Records*, 6:745.
133. Tryon to the S.P.G., 31 July 1765, *Colonial Records*, 7:102.
134. *Colonial Records*, 6:230.
135. *Ibid.*, 5:638, 845; 6:366.
136. Reed to the S.P.G., 26 June 1760, *Colonial Records*, 6:265–66.
137. *Colonial Records*, 6:565, 1048.
138. Reed to the S.P.G., 26 June 1760, *Colonial Records*, 6:265.
139. *Colonial Records*, 6:565.
140. *Ibid.*, 6:594–95.
141. *Ibid.*, 6:595.
142. *Ibid.*, 9:6.
143. Reed to the S.P.G., 2 July 1771, *Colonial Records*, 9:6.
144. *Colonial Records*, 6:955.

145. *Ibid.*, 6:1048.

146. *State Records*, 25:484.

147. *Colonial Records*, 7:241.

148. *Ibid.*, 9:271-72. For the year 14 November 1770-15 November 1771, the proceeds were as follows:

Tax on spirituous liquors	£247	11s.	4d.
Legislative appropriations	100		
Ground rent	19	10	
Total	£367	1s.	4d.

The schoolmaster was authorized to pay an assistant £20 a year.

149. *Ibid.*, 9:239. [F.G.: According to *Colonial Records*, 9:317, he was paid later by the provincial treasurer.]

150. *Colonial Records*, 9:305-6.

151. *Ibid.*, 9:1014-15.

152. *Ibid.*, 10:116.

153. *Ibid.*, 10:428.

154. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 25.

155. Midwinter, "S.P.G. and the Colonial Church," 297.

156. Pascoe, *Classified Digest*, dates Earl's appointment as 1759, but apparently he was licensed by the Bishop of London on 19 September 1756.

157. Earl to the S.P.G., S.P.G. Abstracts, 394.

158. *Colonial Records*, 6:240, 552, 701, 710-11.

159. *Ibid.*, 6:980.

160. *Ibid.*, 7:192-93.

161. *Ibid.*, 9:1251.

162. *Ibid.*, 8:542.

163. *Ibid.*, 6:241.

164. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 163-71. The small school building, which stood on Bandon Plantation, near Edenton, was moved to the grounds of the James Iredell House in Edenton in 1964. The plantation had been bought by "Parson" Earl in 1769. He renamed it "Bandon" for his native village in Ireland.

165. Dillard, "St. Paul's Church, Edenton," 25.

166. *Ibid.*, 27-28.

167. *The North Carolina Guide*, 185.

168. Taylor to the Secretary of the S.P.G., 20 August 1771, *Colonial Records*, 9:21-22.

169. *Colonial Records*, 6:241. [F.G.: The feud between Earl and Taylor appears to have been over turf. Taylor believed Earl snubbed him because he feared Taylor would get the best part of the parish. Earl wrote that he had examined Taylor before his ordination and found him wanting. *Colonial Records*, 9:20-23.]

170. *Colonial Records*, 10:237-38.
171. *Ibid.*, 7:158.
172. Barnett is listed by Weiss (*The Colonial Clergy*), but not by Clement ("Anglican Clergymen Licensed").
173. *Colonial Records*, 7:163.
174. *Ibid.*, 7:789.
175. *Ibid.*, 7:515-16.
176. *Ibid.*, 7:162-63, 457-58. [F.G.: The sources cited in the *Colonial Records* state that Barnett was waiting for the church at Brunswick to be completed for the induction, and that his vestry contract could not be finalized because the Whigs were boycotting the stamp that was necessary for the contract (1766).]
177. *Colonial Records*, 7:789-90; 8:13, 20, 222, 228-29. [F.G.: The Reverend C. E. Taylor wrote that a Mr. Barnett, Society missionary, had fled into Virginia after being charged with crimes "too base to be mentioned." *Colonial Records*, 9:20-23.]
178. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850, 854.
179. *Colonial Records*, 7:241-42.
180. *Ibid.*, 7:252-53, 424.
181. *Ibid.*, 7:424.
182. *Ibid.*
183. *Ibid.*, 7:520-21. [F.G.: Although Morton said he left North Carolina because of ill health, Stewart wrote that he left because of debts. *Colonial Records*, 7:494. Tryon reported in 1769 that Morton had been in Virginia two years and had married. *Ibid.*, 8:12-16.]
184. Tryon to the Secretary of the S.P.G., Brunswick, 20 March 1769, *Colonial Records*, 8:12.
185. See the list of licensed clergymen in Weiss, *The Colonial Clergy*.
186. *Colonial Records*, 7:260-61.
187. *Ibid.*, 7:457. [F.G.: Tryon wrote in 1769 that Cosgreve had left for South Carolina and he hoped "the scoundrel" would never return. *Colonial Records*, 8:20-21. In the same year, a Reverend Penlington wrote the Bishop of London from Kingston, Jamaica, that a "Rev. Cosgreve" had arrived from North America, a drunkard, broke, and asking to be sent home to Ireland. He claimed to have been "starved out of North America." Fulham Palace Manuscripts, 28:61.]
188. *Colonial Records*, 7:540-41.
189. Weiss (*The Colonial Clergy*) states that Micklejohn was licensed on 29 March 1766.
190. *Colonial Records*, 7:261-62.
191. *Ibid.*, 7:457. Pascoe (*Classified Digest*) has Micklejohn located at South Rowan County, but Orange County was created in 1762.
192. This sermon has been reprinted in *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts*, 393-412. [F.G.: Micklejohn was not against all Regulators. For

his famous action to save Thomas Person from being arrested as a Regulator, see *Colonial Records*, 8:xxviii.]

193. *Colonial Records*, 8:15.

194. *Ibid.*, 7:704–5.

195. *Ibid.*, 7:705.

196. *Ibid.*, 8:553.

197. *Ibid.*, 7:705.

198. *Ibid.*, 8:503.

199. *Ibid.*, 8:552–53.

200. *Ibid.*, 7:456–57.

201. *Ibid.*, 7:541.

202. *Ibid.*, 8:492–93.

203. *Ibid.*, 8:14.

204. *Ibid.*, 8:493.

205. S.P.G. Abstracts, 32. Stuart is not listed in Weiss, *The Colonial Clergy*.

206. *Colonial Records*, 7:263–64.

207. *Ibid.*, 7:264.

208. *Ibid.*, 8:20. [F.G.: Cramp had rejected an offer of \$1,000 from Georgetown Parish in South Carolina. Tryon said he hoped to induct Cramp at St. Philip's, Brunswick, and test his authority in court. *Colonial Records*, 8:12–16, 50, 220–22.]

209. *Colonial Records*, 7:689.

210. *Ibid.* McCartney had lived in the home of the speaker and had been a “tutor to his children.”

211. *Colonial Records*, 8:85–86.

212. *Ibid.*

213. *State Records*, 19:840.

214. *Colonial Records*, 9:61–62. The petition was presented to Governor Tryon on 30 November 1771.

215. *Colonial Records*, 9:306–7.

216. *Ibid.*, 8:13, 222.

217. *Ibid.*, 8:63–64.

218. Martin to the S.P.G., 20 June 1772, *Colonial Records*, 9:306–7. [F.G.: Tryon had placed Briggs under the patronage of Colonel Sampson, a council member, after the Duplin vestry had spurned Tryon's presentation. *Colonial Records*, 8:12–16. Briggs may have gone to Virginia.]

219. *Colonial Records*, 8:221. [F.G.: Johnston was a friend of the Reverend Thomas Burges. He and Henry Burges, the son, had left North Carolina together in 1768 for ordination in England. *Colonial Records*, 8:670.]

220. For an account of Mr. Jones's difficulties in becoming a missionary, see pp. 26–28 above.

221. *Colonial Records*, 7:456, 786. [F.G.: For some reason, Wills had arrived in North Carolina without a license to preach. He had been ordained by the Bishop of Bath, England, and had been urged to come to North Carolina by a merchant doing business with Bristol. *Colonial Records*, 7:456-58. The Reverend John Barnett and Wills dedicated St. Philip's Church, Brunswick. *Ibid.*, 7:789-90. In 1776, Wills petitioned the Provisional Government for an unknown reason. *Ibid.*, 10:976.]

222. Governor Tryon to the Bishop of London, Brunswick, 30 April 1767, *Colonial Records*, 7:456.

223. *Colonial Records*, 8:221.

224. *Ibid.*, 8:174.

225. *Ibid.*, 8:199.

226. *Ibid.*, 8:219-20.

227. *Ibid.*, 8:221.

228. S.P.G. Abstracts, 39.

229. According to Weiss, Thomas Burges received the King's bounty on 12 October, resided in Virginia during 1754-58, and "kept school" in both Virginia and North Carolina. Weiss says that he served St. Mary's Parish at Tarboro from 1759 until his death in 1779. *The Colonial Clergy*.

230. *Colonial Records*, 6:372, 419-20; 7:457, 670. [F.G.: Thomas Burges was in Edgecombe as early as 1760. *Colonial Records*, 6:352, 356, 361-62; *State Records*, 23:511-12.]

231. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850. [F.G.: Edward Jones was a Virginia physician who came to Orange County and later asked for ordination. Micklejohn knew and recommended him to Tryon and to the Bishop of London. See Chapter I above, 26-28. Henry Burges resigned from Edgecombe prior to 1772. *Colonial Records*, 9:325-27, 362. He may have gone to Virginia.]

232. *Colonial Records*, 8:51-52.

233. *Ibid.*, 6:1007; 7:358, 555, 613. [F.G.: The *Colonial Records* contain a great deal of information on Blinn's career in the Assembly.]

234. *State Records*, 23:667-68.

235. *Colonial Records*, 8:52.

236. *Ibid.*, 8:45, 52, 159.

237. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850.

238. Eavenson, *Map Maker & Indian Traders*, 85-109.

239. *Colonial Records*, 8:150-51, 155, 220-21. St. Luke's Parish was established in 1753 along with Rowan County, but St. Luke's Church was not built until 1828.

240. *Colonial Records*, 8:155; Ervin, *Colonial History of Rowan County*, 46-47.

241. *Colonial Records*, 8:502; Ervin, *Colonial History of Rowan County*, 48-50.

242. Drage to the Secretary of the S.P.G., Salisbury, 28 February 1771, *Colonial Records*, 8:502–3.

243. *Colonial Records*, 8:503. Despite Drage's active work in his difficult mission, the Bishop of London, in the list of missionaries licensed for the colonies, gave the date of Drage's appointment but later recorded "never heard of him after." "A List of Persons Licensed to the Plantations by the Bishops of London." See also Lamb, "Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies," 134.

244. Governor Martin to the Earl of Dartmouth, 31 March 1773, *Colonial Records*, 9:622.

245. Owens, *Christ Church, Rowan County*, 5.

246. Ervin, *Colonial History of Rowan County*, 50.

247. Taylor was licensed by the Bishop of London on 1 January 1771. A note by the Bishop says "now there."

248. *Colonial Records*, 9:20–23.

249. *Ibid.*, 9:20–22.

250. *Ibid.*, 9:22–23.

251. *Ibid.*, 9:23.

252. *Ibid.*, 9:325–26.

253. *Ibid.*, 9:1003–4.

254. *Ibid.*, 9:22.

255. *Ibid.*, 9:1003–4.

256. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850. See also lists of missionaries by Clement ("Anglican Clergymen Licensed"), Lamb ("Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies"), and Weiss (*The Colonial Clergy*).

257. *Colonial Records*, 9:1022–23.

258. Trinity Church, built about 1775, was a small, square, one-story building. For a biography of Blount, see Lemmon, "Nathaniel Blount," 351–64.

259. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850.

260. He is listed in Weiss, *The Colonial Clergy*, but not in Pascoe, *Classified Digest*.

261. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 850. For a biography of Pettigrew, see Lemmon, *Parson Pettigrew*.

262. Wall, "Charles Pettigrew, Religious Leader and Planter," 3–4.

263. Dodd, *Life of Nathaniel Macon*, 4.

264. Wall, "Charles Pettigrew," 6.

265. Pettigrew was licensed on 23 June 1773.

266. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 178–79.

267. Haywood, "Charles Pettigrew," 398.

268. *Colonial Records*, 10:496.

269. *Ibid.*, 10:497.

270. *Ibid.*, 10:496.

CHAPTER III

1. *Colonial Records*, 10:870g.
2. *Ibid.*, 10:870d.
3. *Ibid.*, 10:1011.
4. *State Records*, 20:726; 23:986, 997; 24:91.
5. Olds, "The Parishes in North Carolina," 89.
6. St. Paul's Church, Edenton, Records of the Vestry.
7. St. George's Parish Records.
8. *Colonial Records*, 10:238.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 10:115–16.
11. *Ibid.*, 10:428.
12. Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 91.
13. Ashe, "Sketches," 9.
14. *Colonial Records*, 10:976
15. *Ibid.*, 11:633.
16. *Ibid.*, 10:560, 646, 917, 932.
17. *State Records*, 24:297.
18. *Colonial Records*, 9:1037–38.
19. St. Paul's Church, Edenton, Records of the Vestry.
20. Dillard, "St. Paul's Church, Edenton," 26.
21. *State Records*, 12:149, 155, 159, 321–22.
22. Wall, "Charles Pettigrew, First Bishop-Elect," 12–13. See also Lemmon, *Parson Pettigrew*.
23. Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
24. *Colonial Records*, 5:1214; 10:140, 169.
25. St. George's Parish Records.
26. *State Records*, 13:788, 789, 815; 17:705, 782.
27. *Colonial Records*, 10:64, 122; *State Records*, 12:675.
28. *State Records*, 16:1056.
29. *Biographical History of North Carolina*, 5:18–22.
30. C. T. Smith, *The Church of England in Halifax County*, 12.
31. Wall, "Charles Pettigrew, First Bishop-Elect," 21.
32. *Colonial Records*, 9:1003, 1261.
33. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
34. Wall, "Charles Pettigrew, First Bishop-Elect," 22.
35. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
36. *Ibid.*
37. University of North Carolina Papers.

38. *State Records*, 24:825, 863, 872.
39. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *The Church Messenger*, 28 April 1881.
42. C. T. Smith, *The Church of England in Halifax County*, 17–18, 35.
43. *Asbury, Journal*, 1:292, 354.
44. Grissom, *History of Methodism in North Carolina*, 1:91.
45. *State Records*, 24:606.
46. Blackwelder, *The Age of Orange*, 119–20.
47. Memorandum for Wm. Chesson, Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
48. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 263.
49. Turner and Bridgers, *History of Edgecombe County*, 447.
50. Stowe et al., “The Clergy of the Episcopal Church in 1785,” 273–74.
51. *Biographical History of North Carolina*, 5:18–22.
52. Lamb, “Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies,” 142; St. George’s Parish Records; “200th Anniversary of the Building of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Edenton, North Carolina,” *The Chowan Herald*, 20–23.
53. Stowe et al., “The Clergy of the Episcopal Church in 1785,” 273–74.
54. Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Reed, *Beaufort County*, 139.
57. Attmore, *Journal*, 25.
58. Pettigrew to Asbury, 1 May 1784, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
- A notation says that the letter was not sent.
59. Moore, *History of North Carolina*, 87.
60. Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
61. JGC 1792.
62. *State Records*, 20:124.
63. C. T. Smith, *The Church of England in Halifax County*, 26.
64. Charles E. Johnson Papers, Raleigh.
65. Quoted in C. T. Smith, *The Church of England in Halifax County*, 26.
66. Attmore, *Journal*, 55.
67. Quoted in Cheshire, *Sketches*, 184.
68. *State Records*, 25:34–35.
69. JGC 1792.
70. White, *Memoirs*, 172.
71. Wilson to Pettigrew, 10 March 1792, Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
72. C. T. Smith, *The Church of England in Halifax County*, 27–28.
73. *Biographical History of North Carolina*, 7:130–36.

74. Attmore, *Journal*, 22 March 1789.
75. Hobart, *Correspondence*, 5:286-87; *Biographical History of North Carolina*, 7:130-36.
76. Hobart, *Correspondence*, 5:283.
77. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 379-88; Brydon, "The Ministry of Robert Johnston Miller."
78. *History of Lutheran Church in North Carolina*, 25; *Biographical History of North Carolina*, 4:325-28.
79. Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 98.
80. Turner and Bridgers, *History of Edgecombe County*, 444.
81. Drane Collection, Chapel Hill.
82. Diary of Jeremiah Norman.
83. Asbury, *Journal*, 1:363.
84. Grissom, *History of Methodism in North Carolina*, 1:163-64.
85. Drane Collection, Chapel Hill.
86. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
87. Ibid.
88. Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
89. Ibid.
90. Rice Letters.
91. Tyler, "The Church of England in Colonial Bertie County."
92. Holly Grove Baptist Church Minutes, 1822-78. Page 1 bears this notation: "Minutes and proceedings of the Church at Holly Grove formally the Church at Outlaws Chapel."
93. C. T. Smith, *The Church of England in Halifax County*, 16.
94. *The Church Messenger*, 17 July 1884.
95. C. T. Smith, *The Church of England in Halifax County*, 16.
96. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
97. C. T. Smith, *The Church of England in Halifax County*, 15.
98. Quoted in Grissom, *History of Methodism in North Carolina*, 1:203.
99. Asbury, *Journal*, 1:392.
100. Perry, *The American Episcopal Church*, 2:26-32.
101. Ibid., 2:66-125.
102. JGC 1792.
103. Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
104. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
105. *The Early Conventions*, 2-3, 9-10. These are reprinted in *The Pettigrew Papers*, Vol. 1.
106. Ibid., 10-11.
107. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 186.
108. *The Early Conventions*, 13-15.
109. Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
110. Ibid.

111. JGC 1792.
112. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
113. *The Early Conventions*, 17–18.
114. Quoted in Hobart, *Correspondence*, 5:286.
115. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
116. Ibid.
117. *The Early Conventions*, 21–29.
118. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
119. Pettigrew to White, 5 September 1795, Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
120. Whyte to Pettigrew, 30 September 1796, Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
121. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
122. Blount to Pettigrew, 17 January 1799, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
123. JGC 1808.
124. White, *Memoirs*, 172.
125. Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
126. Pettigrew to Mrs. Verner, 26 May 1800, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
127. Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
128. Diary of Jeremiah Norman, 520.
129. Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
130. Pettigrew to Moore, 2 November 1795, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
131. JGC 1795.
132. Moore to Pettigrew, 21 April 1796, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
133. Halling to Pettigrew, 19 April 1796, Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
134. Pettigrew to Blount, 23 August 1803, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
135. Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 112–17.
136. Blount to Pettigrew, 23 January 1802, Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
137. Hobart, *Correspondence*, 3:325–29.
138. Miller to Pettigrew, 6 May 1795, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
139. Rumble, *History of Rowan County*, 426.
140. Blount to Pettigrew, 7 May 1804, Pettigrew Papers, Raleigh.
141. W. S. Pettigrew's biography of Charles Pettigrew, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
142. Drane Collection, Chapel Hill.
143. Edenton Methodist Church Record Book, from 1804.
144. Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 119.
145. St. Paul's Church, Edenton, Records of the Vestry.

146. Hobart, *Correspondence*, 5:200.
147. *One Hundredth Anniversary Commemorating the Building of St. James Church, Wilmington, N.C.*
148. Diary of Eliza Clitherall, 6:9–10.
149. St. James's Episcopal Church, Wilmington, Vestry Minutes.
150. Miller Papers, Raleigh.
151. *Ibid.*
152. Empie to Miller, 19 March 1814, Miller Papers, Raleigh.
153. St. James's Episcopal Church, Wilmington, Vestry Minutes, 5 January 1814.
154. *Ibid.*, 2 April 1814.
155. *One Hundredth Anniversary Commemorating the Building of St. James Church, Wilmington, N.C.*

CHAPTER IV

1. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 268–77. This standard work has been freely relied on but usually will not be cited here except when quoted.
2. Lemmon, "Genesis," 459. On 27 December 1878, sixty-one years after the Diocese of North Carolina was organized, William Mercer Green, then Bishop of Mississippi, wrote the Reverend Joseph C. Huske of Fayetteville, "It was my good fortune when a boy to know John Winslow who together with Abraham Jarvis and John Stanly, may well be regarded as the Founders, rather than Resuscitators, of our N. Carolina Church." Huske's "History," 62.
3. Owens, *Christ Church, Rowan County*, 6–7, 14; Christ Church Vestry, *Centennial Ceremonies*, 9; Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton*, 231; Smith and Smith, *History of Trinity Parish*, 12.
4. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 388; Eaton, "The Ebb of the Great Revival," 11–12; Henderson, *The Campus of the First State University*, 65.
5. *JGC*, 1:394, 413. While studying theology at Union (later Hobart) College in Schenectady, Empie was described as "one of the best scholars," the school had ever had, a man of good talents and unremitting application. Benjamin Allen, professor at Union, to Frederick Beasley, rector of the church in Albany and later provost of the University of Pennsylvania, 30 September 1806, Hobart, *Correspondence*, 5:200.
6. Empie to Miller, 22 November 1813, "Miller Letters," 487. The "Miller Letters" are an important source of information; ordinarily, however, they will not be cited here unless quoted.
7. Empie to Miller, 19 March 1814, "Miller Letters," 487–88. Empie had married a Wilmington girl, a fact that may have had some bearing

on his willingness to return to North Carolina. Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River*, 655–56.

8. NCDJ 1817, 3–6.

9. Ibid., 3–5.

10. NCDJ 1830, 20, 27.

11. NCDJ 1827, 26.

12. NCDJ 1830, 28.

13. NCDJ 1817, 6, 13–14 and 1819, 11; Adam Empie to Thomas Ruffin, 26 January 1818, *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 1:200–201.

14. Empie to Thomas Ruffin, 26 January 1818, *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 1:200–201; Empie to Duncan Cameron, 5 February 1818, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

15. JGC, 1:455–57, 486. Bethel Judd, North Carolina's clerical deputy, was not present at the General Convention.

16. Mary (Cameron) Anderson of Petersburg, Va., to her brother, Duncan Cameron, 30 September 1817, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

17. NCDJ 1818, 7.

18. Perry, *The American Episcopal Church*, 2:144; JGC, 1:417; J. P. K. Henshaw, *Memoir of Bishop Moore*, 11, 38, 42, 44, 73, 81, 84, 121–39, 324.

19. W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 1:38.

20. Zabriskie, *Anglican Evangelicalism*, 25.

21. De Mille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church*, 19.

22. Zabriskie, *Anglican Evangelicalism*, 25.

23. NCDJ 1819, 9–11.

24. NCDJ 1817, 9, 12.

25. Ibid., 9.

26. Stephen H. Tyng, "Memoir," in Bedell, *Sermons*, 1:xlili, xlv; JGC, 1:466, 503, 532; Hobart, *Correspondence*, 3:393–95, 491–92.

27. Dix, *History of Trinity Church*, 4:113.

28. NCDJ 1817, 11; 1820, 6.

29. NCDJ 1819, 4–5, and 1820, 3; JGC, 1:553, 618; Perry, *The American Episcopal Church*, 2:241–42.

30. Hawks, *Contributions*, 1:app., 144. The deacons referred to were Thomas Wright and William Hooper; the priest was Richard Sharpe Mason. NCDJ 1820, 8, 11.

31. Henshaw, *Memoir of Bishop Moore*, 166, 168; W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 1:40; *History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia*, 1:103–19, 120–55.

32. Christopher E. Gadsden, at the Virginia Sweet Springs, to Duncan Cameron, 8 September 1820, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill. At the General Convention of 1820 Cameron was made a trustee of the General Seminary. JGC, 1:551; see also 522, 524–25, 546–47, 563.

33. *JGC*, 1:551.
34. Ravenscroft to Duncan Cameron, 19 June 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
35. Andrew Syme to Duncan Cameron, 27 February 1822, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
36. Maryland was equally reluctant to cooperate with Virginia. Rightmyer, "The Episcopate of Bishop Kemp," 66-84, esp. 82-83; W. Meade, "Autobiography," 392.
37. *NCDJ* 1819, 7, and 1821, 4-7, 12-13; *JGC*, 1:629, 631-32.
38. Empie to Cameron, 14 August 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
39. W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 2:371-72.
40. Green, lay reader at Williamsboro, to Ravenscroft, rector of St. James's, Mecklenburg County, Va., 27 August 1819; William H. Wilmer to Ravenscroft, 2 December 1819. Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.
41. Thomas D. Benehan to Richard Benehan, 18 August 1818, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
42. *NCDJ* 1819, 5, 10, 12; John A. Cameron to Duncan Cameron, 6 May 1819, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
43. W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 1:420-21; Christ Church Vestry, *Centennial Ceremonies*, 8; Bell, *The Old Free State*, 1:364.
44. *NCDJ* 1820, 8-10, and 1821, 15; Owens, *Christ Church, Rowan County*, 14.
45. *NCDJ* 1821, 8, 15-16.
46. *NCDJ* 1822, 6, 16.
47. Information on Miller and his work has been drawn from Cheshire, *Sketches*; Sill, *Sketches*, 23; "Miller Letters," 483-521; Owens, *Christ Church, Rowan County*; Brydon, "The Ministry of Robert Johnston Miller"; Alexander, *Here I Dwell*, 65-66, 112.
48. *NCDJ* 1820, 5; 1821, 15.
49. "Historical Sketch of Calvary Church, Wadesboro," Calvary Church Parish Register; *NCDJ* 1822, 15; Hobart, *Correspondence*, 2:292; 5:279-82.
50. *NCDJ* 1821, 7, 16; 1822, 15.
51. Moore to Cameron, 27 March 1823, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
52. *NCDJ* 1820, 5-6, 11.
53. Thomas Wright to Mary (Green) Wright, 8 February 1821, Wright-Green Papers, Chapel Hill.
54. Moore to Mary (Cameron) Anderson, 23 February 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
55. Gales listened to only part of Bishop Moore's sermon; he did not

hear Bedell. He wrote Jared Sparks that the Episcopalians were not as bitter against the Unitarians as were the Presbyterians. Gales to Sparks, 4 May 1821, Gales Papers, Raleigh.

56. Haywood to Cameron, 10 May 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill. A blank subscription form was enclosed in the letter.

57. Haywood to Cameron, 25 June 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

58. Haywood to Cameron, 2 August 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill. See Christ Church Vestry, *Centennial Ceremonies*, 20–21.

59. Winifred Gales to Jared Sparks, 2 May 1822, Gales Papers, Raleigh.

60. JGC, 2:43; Christ Church Vestry, *Centennial Ceremonies*, 9, 23; Wheeler, *Reminiscences*, 131.

61. Henshaw, *Memoir of Bishop Moore*, 154.

62. Moore to Duncan Cameron, 27 March 1823, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

63. NCDJ 1821, 19–20.

64. Adam Empie to Duncan Cameron, 14 August 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill; JGC, 1:607.

65. Moore to Cameron, 19 January 1822, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

66. Andrew Syme to Duncan Cameron, 27 February 1822, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

67. W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 2:371–72.

68. Bedell, *Sermons*, 1:lix.

69. NCDJ 1817, 4.

70. Empie to Duncan Cameron, 4 May 1822, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill. This extraordinary letter, from which the quotations in the text are taken, was written by Empie to inform Cameron of what had happened to his proposal concerning Bedell after Empie learned that Cameron “felt hurt that the clergy should have taken any measures on the subject of the episcopate without communicating with you, who had previously called them into consultation.” In the original letter, Empie placed an asterisk by the words “almost unanimous” and inserted the following footnote: “There was no *dissenting voice* but one or two *reluctant votes*.”

71. NCDJ 1822, 3, 5, 23–24.

72. See Bishop Moore to William Hooper, 20 March 1823, quoted in Henshaw, *Memoir of Bishop Moore*, 203–6.

73. Empie to Cameron, 4 May 1822, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

74. Ravenscroft to Green, 20 March 1823, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

75. *NCDJ* 1823, 12–13, 21.
76. [William Mercer Green], “Bishop Ravenscroft,” an autographed undated reprint in the Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 6–7.
77. *NCDJ* 1823, 22.
78. *Ibid.*, 22–24.
79. Information on Ravenscroft prior to his election as bishop has been drawn primarily from Anderson, “Memoir”; [Green], “Bishop Ravenscroft”; Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 37–88; and R. D. Meade, “John Stark Ravenscroft,” 15:397–98.
80. Anderson, “Memoir,” 14.
81. From an unfinished memorandum prepared by Ravenscroft in 1819 and quoted in Anderson, “Memoir,” 13–17.
82. Anderson, “Memoir,” 17–18.
83. Drafts of letters Ravenscroft wrote to Wilmer and Bishop Moore, 1820–21, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.
84. Anderson, “Memoir,” 31–32.
85. *Ibid.*, 33; W. Meade, “Autobiography,” 387.
86. Andrew Syme to Duncan Cameron, 25 January 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
87. [Green], “Bishop Ravenscroft,” 7.
88. No accurate statistics are available; the communicant figure is an estimate based on parochial reports in Convention Journals from 1817 to 1824. The number of congregations can be determined by the record of admissions into union with the Diocesan Convention. Haywood’s estimate that there were twenty-five congregations in 1823 is incorrect; he includes St. Andrew’s, Burke County, and St. Stephen’s, Oxford, neither of which was admitted until 1824. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 57–58.
89. [Green], “Bishop Ravenscroft,” 10.
90. Anderson, “Memoir,” 35.
91. Richard Channing Moore to Ravenscroft, 30 June 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.
92. Anderson, “Memoir,” 35.
93. [Green], “Bishop Ravenscroft,” 10.
94. *NCDJ* 1824, 6, 35–36.
95. *JGC*, 2:18–19, 66–67; *NCDJ* 1824, 6, 36–37; Green to Duncan Cameron, 30 May 1823, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
96. Dr. Albrington S. H. Burges, James H. Henderson, and John Louis Taylor to Ravenscroft, June 1823, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.
97. Robert Hall Morrison to James Morrison, 26 May 1823, Morrison Papers, Chapel Hill.

98. Hooper to Ravenscroft, 18 June 1823, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

99. Ravenscroft, *Works*, 1:69, 73, 77.

100. Thomas Ruffin to Anne M. Ruffin, 2 September 1823, Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.

101. *NCDJ* 1824, 10, 26 (italics added).

102. Ravenscroft, *Works*, 1:91–112.

103. McClain, "The Theology of Ravenscroft, Otey, and Green," 105, quoting the preface to Ravenscroft, *Doctrines*, iv. For the "Farewell Discourse," see Ravenscroft's *Works*, 1:69–90.

104. Hooper to Ravenscroft, 20 May 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill; also quoted in Anderson, "Memoir," 41.

105. Hooper to Ravenscroft, 20 May 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

106. Ravenscroft to Hooper, 24 May 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

107. "Church government" was not the only matter on which Hooper's views did not coincide with Ravenscroft's. With regard to baptismal regeneration, Hooper held strongly Calvinistic views, strengthened no doubt by the upsetting experience of being cursed by a child he was baptizing. Even before Ravenscroft's consecration, Hooper sought Bishop Moore's counsel on this subject. Moore replied with charity and considerable erudition, refuting the Calvinistic view to the best of his ability and citing Richard Hooker's position as his own. Henshaw, *Memoir of Bishop Moore*, 206–11.

108. Hooper to Ravenscroft, 14 June 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

109. Ravenscroft to Hooper, 18 June 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

110. William Cameron to Duncan Cameron, 11 August 1824, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

111. Moore to Ravenscroft, 30 June, 25 August 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

112. Ravenscroft to Miller, 23 August 1824, "Miller Letters," 498–99.

113. Ravenscroft to William M. Green, 14 July 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

114. Richard Channing Moore to Ravenscroft, 5 November 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill. Wilmer suggested that Hooper confer with the Reverend John Henry Hopkins of Pennsylvania, later presiding bishop.

115. *JGC*, 1:567.

116. *NCDJ* 1825, 9.

117. Quoted in Ravenscroft, *Works*, 1:156, 158 (italics added).

118. Ravenscroft, *Works*, 1:156.

119. *Ibid.*, 1:153.

120. *Ibid.*, 1:166.

121. *Ibid.*, 1:162.

122. The original letters are preserved in the Marshall Papers, Chapel Hill. In 1825 Joseph Gales & Son, Raleigh, published the compiled correspondence in three pamphlets listed in the Bibliography under Elisha Mitchell as author.

123. Moore to Ravenscroft, 16 March 1825, Henshaw, *Memoir of Bishop Moore*, 177–78.

124. Ravenscroft to Robert Johnston Miller, 25 March 1825, “Miller Letters,” 503.

125. Anderson, “Memoir,” 42; Ravenscroft to Robert Johnston Miller, 25 February 1826, “Miller Letters,” 508.

126. Anderson, “Memoir,” 42; Ravenscroft, *Doctrines*.

127. Rice, “Review of the ‘Doctrines of the Church.’”

128. Candour, *Irenicum*. This undated pamphlet defended the bishop; its preface states that the *Family Visitor*, a periodical patronized by Episcopalians, had not published materials friendly to Ravenscroft.

129. Ravenscroft to Robert Johnston Miller, 7 August 1826, “Miller Letters,” 509.

130. Quoted in Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 86.

131. Ravenscroft, *Works*, 1:107.

132. Orson V. Howell to Ravenscroft, 1 March 1827, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

133. Draft of circular letter, 9 August 1824, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

134. Joseph Pierson from New York and Henry M. Mason from Pennsylvania (deacons), and Carolus G. Brainerd (candidate) from the Eastern Diocese. *NCDJ* 1825, 11, 24.

135. Ravenscroft to William Mercer Green, 20 March 1823, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

136. *NCDJ* 1825, 22.

137. Ravenscroft to Hobart, 30 May 1825, Hobart, *Posthumous Works*, 1:372–75. Ravenscroft found able allies among the laymen of the Diocese. William C. Lord to Ravenscroft, 22 February, 14 April 1828, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

138. *NCDJ* 1827, 17; Ravenscroft to Hobart, 18 March 1826, Hobart, *Posthumous Works*, 1:364–67.

139. Henry M. Mason returned to Pennsylvania, and both Joseph Pierson and Carolus C. Brainerd died. *NCDJ* 1827, 11, 13, 14.

140. *NCDJ* 1827, 17–19; see also 1829, 22–23.

141. *NCDJ* 1827, 18.

142. NCDJ 1829, 11.

143. Bishop Ravenscroft ordained seven men to the diaconate (Carolus C. Brainerd, Jarvis B. Buxton, George W. Freeman, Francis Lister Hawks, John H. Norment, James Hervey Otey, and Philip B. Wiley) and seven men to the priesthood (Brainerd, Freeman, John R. Goodman, Henry M. Mason, Otey, Joseph Pierson, and Wiley).

144. Green, *Memoir of Bishop Otey*, 9, 119-20.

145. Ibid., 22, 358; Burger, "The Rt. Rev. William Mercer Green," 6.

146. William H. Haywood, Jr., to Duncan Cameron, 25 June 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

147. Anderson, "Memoir," 37.

148. NCDJ 1824, 15-16; Anderson, "Memoir," 37.

149. Green, *Memoir of Bishop Otey*, 23.

150. Green to Ruffin, 11 January 1828, *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 1:437-38.

151. Ruffin to Anne M. Ruffin, 9 April 1828, Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.

152. John Avery to Miss——Slade, 7 March 1829, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

153. NCDJ 1828, 8.

154. Ruffin to William K. Ruffin, 31 December 1826, *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 1:369.

155. Bedell, *Sermons*, 1:xliv, xlv, xlviii, xlix.

156. Haywood to Duncan Cameron, 10 May 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

157. Dr. Luico Mitchell to [Thomas?] Benehan, 8 June 1823, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

158. NCDJ 1821, 4, 18-19.

159. Ibid., 22.

160. Empie to Miller, 4 May 1821, "Miller Letters," 493-94.

161. NCDJ 1822, 11-12; Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements*, 457-63.

162. Ravenscroft, *Works*, 1:77-79, 105.

163. NCDJ 1825, 10.

164. Brydon, "The Ministry of Robert Johnston Miller," 46.

165. Haywood to Duncan Cameron, 2 August 1821, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

166. Ruffin to Anne M. Ruffin, 13 March 1826, Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.

167. Norwood to William K. Ruffin, 6 November 1826, *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 1:361.

168. Ravenscroft's Journal, 27 June 1823, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

169. Ravenscroft to Robert Johnston Miller, 12 August 1828, “Miller Letters,” 513–14 (*italics added*).

170. Green, *Memoir of Bishop Otey*, 22.

171. Ravenscroft to Robert Johnston Miller, 8 September 1825, “Miller Letters,” 505.

172. Green, *Memoir of Bishop Otey*, 22.

173. *NCDJ* 1825, 25.

174. *Ibid.*

175. See, for example, *NCDJ* 1827, 7.

176. *NCDJ* 1828, 8–9.

177. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 65, 87. See also “Diary of Salem Congregation” for 12–13 August 1827, in *Records of the Moravians*, 8:3799. It is unlikely that Ravenscroft was familiar with the action of the Moravian Synod of 1818 recognizing that denomination’s “descent from the ancient Unitas Fratrum . . . through which it has received the foundation principles of its constitution and church discipline and the episcopal ordination. The true character of the Unity of Brethren, however, does not rest upon them, nor do they give it an intrinsic superiority over other protestant denominations.” *Records of the Moravians*, 7:3558.

178. Ravenscroft to Robert Johnston Miller, 25 March 1825, “Miller Letters,” 503.

179. *NCDJ* 1825, 17–19. In 1824, for the first time, a canon was adopted requiring each congregation to make an annual contribution to defray the expense of the bishop’s visitations. *NCDJ* 1824, 26.

180. *NCDJ* 1826, 19, 31, 35–40.

181. *NCDJ* 1827, 30–31, 34–36.

182. *NCDJ* 1828, 10, 12; Hawks to Duncan Cameron, 8 February 1828, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill. In the early fall of 1828, Ravenscroft called on the Reverend Philip B. Wiley to accompany him to the places that had not been visited, but the results were “without effect, either to the fund or to the church.” *NCDJ* 1829, 9–10.

183. William C. Lord and Dr. James McRee to Ravenscroft, 15 November, 14 and 15 December 1827, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

184. Thomas Callender to Ravenscroft, 26 December 1827; William C. Lord to Ravenscroft, 27 December 1827. Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

185. Ravenscroft to Thomas Callender, 28 December 1827, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

186. *NCDJ* 1828, 14; Thomas Turner to Ravenscroft, 28 January 1828, and Vestry of Christ Church, New Bern, to Ravenscroft, 5 February 1828, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill; Ravenscroft to Duncan Cameron, 27 March, 2 June 1828, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

187. Anderson, "Memoir," 46; Ravenscroft to Duncan Cameron, 3 September 1827, 27 March, 2 June 1828, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
188. *NCDJ* 1828, 16-18.
189. *Ibid.*, 17.
190. *Ibid.*, 28, 32-34.
191. *NCDJ* 1829, 9, 24-25; Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 70.
192. *NCDJ* 1829, 12, 26-27; 1830, 33.
193. *NCDJ* 1830, 20-21.
194. A drawing of this building appears in Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, 2:575, and is reproduced in Flanner, *St. James Church, Wilmington*, 2, and in Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 12.
195. Flanner, *St. James Church, Wilmington*, 2; Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River*, 606-7. Local historians seem to agree that the Wilmington church was square, but Sauthier's 1769 plan of the town shows the church as having a projecting rectangular chancel. Johnston and Waterman, *Early Architecture*, 142.
196. W. Meade, "Autobiography," 387.
197. Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton*, 175; B. R. Huske, "A History of St. John's Church," *Parish News*, St. John's Church, Fayetteville, 24 November 1935.
198. Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 4.
199. St. James's Episcopal Church, Wilmington, Vestry Minutes.
200. Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton*, 175.
201. St. James's Episcopal Church Wilmington, Vestry Minutes.
202. *NCDJ* 1824, 13.
203. Johnston and Waterman, *Early Architecture*, 246.
204. St. Paul's Church, Edenton, Vestry Minutes, vol. 2, 15 May 1828. To the Convention of 1823, William Mercer Green reported that the Williamsboro church had been renovated, and in December 1826 Bishop Ravenscroft noted that "Parson" Blount's frame chapel in Beaufort County had been repaired and made more convenient inside. *NCDJ* 1823, 11; 1827, 12.
205. One of the printed appeals for "foreign aid" in building the Fayetteville church is preserved in the Huske Papers, Chapel Hill. This copy was sent by John Winslow to N. Rogers, a New York merchant; Rogers's reply to Winslow on 3 June 1817 is in the same collection.
206. Huske, *History*, 8.
207. *Ibid.*, 10.
208. Bishop Ravenscroft wrote: "This building does great credit to the taste and liberality of the contributors. There is nothing superfluous in ornament; but a chaste simplicity characterizes the whole of the finishing." *NCDJ* 1824, 12-13.
209. *NCDJ* 1824, 12; Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 4.

210. Owens, *Christ Church, Rowan County*, 12–13; NCDJ 1828, 8.
211. NCDJ 1825, 6; Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton*, 175. In 1843 a church with the same name was erected in LaGrange, Tenn., whose members (former residents of Warrenton) sought to build a replica in brick of the Warrenton church. Davies-Rodgers, *Romance of the Episcopal Church in West Tennessee*, 99, 101–2.
212. Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 21, quoting H. W. Ticknor's history of this church which is now located in Bonnerston.
213. Green, *Memoir of Bishop Otey*, 19.
214. Johnston and Waterman, *Early Architecture*, 247; Rumple, *History of Rowan County*, 441; NCDJ 1826, 32, and 1829, 8.
215. Author's adaptation of the original in William Woty's *Church Langton* (1768), quoted by Rose Macaulay in a letter to John Hamilton Cowper Johnson, 14 June 1952, Babington-Smith, *Letters to a Friend*, 327. Woty's couplet reads:

*Gothick in style, and tending to excite
Free thinkers to a sense of what is right.*

216. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 435–36, relying on Bedell, *Sermons*; Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 42; John Winslow to Isaac Winslow, 7 May 1818, Huske Papers, Chapel Hill.
217. NCDJ 1828, 20. However, Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 58, indicates that the tower and spire were not added to St. Matthew's until 1875.
218. Smith and Smith, *Trinity Parish and Edgecombe Parish*, 21.
219. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 435–36; Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 42.
220. Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, 165, 167.
221. Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 142.
222. Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton*, 176–77.
223. Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, 168; Hobart, *Correspondence*, 2:511–19.
224. NCDJ 1829, 18.
225. Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton*, 176–77.
226. Ann (Blount) Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, 31 December 1829, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.
227. NCDJ 1827, 21.
228. Quoted in Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 61.
229. Winifred Gales to Jared Sparks, 29 December 1830 [sic], Gales Papers, Raleigh.
230. W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 1:46.

231. *JGC*, 2:187–89.

232. The lay delegates from North Carolina (Walker Anderson and Josiah Collins) did not vote; the Reverend John Avery voted “aye”; and the Reverends William Mercer Green, Richard Sharpe Mason, and Henry M. Mason voted “no.” *JGC*, 2:131, 174–75.

233. *NCDJ* 1827, 19–20; 1828, 15, 23.

234. W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 1:45; De Mille, *St. Thomas Church*, 31.

235. *NCDJ* 1826, 17.

236. *NCDJ* 1827, 10.

237. *NCDJ* 1830, 34.

238. Albright, *History of the P.E. Church*, 187.

239. *NCDJ* 1827, 7; Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 72.

240. Mary (Cameron) Anderson to Mary Ann Cameron, 21 February 1822, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

241. Wright to Mary (Green) Wright, 2 August 1820, Wright-Green Papers, Chapel Hill.

242. Wright to Mary (Green) Wright, 20 July 1820, Wright-Green Papers, Chapel Hill.

243. See Ravenscroft’s Episcopal Charge at the Convention of 1825, Ravenscroft, *Works*, 1:202–5.

244. *JGC*, 1:543.

245. *JGC*, 2:43.

246. *NCDJ* 1827, 10.

247. Albright, *History of the P.E. Church*, 188.

248. W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 1:45.

249. Green to Cameron, 30 May 1823, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

250. *JGC*, 2:52–53.

251. *NCDJ* 1820, 7; Bedell, *Sermons*, 1:xxix, ccii.

252. Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 136–37; Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 435–36.

253. *NCDJ* 1828, 21–22.

254. Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 5.

255. Albright, *History of the P.E. Church*, 188.

256. De Mille, *St. Thomas Church*, 31. Albright, *History of the P.E. Church*, 187, states that ministers wore no tippet or stole; portraits of clergymen officiating in North Carolina suggest that the custom in this Diocese was as stated by De Mille.

257. Albright, *History of the P.E. Church*, 187.

258. De Mille, *St. Thomas Church*, 31. “I can see my father, the late Doctor Huske reading the service and at the time of the close of morning prayer hear the singing of a hymn while he disappears into a door at the foot of the pulpit stairs, which leads into a small vestry room. Soon

he comes in again and mounts the stairs, clad not in a Surplice, but in a black silk gown." Huske, 24 November 1935, Huske Papers, Chapel Hill.

259. W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 1:49.

260. Replying to the bishop's inquiry as to why he had failed to wear the surplice when taking part in services at Hillsborough and Fayetteville, a diocesan missionary explained that he did not feel he should wear it because he had not been "instituted" in those places. John H. Norment to Ravenscroft, 28 October 1828, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill. No doubt this attitude was a remnant of the colonial practice under which the surplice was the property of the parish rather than the minister. Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church*, 1:383; Lewis, *Northampton Parishes*, 33–34.

261. Albright, *History of the P.E. Church*, 187.

262. Ibid.

263. Henshaw, *Memoir of Bishop Moore*, 81–84; Fisher, *History and Reminiscences*, 181.

264. NCDJ 1824, 18; see also Green, *Memoir of Bishop Otey*, 18.

265. NCDJ 1827, 15.

266. Alice Ruffin to Thomas Ruffin, 1 November 1828, Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.

267. NCDJ 1819, 7–8. In 1823 the appointment of six lay readers was announced: George W. Hathaway, Wadesboro; Joel Patrick, Grace Chapel, Pitt County; Walker Anderson, St. Mary's, Orange County; Ichabod Wetmore, Kinston; James Marsh, Bath; Jarvis B. Buxton, Zion, Beaufort County. NCDJ 1823, 14.

268. Ravenscroft to Miller, 13 September 1823, "Miller Letters," 495.

269. Ibid.

270. Ibid. For an unfortunate result of this practice, see Green, *Memoir of Bishop Otey*, 27.

271. Charles Mills, Sr., St. Michael's, Iredell County; Alexander Lowrance, St. Peter's, Lincoln County; Robert H. Burton and Daniel M. Forney, White Haven, Lincoln County; Thomas A. Sumpter, St. Andrew's, Burke County. NCDJ 1824, 11.

272. Ruffin to Catherine Ruffin, 25 July 1827, *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 1:400. (The gentleman whose reading was described was John H. Norment, who was later ordained and served as a diocesan missionary.) Later the same year, another daughter wrote Ruffin, "Mr. Norment read the sermon today but no better than usual." Alice Ruffin to Thomas Ruffin, 13 October 1827, Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.

273. NCDJ 1821, 15–16.

274. Mary (Cameron) Anderson to Mary Ann Cameron, 21 February 1822, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

275. *Raleigh Register*, 23 December 1823, quoted in Coon, *North Carolina Schools*, 535.

276. Ravenscroft, *Works*, 1:110.

277. Elisha Mitchell to Ravenscroft, 27 May 1824; Ravenscroft to Mitchell, 29 May 1824. Marshall Papers, Chapel Hill.

278. *NCDJ* 1825, 26. The bishop reiterated his position in an address to the Convention of 1828. *NCDJ* 1828, 46.

279. *NCDJ* 1828, 26–27. The organization referred to was a voluntary society formed in 1826 within the National Church to supply suitable and well-prepared instructional literature for general use. W. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 2:275–78.

280. *NCDJ* 1828, 27. The rules governing the Sunday school of Christ Church, Raleigh, under Leonidas Polk, adopted 13 August 1823, are preserved in the Marshall Papers, Chapel Hill.

281. Ann (Blount) Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, 9 January 1830, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.

282. *NCDJ* 1820, 11; 1821, 11; 1822, 17–20. The last reference contains the constitution of the society drafted by the Standing Committee and adopted by the Convention.

283. *NCDJ* 1822, 7 (Wilmington), 9 (New Bern).

284. *NCDJ* 1821, 9–10.

285. *NCDJ* 1828, 27.

286. An inventory of Bishop Ravenscroft's books, prepared in 1827 by the bishop himself, is preserved in the Archives and Records Section, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh. The list reflects the bishop's interest in the seventeenth-century divines who influenced the Oxford Movement and in the Nonjurors; yet the catalog also contains a leaven of works by Latitudinarians and Evangelicals.

287. Huske's "History," 89, referring to John W. Wright, for many years the treasurer of the Convention.

288. Henshaw, *Memoir of Bishop Moore*, 174.

289. Green, *Memoir of Bishop Otey*, 10.

290. Ann (Blount) Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, 31 January 1825, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.

291. Ann (Blount) Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, 26 December 1826, Pettigrew Papers, Chapel Hill.

292. Thomas Ruffin to Mrs. Anne M. Ruffin, 26 December 1828, Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.

293. *NCDJ* 1828, 11.

294. *Ibid.*, 45.

295. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 462–63, citing W. S. Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South*, chap. 5, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

296. Gregory T. Bedell to Duncan Cameron, 9 November 1826, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

297. *NCDJ* 1824, 36.

298. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 73–74.

299. *NCDJ* 1824, 20.

300. Mason to Ravenscroft, 9 January 1826, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

301. When Green went to Philadelphia as a delegate to the General Convention of 1826, Cameron asked him to visit the office of *The Recorder* and cancel his subscription, stating his reasons. This Green did. The following day Bedell, the editor, wrote Cameron explaining how the offensive article came to appear in the journal. Green to Cameron, 8 November 1826, and Bedell to Cameron, 9 November 1826, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

302. *NCDJ* 1828, 9, 10, 21.

303. *NCDJ* 1821, 19.

304. *NCDJ* 1826, 18.

305. Ravenscroft to Robert Johnston Miller, 25 March 1825, “Miller Letters,” 503.

306. Ravenscroft to William Mercer Green, 20 October 1828, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

307. *NCDJ* 1828, 11–12.

308. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 71.

309. *NCDJ* 1830, 34–35; Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 68; *JGC*, 2:296.

310. *JGC*, 2:225, 227, 230, 233, 236–40; Ravenscroft to Meade, 17 August 1829, and Ravenscroft Memorandum, 18 August 1829, Ravenscroft Papers, Chapel Hill.

311. Anne Ruffin to Thomas Ruffin, 27 March 1830, Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.

312. *NCDJ* 1825, 10.

313. *NCDJ* 1826, 8.

314. *NCDJ* 1825, 10.

315. *Ibid.*, 7; 1826, 11.

316. *NCDJ* 1828, 10.

317. *NCDJ* 1825, 10.

318. The effort in Lincoln was one of the principal subjects of correspondence between Ravenscroft and Miller. “Miller Letters,” esp. 502–5.

319. *NCDJ* 1829, 9.

320. Ravenscroft to Miller, 16 June, 12 August 1828, “Miller Letters,” 511–14.

321. *NCDJ* 1829, 9.

322. *NCDJ* 1828, 33.

323. *NCDJ* 1830, 16.

324. Christ Church Vestry, *Centennial Ceremonies*, 13.

CHAPTER V

1. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 286–87.

2. *Ibid.*, 288.

3. *NCDJ* 1830, 9–14.

4. Freeman to Robert Johnston Miller, 30 June 1830, “Miller Letters,” 518 and n. 75.

5. “Miller Letters,” 520.

6. For their names and a thumbnail sketch, see “Miller Letters,” 520 and n. 78–82, 521.

7. “Miller Letters,” 521.

8. *NCDJ* 1831, 10.

9. *Ibid.*, 11.

10. Ruffin to Mrs. Ruffin, 14 July 1831, Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 91–92; O’Grady, *Levi Silliman Ives*, 1–2.

13. Haigh Diary, 7 February 1842. This account was written while Haigh was a student at the University of North Carolina, ten years after Ives came to the state.

14. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 92; O’Grady, *Levi Silliman Ives*, 6.

15. O’Grady, *Levi Silliman Ives*, 3–5.

16. *NCDJ* 1832, 21.

17. *Ibid.*, 24–25; *JGC* 1832, 135.

18. O’Grady, *Levi Silliman Ives*, 6; Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 92.

19. *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 2:101.

20. *NCDJ* 1832, 24–25.

21. *Ibid.*, 25–33.

22. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

23. De Mille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church*, 22–23.

24. *NCDJ* 1832, 33.

25. *Ibid.*, 38.

26. *Ibid.*, 34–37.

27. *NCDJ* 1833, 9–10.

28. *Ibid.*, 11.

29. Ruffin to Mrs. Ruffin, 29 January 1833, Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.

30. *NCDJ* 1833, 51. For a history of Trinity Church, see Smith and Smith, *Trinity Parish and Edgecombe Parish*.

31. *NCDJ* 1833, 48.

32. *Ibid.*, 13–15.

33. *Ibid.*, 19.

34. *NCDJ* 1834, 9.

35. *NCDJ* 1833, 35.

36. *Ibid.*, 36–37.

37. *Ibid.*, 47, 38.

38. *Ibid.*, 37.

39. Ticknor, *Cogswell Letters*, 188.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, 189.

42. *Ibid.*, 189–90, 191–92.

43. *Ibid.*, 200.

44. *Ibid.*, 196–97.

45. *Ibid.*, 201.

46. *NCDJ* 1834, 37.

47. *Ibid.*, 39, 46.

48. *Ibid.*, 42.

49. *JGC* 1835, 39–40.

50. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 299.

51. *NCDJ* 1836, 16.

52. *Ibid.*; Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 104.

53. *NCDJ* 1836, 11.

54. *NCDJ*, 1837, 11.

55. *Ibid.*, 12.

56. *Ibid.*, 29–30.

57. *NCDJ* 1838, 9–11, 36.

58. *NCDJ* 1836, 3; Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 105.

59. *NCDJ* 1838, 32.

60. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 300; *NCDJ* 1839, 32–36.

61. *NCDJ* 1839, 31.

62. *NCDJ* 1840, 24.

63. *Ibid.*, 14.

64. *NCDJ* 1841, 28, 23–24, 29.

65. *NCDJ* 1842, 13.

66. *NCDJ* 1843, 15–16.

67. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 107.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *NCDJ* 1851, 30.

70. *Life at St. Mary's*, 93; Stoops, *The Heritage*, 129.

71. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 303; *NCDJ* 1848, 29, 37–38.

72. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 303–4; *NCDJ* 1852, 19.
73. *NCDJ* 1830, 28–30, 1835, 26–27, and 1837, 26; *JGC* 1832, 47–48; Cheshire, *Sketches*, 34.
74. *NCDJ* 1836, 38–41, 54.
75. *NCDJ* 1843, 10.
76. *NCDJ* 1844, 18–19.
77. *Ibid.*, 36–37.
78. *William West Skiles*, 17.
79. *NCDJ* 1845, 13, 17.
80. *Ibid.*, 17.
81. *Ibid.*; 1846, 10, 17.
82. *NCDJ* 1846, 17.
83. *Ibid.*, 17–18.
84. *NCDJ* 1847, 25–26; *William West Skiles*, 62.
85. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 306.
86. *Ibid.*, 308.
87. *Ibid.*, 98.
88. *NCDJ* 1832, 36–37.
89. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 98–100.
90. *NCDJ* 1832, 28; 1833, 36; 1840, 18.
91. *NCDJ* 1833, 19–20.
92. *NCDJ* 1837, 8.
93. *NCDJ* 1838, 13.
94. *NCDJ* 1843, 13.
95. *NCDJ* 1846, 13.
96. *Ibid.*, 13–14.
97. *Ibid.*, 14.
98. *NCDJ* 1837, 9; 1849, 13.
99. *NCDJ* 1848, 37.
100. First published in December 1846, it went into a third edition in 1848. No publisher or place appears.
101. *JGC* 1841, 47.
102. *NCDJ* 1837, 10.
103. *Ibid.*, 29, 42.
104. *NCDJ* 1840, 9–10.
105. *NCDJ* 1841, 21.
106. *NCDJ* 1842, 30, 38.
107. *NCDJ* 1844, 17, 25; Green to Duncan Cameron, 16 February 1844, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
108. *NCDJ* 1844, 17, 25; 1845, 22; 1848, 22–23.
109. *NCDJ* 1842, 11.
110. *Ibid.*, 11, 15, 16, 19–20.
111. *NCDJ* 1843, 17; 1845, 9; 1847, 23, 32.
112. Christ Church Vestry, *Centennial Ceremonies*, 28.

113. *NCDJ* 1848, 10, 31; 1853, 39.
114. *NCDJ* 1848, 10, 31; 1849, 11; 1850, 11, 14; 1851, 13, 16–17; 1852, 15.
115. *NCDJ* 1851, 16–17; 1852, 15.
116. *NCDJ* 1851, 51.
117. For the best analyses of the movement in the United States, see the pertinent sections in Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the U.S.*; Chorley, *Men and Movements*; and De Mille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church*.
118. Neill, *Anglicanism*, 258.
119. Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the U.S.*, 156.
120. *NCDJ* 1842, 17–18.
121. Haigh Diary, 27 February 1844; Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the U.S.*, 159.
122. Haigh Diary, 27 February 1844.
123. *Ibid.*
124. Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the U.S.*, 16.
125. *NCDJ* 1849, 9; Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 113–14.
126. *NCDJ* 1849, 10.
127. Lucy M. Battle to William H. Battle, 9 April 1849, Battle Papers, Chapel Hill.
128. William H. Battle to Lucy M. Battle, 29 April 1849, Battle Papers, Chapel Hill.
129. Lucy M. Battle to William H. Battle, 21 May 1849, Battle Papers, Chapel Hill.
130. M. M. L. Bryant to Mrs. M. B. Cameron, 24 [or 28] May 1849, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
131. *NCDJ* 1849, 36.
132. *Ibid.*, 37.
133. *Ibid.*, 38.
134. Ives, *A Pastoral Letter*, 5.
135. *Ibid.*, 11, 17.
136. *Ibid.*, 20.
137. *Ibid.*, 24.
138. *Ibid.*, 65–66.
139. *Ibid.*, 71.
140. *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 2:286–87.
141. Lucy M. Battle to William H. Battle, 18 October 1849, Battle Papers, Chapel Hill.
142. [Badger], *An Examination of the Doctrine Declared and the Powers Claimed by Bishop Ives*, *passim*.
143. Outlaw to Emily B. Outlaw, 6 December 1849, Outlaw Papers, Chapel Hill.
144. Hawks, *Auricular Confession*, *passim*.

145. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 118.
146. Quoted in Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 119.
147. [Mason], *A Letter to the Bishop*, 70–71.
148. Lucy M. Battle to William H. Battle, 6 April 1850, Battle Papers, Chapel Hill.
149. Ives, *A Letter from the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ives*, passim.
150. *Ibid.*, v, vi.
151. Ruffin Papers, Chapel Hill.
152. *Ibid.*
153. Lucy M. Battle to William H. Battle, 1 February 1850, Battle Papers, Chapel Hill.
154. Mary [Jones?] to Mary D. Curtis, 28 March 1850, Curtis Papers, Chapel Hill.
155. Outlaw to his wife, May 1850, Outlaw Papers, Chapel Hill.
156. *NCDJ* 1850, 15–17.
157. *Ibid.*, 36, 39.
158. *Ibid.*, 41.
159. Outlaw to his wife, 16 June, 22 June 1950, Outlaw Papers, Chapel Hill.
160. Outlaw to his wife, 23 June 1850, Outlaw Papers, Chapel Hill.
161. M. L. Lucas to Margaret B. Cameron, 20 June 1850, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.
162. *JGC* 1850, 2, 3, 99, 167.
163. William H. Battle to Lucy M. Battle, 22 May 1851, Battle Papers, Chapel Hill.
164. Lucy M. Battle to William H. Battle, 6 May 1851, Battle Papers, Chapel Hill.
165. *NCDJ* 1851, 55–56.
166. *Ibid.*, 56–58.
167. *Ibid.*, 44.
168. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
169. *Ibid.*, 48, 59–60.
170. *Ibid.*, 48.
171. *Ibid.*, 54.
172. *Ibid.*, 19–20.
173. *Ibid.*, 19, 51.
174. Lucy M. Battle to William H. Battle, 11 November 1851, Battle Papers, Chapel Hill.
175. *NCDJ* 1853, 13; app., 16.
176. Quoted in Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 126–27.
177. *NCDJ* 1853, 15–16.
178. Green to My Dear Friend, 6 April 1853, Cameron Papers, Chapel Hill.

179. NCDJ 1853, 45.
180. Ibid., 39–40.
181. Ibid., 45.
182. JGC 1853, 175–76.
183. Quoted in Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 130.
184. NCDJ 1854, 57.
185. Quoted in Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 138.
186. Manross, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, 285.
187. Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 481–82.
188. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 130–31.
189. JGC 1853, 261.
190. Ibid., 261–62.
191. Ives, *The Trials of a Mind*, 230.
192. Ibid., 232–33. For interesting reactions to this book, see *Review of Bishop Ives' "Trials of a Mind"*; review of "Trials of Bishop Ives," *New Englander*, 363–78; and *Review of Bishop Ives' "Reasons for Renouncing Protestantism."*

CHAPTER VI

1. NCDJ 1853, 12–16, 45–46.
2. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 143–51; Lefler, "Thomas Atkinson," 422–25; Medley, *The Sermon at the Consecrations of Davis and Atkinson*.
3. NCDJ 1853, 45.
4. NCDJ 1854, 12–14.
5. These figures are drawn from reports in the various *Journals*.
6. NCDJ 1855, 16.
7. NCDJ 1857, 40–41.
8. Ibid., 19.
9. NCDJ 1858, 17.
10. NCDJ 1855, 12.
11. Ibid., 18.
12. NCDJ 1857, 23–24.
13. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 53, 62, 94.
14. NCDJ 1858, 27.
15. NCDJ 1854, 12–14, 58–59.
16. NCDJ 1855, 48–49, 56–57, 58, 61–62.
17. NCDJ 1856, 12, 57–58, 59, 68.
18. NCDJ 1829, 8.
19. Powell, *St. Luke's Episcopal Church*, 18–19.
20. Nash, *A Goodly Heritage*, 25.

21. Smith and Smith, *Trinity Parish and Edgecombe Parish*, 37-38.
22. *NCDJ* 1856, 38.
23. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 390.
24. *NCDJ* 1857, 42.
25. *NCDJ* 1858, 41.
26. *Ibid.*, 53.
27. *Constitutions of the Church Building Society*.
28. Church Building Society, Record Book of the Committee of Appropriations.
29. *NCDJ* 1854, 77-78.
30. *NCDJ* 1859, 85.
31. *NCDJ* 1854, 49-50, 55.
32. *NCDJ* 1855, 21-22.
33. *NCDJ* 1856, 47-48.
34. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 308-12; Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 155-57.
35. *NCDJ* 1855, 26-27; 1856, 34; 1857, 25.
36. *NCDJ* 1855, 63.
37. *NCDJ* 1850, 19.
38. *NCDJ* 1853, 21.
39. *NCDJ* 1855, 30.
40. *NCDJ* 1856, 36.
41. *NCDJ* 1858, 34-35.
42. *Ibid.*, 55.
43. *NCDJ* 1865, 50-51.
44. Atkinson, *Primary Charge of the Rt. Rev. Thomas Atkinson*, 9, 11-14.
45. Mathias M. Marshall, "The Church in North Carolina: Its Present Condition and Prospects," *NCDJ* 1855, 63.
46. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 353.
47. *NCDJ* 1857, 46.
48. *NCDJ* 1858, 50.
49. *NCDJ* 1855, 32.
50. *NCDJ* 1860, 44. Oil was discovered in Pennsylvania on 27 August 1859, and kerosene for lighting came into use only after that date. The fact that this report from Louisburg was made on 11 May 1860 suggests that this was an early instance of the use of kerosene for lighting.
51. *NCDJ* 1859, 43.
52. *NCDJ* 1857, 55; 1859, 22.
53. *NCDJ* 1858, 23.
54. *The North Carolina Guide*, 239-40, 243; *NCDJ* 1861, 35.
55. *NCDJ* 1855, 32.
56. *NCDJ* 1857, 52.

57. Ibid., 42; 1858, 43.
58. NCDJ 1860, 44.
59. Ravenscroft, *Works* (New York: Protestant Episcopal Press, 1830).
60. Ravenscroft, *Works* (Fayetteville: Edward J. Hale & Son, 1856), 213-421.
61. NCDJ 1854, 22, 50.
62. NCDJ 1854, 49-50, 60.
63. NCDJ 1855, 61-62, 66.
64. NCDJ 1857, 59; 1858, 31-32; 1859, 57; 1860, 61; 1861, 52-53; 1862, 30.
65. NCDJ 1854, 71-79; 1859, 79-94.
66. NCDJ 1858, 66.
67. NCDJ 1859, 52, 53.
68. NCDJ 1858, 66.
69. NCDJ 1859, 57-58.
70. NCDJ 1860, 27.
71. Ibid., 14-15, 27-28. The most complete file of *The Church Intelligencer* is that in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. Other files are in the Library of Congress; the State Library and the Archives and Records Branch, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh; and the University of South Carolina.
72. Stroupe, *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States*, 69-70. The last issue seen by Stroupe was the one of 1 February 1866. The North Carolina Collection, however, has a more complete file ending with the final issue of 7 March 1867.
73. *The Church Intelligencer*, 14 March 1860.
74. NCDJ 1861, 25.
75. NCDJ 1860, 28.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., 64-65.
78. Ibid.
79. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, 1:713-15.
80. Atkinson, *On the Causes of Our National Troubles*.
81. Ibid.
82. Atkinson, *Christian Duty*.
83. NCDJ 1861, 50.

CHAPTER VII

1. Polk, *Leonidas Polk*, 1:304-7.
2. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 18-19.
3. Ibid., 266.

4. NCDJ 1861, 11–18.
5. *Proceedings of a Meeting of Bishops, Clergymen, and Laymen*, 18–19.
6. *Proceedings of an Adjourned Convention of Bishops, Clergymen, and Laymen*, 9.
7. NCDJ 1862, 28.
8. *Ibid.*, 19–23.
9. NCDJ 1861, 11. These prayers are reprinted in Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 279–81.
10. NCDJ 1862, 12.
11. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 79–83.
12. NCDJ 1864, 17.
13. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 104.
14. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 164–69.
15. NCDJ 1865, 13.
16. NCDJ 1862, 12.
17. NCDJ 1864, 51.
18. NCDJ 1863, 47.
19. *Ibid.*, 40.
20. NCDJ 1862, 48, 50, 56, 59.
21. *Ibid.*, 17.
22. NCDJ 1866, 12.
23. NCDJ 1867, 60.
24. NCDJ 1865, 44.
25. NCDJ 1862, 44.
26. NCDJ 1865, 46.
27. *Ibid.*, 55.
28. See Lefler, “Thomas Atkinson,” 434, for a statistical abstract based on figures taken from the annual reports of the Committee on the State of the Church. These figures are imperfect, however, because many parishes failed to make complete reports.
29. Brydon, “The ‘Confederate Prayer Book,’” 339–44.
30. London, “Literature of the Church in the Confederate States,” 350–52.
31. *Ibid.*, 354.
32. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 272.
33. The reunion of the Episcopal Church after the Civil War is most conveniently treated in Shanks, “The Reunion of the Episcopal Church,” 120–40, and Murphy, “The Spirit of a Primitive Fellowship,” 434–48. More original sources include the JGC 1865 and *Debates & Proceedings of the General Triennial Convention . . . October . . . 1865*.
34. The deputies elected were as follows: clerical, Richard S. Mason, Joseph B. Cheshire, Fordyce M. Hubbard, and William Hodges; lay, Kemp P. Battle, William H. Battle, Richard H. Smith, and Robert

Strange. *NCDJ* 1865, 33–34. Strange did not attend the General Convention.

35. *JGC* 1865, 168.

36. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 176.

37. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 251.

38. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 200.

39. *NCDJ* 1866, 15.

40. *NCDJ* 1867, 23–24.

41. *NCDJ* 1866, 33, 36, 46, 49.

42. *NCDJ* 1867, 65, 60.

43. This view was expressed by Atkinson in “The Unity of the Races,” 349–69.

44. *NCDJ* 1866, 16–17.

45. *Ibid.*, 18–19.

46. *NCDJ* 1870, 14.

47. For convenient accounts of the founding and early history of St. Augustine’s, see *Brief Statement of the History and Present Condition of St. Augustine’s Normal School and Collegiate Institute*, 1–5, and Halliburton, *A History of St. Augustine’s College*, 1–17.

48. For an account of this venture see Buxton, “Missionary and Educational Enterprise,” in Cheshire, *Sketches*, 308–11, and Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 155–57.

49. Buxton, “Missionary and Educational Enterprise,” in Cheshire, *Sketches*, 311.

50. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 196, 225–27.

51. *Ibid.*, 196–97.

52. George, “The Work of the Church in Hospitals, Homes, Sisterhoods and Orphanages,” in Cheshire, *Sketches*, 323–25.

53. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 332–37.

54. *Digest of the Canons*, 48, 7.

55. *NCDJ* 1866, 23, 26–27.

56. *NCDJ* 1867, 24–25, 36.

57. *NCDJ* 1868, 32, 39.

58. *Ibid.*, 55–89.

59. *JGC* 1868, 397–413, 136.

60. *NCDJ* 1869, 35.

61. *NCDJ* 1870, 27.

62. *Ibid.*, 38, 46.

63. *NCDJ* 1871, 25, 27.

64. *JGC* 1871, 164.

65. *NCDJ* 1872, 28, 45.

66. *NCDJ* 1873, 40–45.

67. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 214.

68. Henry Lay, *The "Ardent Longing,"* 1–30.
69. This biographical sketch is abstracted from Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 209 et seq.
70. NCDJ 1874, 63; 1875, 65–66; 1876, 68, 80, 83.
71. NCDJ 1877, 64–75, 71, 73, 74, 76; NCDJ adjourned meeting, 1877, 25.
72. NCDJ 1882, 36, 49–52, 54.
73. Ibid., 58–60; 1883, 13, 74–76.
74. NCDJ 1883, 26–28, 30–31.
75. Ibid., 159–64.
76. *Episcopal Church Annual*, 1960, 12.
77. *Compendium of the Tenth Census*, 364–66; *Eighteenth Census*, 13–14, 35.
78. NCDJ 1880, 67–69.
79. NCDJ 1867, 25–27; 1869, 29–30.
80. NCDJ 1874, app. C.
81. NCDJ 1870, 28–29.
82. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 199–201.
83. NCDJ 1854, 56; 1881, 167; 1860, 65; 1866, 56; 1883, 159–64.

CHAPTER VIII

1. NCDJ 1883, 15.
2. Cheshire, "Some Account of My Life," 57.
3. NCDJ 1898, 34.
4. *The Church Messenger*, 20 August 1885.
5. NCDJ 1884, 29.
6. *The Church Messenger*, 7 August 1884; NCDJ 1884, 13.
7. NCDJ 1885, 34, Bishop's Address.
8. NCDJ 1886, 37; 1890, 43.
9. *The Church Messenger*, 4 June 1885.
10. NCDJ 1888, 87.
11. NCDJ 1890, 67.
12. NCDJ 1893, 53; 1894, 68.
13. NCDJ 1893, 48.
14. NCDJ 1898, 70–71; 1899, 38. For Osborne's role in establishing the Thompson Orphanage, see pp. 288–90 below.
15. London, *Cheshire*, 54; NCDJ 1900, 69–70.
16. *The Church Messenger*, 16 September 1886.
17. *The Church Messenger*, 29 July, 5 August 1886.
18. *The Church Messenger*, 12 February 1885. A report in the proceedings of the General Convention suggests that the Woman's Auxiliary

was organized in 1871. *JGC* 1886, 637. For the fire at St. Mary's School, see Stoops, *The Heritage*, 112–13.

19. *The Church Messenger*, 10 June 1886.

20. *The Church Messenger*, 26 May 1887.

21. *NCDJ* 1900, 123.

22. London, *Cheshire*, 73.

23. *The Church Messenger*, 10 June 1886; *The Carolina Watchman*, 3 May 1888.

24. Cheshire, "Some Account of My Life," 102; *Union List of North Carolina Newspapers*.

25. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 238–39.

26. London, *Cheshire*, 92.

27. *JGC* 1889, 637.

28. *NCDJ* 1886, app. A, 11, 39; *JGC* 1892, 37, 40, 48.

29. *NCDJ* 1890, 53–54. Bishop Cheshire, having always preferred a different design for the seal, introduced his own design to the Convention of 1914. The new design was thereupon adopted and has not been altered since. Summerell, "History and Symbols of the Seal."

30. London, *Cheshire*, 107.

31. *The Church Messenger*, 4 October 1883; *NCDJ* 1883, 148.

32. *NCDJ* 1885, 31.

33. *NCDJ* 1886, 30.

34. *NCDJ* 1889, 124; 1892, 144; 1894, 149–50.

35. *NCDJ* 1896, 110; 1897, 110.

36. *NCDJ* 1898, 115–16.

37. *NCDJ* 1900, 28; 1899, 25–26.

38. *NCDJ* 1895, 15, Bishop's Address.

39. *NCDJ* 1896, 56, 111.

40. *The Church Messenger*, 2 July 1885.

41. *NCDJ* 1884, 20.

42. *The Church Messenger*, 2 July 1885.

43. *The Church Messenger*, 27 August 1885; *NCDJ* 1886, 43.

44. *NCDJ* 1886, 41–43; *The Church Messenger*, 3 June 1886, 27 August 1885.

45. *NCDJ* 1887, 65; *The Church Messenger*, 19 May 1887; *NCDJ* 1888, 39–42, and 1890, 8, 67, 68.

46. *NCDJ* 1894, 52; 1895, 15, 48; 1896, 69; 1897, 37.

47. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 225–26; *NCDJ* 1892, 125; Powell, *St. Luke's Episcopal Church*, 37.

48. *NCDJ* 1896, 45; Powell, *St. Luke's Episcopal Church*, 38; *NCDJ* 1892, 125.

49. *NCDJ* 1898, 32.

50. *NCDJ* 1900, 44; Powell, *St. Luke's Episcopal Church*, 38. Begin-

ning with the Convention of 1892, Murdoch is listed among the clergy with the D.D. degree.

51. London, *Cheshire*, 64. See also Stoops, *The Heritage*, 128–32.
52. *NCDJ* 1896, 33.
53. *NCDJ* 1897, 33–34; London, *Cheshire*, 64–65.
54. *NCDJ* 1898, 71–72.
55. London, *Cheshire*, 66.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Cheshire*, “Some Account of My Life,” 86–90. For a history of the institution, known in 1986 as Thompson Children’s Home, see Lockman, *A Century’s Child*.
58. *NCDJ* 1886, 51.
59. *The Church Messenger*, 19 August 1886.
60. *The Church Messenger*, 30 September 1886.
61. *NCDJ* 1887, 61.
62. *The Church Messenger*, 15 July 1886.
63. *NCDJ* 1892, 32–33.
64. *NCDJ* 1893, 27, and 1894, 42–43; Carter, *Sketch*, 15.
65. *NCDJ* 1895, 34–35.
66. *NCDJ* 1897, 26–27.
67. *NCDJ* 1899, 23, 71.
68. *Ibid.*, 22.
69. *NCDJ* 1900, 33–34.
70. *Ibid.*, 34.
71. *NCDJ* 1899, 70–71.
72. *Cheshire*, “Some Account of My Life,” 45; *The Church Messenger*, 22 January 1885.
73. *NCDJ* 1896, 119; 1899, 57.
74. *NCDJ* 1899, 121.
75. *NCDJ* 1900, 126.
76. London, *Cheshire*, 43.
77. *NCDJ* 1893, 153.
78. *NCDJ* 1897, 120.
79. *NCDJ* 1900, 127.
80. *The Church Messenger*, 4 October 1883.
81. London, *Cheshire*, 47.
82. *NCDJ* 1893, 60.
83. London, *Cheshire*, 47.
84. *Ibid.*, 48.
85. *NCDJ* 1893, 60–64; London, *Cheshire*, 48–50.
86. London, *Cheshire*, 49.
87. *Ibid.*, 52.
88. *NCDJ* 1894, 73.

89. *Ibid.*, 74.
90. *Ibid.*, 75. Originally interred in Oakwood Cemetery, Raleigh, Bishop Lyman's remains were transferred in 1914 to the crypt of the newly completed Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, for the construction of which the bishop and his wife had left bequests. Ward, *Therefore with Angels and Archangels*, 87.
91. *Ibid.*, 76.
92. *Ibid.*, 94–96; London, *Cheshire*, 56.
93. London, *Cheshire*, 59; Sill, *Sketches*, 146.
94. London, *Cheshire*, 59.
95. Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 229.
96. *NCDJ* 1894, 56.
97. *NCDJ* 1895, 24.
98. *Ibid.*, 42; London, *Cheshire*, 61.
99. London, *Cheshire*, 62; *JGC* 1895, 69.
100. *NCDJ* 1896, 69; 1898, 22.
101. London, *Cheshire*, 63; *JGC* 1898, 182.
102. *NCDJ* 1892, 51; *The Church Messenger*, 18 June 1885.
103. Sill, *Sketches*, 31, 111.
104. *Ibid.*, 29, 69.
105. *Ibid.*, 72; *NCDJ* 1888, 87.
106. *NCDJ* 1888, 87.
107. *NCDJ* 1893, 147.
108. *NCDJ* 1886, 10, and 1885, 7; Jenkins, *Sketch*, 12, 17, 21.
109. *NCDJ* 1886, 14, and 1887, 9–10; *The Church Messenger*, 11 February 1886.
110. *NCDJ* 1887, 10, Bishop's Address; *The Church Messenger*, 19 August 1886.
111. *The Church Messenger*, 11 February 1886; Sill, *Sketches*, 26.
112. *The Church Messenger*, 20 August 1885; Sill, *Sketches*, 73, 85, 149.
113. Sill, *Sketches*, 32, 149.
114. *NCDJ* 1885, 13, 1892, 25, and 1884, 45–50; Sill, *Sketches*, 69.
115. *NCDJ* 1884, 46.
116. Sill, *Sketches*, 10.
117. *Ibid.*, 50–51.
118. *Ibid.*, 147.
119. *Ibid.*, 52; Cheshire, "Some Account of My Life," [no page cited].
120. *NCDJ* 1886, 11, 1887, 8, 112, and 1888, 14; Sill, *Sketches*, 61–62.
121. *NCDJ* 1884, 50, 1885, 13–14, 17, and 1886, 10; Sill, *Sketches*, 58.

122. NCDJ 1886, 26.
123. NCDJ 1890, 8.
124. Ibid., 12–13.
125. NCDJ 1893, 146.
126. *The Church Messenger*, 24 September 1885; Sill, *Sketches*, 72.
127. London, *Cheshire*, 30–31; NCDJ 1884, 60; *The Church Messenger*, 19 August 1886.
128. Cheshire, “Some Account of My Life,” 55–56.
129. NCDJ 1884, 60, and 1886, 29; London, *Cheshire*, 32; *The Church Messenger*, 4 November 1886.
130. Cheshire, “Memorial Sermon.”
131. Powell, *St. Luke’s Episcopal Church*, 35.
132. *The Church Messenger*, 3 June, 2 December 1886.
133. Powell, *St. Luke’s Episcopal Church*, 36; NCDJ 1884, 54.
134. NCDJ 1891, 81; Bell Manuscript.
135. Bell Manuscript.
136. NCDJ 1892, 124.
137. *The Church Messenger*, 14 October 1886.
138. Cheshire, “Memorial Sermon.”
139. *The Church Messenger*, 25 July 1885.
140. NCDJ 1885, 20.
141. NCDJ 1886, 27, app; *The Church Messenger*, 26 February 1885.
142. NCDJ 1890, 4; 1890, 5; 1897, 76.
143. NCDJ 1889, 10; 1891, 79; 1899, 69.
144. NCDJ 1892, 91.
145. NCDJ 1895, 46; 1898, 24.
146. NCDJ 1892, 62; 1891, 73; 1893, 68; 1893, 148; 1894, 81; 1894, 82; 1899, 69, 78, 81, 92–93, 105.

CHAPTER IX

1. NCDJ 1901, 77–78.
2. Ibid., 40, 50.
3. Ibid., 36.
4. NCDJ 1900, 70, 50, 30.
5. NCDJ 1901, 47–49.
6. Ibid.
7. NCDJ 1903, 66–67.
8. NCDJ 1904, 64.
9. NCDJ 1901, 33.
10. Minutes, Committees of Convocations of Raleigh and Charlotte,

3 and 11 August 1905, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill; *NCDJ* 1906, 126, 131, and 1907, 130.

11. Minutes, Laymen's Conference, 24–25 January 1910, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.

12. *NCDJ* 1912, 40–43.

13. *NCDJ* 1915, 39–40, 70–71; 1916, 49, 76–77.

14. *NCDJ* 1901, 33.

15. *NCDJ* 1902, 79; *The Carolina Churchman*, August 1913, 10.

16. *NCDJ* 1908, 121.

17. *NCDJ* 1920, 22, 99.

18. *The Carolina Churchman*, November 1913, 7–9, and October 1919, 7–8; *NCDJ* 1913, 61, 75, and 1910, 24.

19. *The Carolina Churchman*, November 1916, 13–14, and October 1919, 7–8; *NCDJ* 1916, 116.

20. *NCDJ* 1922, 124, 135.

21. *Spirit of Missions*, February 1909, 132–36; *NCDJ* 1900, 67, and 1909, 94–95.

22. *NCDJ* 1899, 81; 1908, 81.

23. *NCDJ* 1907, 68–69, 22–23.

24. *The Carolina Churchman*, December 1912, 8; October 1914, 16.

25. *The Carolina Churchman*, February 1915, 6.

26. *NCDJ* 1905, 30.

27. *The Carolina Churchman*, August 1913, 6.

28. *NCDJ* 1907, 56, 87.

29. *The Carolina Churchman*, November 1910, 15–16; September 1911, 11–12; July 1913, 10–11.

30. *Twin City Sentinel*, 22 November 1930.

31. *Durham Sun*, 2 September 1938; *NCDJ* 1918, 80.

32. *NCDJ* 1918, 83.

33. *The Carolina Churchman*, August 1916, 9; *NCDJ* 1920, 137.

34. *The Carolina Churchman*, October 1919, 9; May/June 1919, 9.

35. *NCDJ* 1901, 124.

36. *NCDJ* 1902, 119–20.

37. *NCDJ* 1910, 85; 1912, 66–68; 1917, 156.

38. *NCDJ* 1902, 90; 1911, 99.

39. *NCDJ* 1915, 96; 1919, 106–7.

40. *NCDJ* 1901, 116; 1913, 128; 1918, 37–38, 69–70.

41. Halliburton, *History of St. Augustine's College*, 29; *NCDJ* 1907, 32.

42. Halliburton, *History of St. Augustine's College*, 32–33.

43. *Ibid.*, 40, 47.

44. *NCDJ* 1906, 26; 1910, 128.

45. *NCDJ* 1922, 35.

46. Cheshire, Address to the Conference of Church Workers Among Colored People, 10 October 1900, held at St. Augustine's College, Cheshire Papers, Raleigh.

47. *NCDJ* 1904, 71.

48. *NCDJ* 1912, 121–22.

49. Manuscript dated 15 October 1903, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.

50. Cheshire, Address to the Convocation for Work Among Colored People, September 1904, Cheshire Papers, Raleigh.

51. *The Carolina Churchman*, August 1918, 12.

52. Samuel H. Bishop to Cheshire, 31 October 1922, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.

53. *NCDJ* 1904, 130.

54. *Ibid.*, 37, 71–72.

55. *NCDJ* 1905, 31, 35–36.

56. Minutes, Fourth Annual Convocation of the Archdeaconry for Work Among Colored People, 24–25 August 1905, 8–9. Diocesan Archives, Raleigh.

57. Minutes, Fifth Annual Convocation of the Archdeaconry for Work Among Colored People, 23–26 August 1906, 14–16. Diocesan Archives, Raleigh.

58. *The Work of Our Colored Brethren*, reprinted from *The Church Standard*, 28 September 1907, 9.

59. *NCDJ* 1907, 38–39.

60. *JGC* 1907, 522–23.

61. *Ibid.*, 144, 157–58, 160.

62. *NCDJ* 1908, 62–64.

63. The Fourth Department was composed of the dioceses in the states of North Carolina southward through Louisiana.

64. *NCDJ* 1913, 35–38, 47.

65. *JGC* 1913, 30, 125–26, 134, 146, 158–59.

66. *NCDJ* 1916, 42–46, 54.

67. *JGC* 1916, 76, 96, 484–95.

68. Cheshire, "The Racial Episcopate," Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.

69. *NCDJ* 1917, 43, 77–78, 157.

70. *NCDJ* 1918, 33.

71. Joseph B. Cheshire to William A. Guerry, 17 May 1918, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.

72. *NCDJ* 1918, 45–46.

73. Cheshire to William A. Guerry, 17 May 1918, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.

74. *NCDJ* 1918, 45.

75. Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society to Joseph B. Cheshire, 15 June 1918, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.

76. Guerry to Cheshire, 22 May 1918, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.
77. Guerry to Cheshire, 29 June 1918, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.
78. *NCDJ* 1928, 19.
79. Delany to Cheshire, 23 May 1918, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.
80. *The Carolina Churchman*, November/December 1918, 11; *NCDJ* 1919, 69; Daniel S. Tuttle to Cheshire, 7 August, 30 November 1918, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.
81. Guerry to Cheshire, 30 April 1918, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.
82. *NCDJ* 1919, 73–74.
83. *NCDJ* 1921, 130; *The Carolina Churchman*, May/June 1921, 15.
84. *NCDJ* 1923, 103. By 1928 the Diocese of North Carolina contained two parishes, seven organized missions, ten unorganized missions in union with the Convention, and one unorganized mission not in union with the Convention, thus attesting to the work of Bishop Delany among blacks. *NCDJ* 1928, 19.
85. Cheshire, Address to the Trustees of St. Mary's School, 8 December 1905, Archives of St. Mary's College, Raleigh.
86. Cheshire to Thomas H. Battle, 1 May 1906, Archives of St. Mary's College, Raleigh.
87. "Investment in Buildings and Equipment," Archives of St. Mary's College, Raleigh.
88. *NCDJ* 1912, 37–38, 68–70.
89. *The Carolina Churchman*, June/July 1916, 3–4.
90. *The Carolina Churchman*, November 1922, 3, 5; Stoops, *The Heritage*, 182–83, 187–88, 235–36.
91. *NCDJ* 1922, 30; Cheshire to William A. Erwin, 25 May 1931, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.
92. *NCDJ* 1901, 27–32; 1902, 26–28.
93. *NCDJ* 1910, 21–22; 1911, 24; 1914, 27; Lockman, *A Century's Child*, 46.
94. *NCDJ* 1920, 56; 1922, 32; 1921, 29–31.
95. *NCDJ* 1916, 32.
96. *NCDJ* 1901, 76.
97. *Annual Report of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions*, 1904, 20; Kate Cheshire, "A Brief Sketch of the Woman's Auxiliary in the Diocese of North Carolina, 1882–1932," *The Carolina Churchman*, April 1932, 5.
98. *Annual Report of the Woman's Auxiliary*, 1920, 7, 13–14; 1921, 43–47.
99. *Annual Report of the Woman's Auxiliary*, 1920, 7.
100. Marian A. Bourne, "Seventy-Five Years of Service," *Annual Report of the Woman's Auxiliary*, 1957, 16.
101. *NCDJ* 1908, 33.
102. *NCDJ* 1912, 126.

103. *Annual Report of the Woman's Auxiliary*, 1919, 15; *NCDJ* 1919, 33-34.
104. *NCDJ* 1901, 125-26.
105. *Annual Report of the Woman's Auxiliary*, 1923, 18, 20, 28; *NCDJ* 1922, 131-39.
106. *NCDJ* 1900, 45.
107. *NCDJ* 1910, 36-37.
108. *NCDJ* 1911, 37, 43; 1912, 31-32; 1913, 34-35.
109. *Annual Report of the Woman's Auxiliary*, 1913, 11.
110. *NCDJ* 1918, 49, 62.
111. *The Carolina Churchman*, May 1918, 10; *NCDJ* 1919, 30-31.
112. *NCDJ* 1919, 49-50; 1920, 42; 1921, 37-38.
113. Cheshire to William A. M. Van Bokkelen, 15 March 1919, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.
114. *NCDJ* 1913, 48; *The Carolina Churchman*, August 1913, 6, and August 1917, 11.
115. *NCDJ* 1915, 42-43.
116. *NCDJ* 1918, 82.
117. *The Carolina Churchman*, August 1917, 11-12.
118. *The Carolina Churchman*, November 1915, 3-4.
119. *The Carolina Churchman*, September 1917, 14-15.
120. *NCDJ* 1906, 26.
121. *Ibid.*, 50; 1910, 43.
122. *The Carolina Churchman*, October 1909, 6.
123. *The Carolina Churchman*, August 1911, 3, and July 1919, 3; *NCDJ* 1913, 28-30, 39.
124. *NCDJ* 1917, 44-45.
125. *The Carolina Churchman*, August 1917, 4-5.
126. *The Carolina Churchman*, April 1919, 5, and May/June 1919, 4; *NCDJ* 1919, 28, 34.
127. *The Carolina Churchman*, January 1920, 4-5; February 1920, 6.
128. *NCDJ* 1920, 31-38.
129. *NCDJ* 1921, 30-36, 150-51; *The Carolina Churchman*, September 1920, 4-5.
130. *NCDJ* 1922, 41.
131. *NCDJ* 1922, 41, 84.
132. *NCDJ* 1920, 35, 53.
133. *The Carolina Churchman*, May/June 1919, 6-9; *NCDJ* 1921, 77-78.
134. *NCDJ* 1920, 88-89; 1921, 46-47.
135. *The Carolina Churchman*, April 1918, 3.
136. *NCDJ* 1919, 50-51; *The Carolina Churchman*, May/June 1919, 6-9.

- 137. *NCDJ* 1914, 30; 1915, 22.
- 138. *The Carolina Churchman*, May/June 1917, 16; Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 198.
- 139. *NCDJ* 1919, 35–36; *The Carolina Churchman*, May/June 1919, 4.
- 140. *NCDJ* 1922, 25.
- 141. *Ibid.*, 21–22, 53–54.
- 142. *The Carolina Churchman*, October 1922, 4.
- 143. *The Carolina Churchman*, June 1922, 6.
- 144. *NCDJ* 1923, 84.

CHAPTER X

- 1. *NCDJ* 1923, 81.
- 2. *Ibid.*, 94–98. Bishop Penick used the term “Committee on Constitution and Canons” in his address, but the formal name used in the *Journal* was “Committee on Canons.”
- 3. *NCDJ* 1924, 42–43.
- 4. *NCDJ* 1927, 46–47.
- 5. *NCDJ* 1929, 67–68.
- 6. *NCDJ* 1932, 60.
- 7. *NCDJ* 1925, 59.
- 8. *NCDJ* 1926, 40–44.
- 9. Although the archdeacons ceased to function in 1928, action to repeal Canon 18, which provided for the convocations, was not taken until 1930. *NCDJ* 1930, 59–60.
- 10. *NCDJ* 1931, 75–76. See also pp. 56–57 for the initial response of the Convention to the need for defining the role and function of the executive secretary.
- 11. Provision for appointment of the chancellor was added to the canons by action of the Convention in 1933. *NCDJ* 1933, 58.
- 12. *NCDJ* 1940, 24, 114–16.
- 13. *NCDJ* 1941, 132–33.
- 14. *Ibid.*, 133.
- 15. *Ibid.*
- 16. *Ibid.*, 134.
- 17. *Ibid.*, 31.
- 18. *NCDJ* 1935, 35.
- 19. *NCDJ* 1940, 24, 114–16. It should be noted that fund-raising for the Church’s Program had three names during the period covered by this chapter. It was called the Nation-Wide Campaign Fund from 1919 to 1926, the Forward Movement Fund from 1927 to 1934, and the Church’s Program Fund thereafter.

20. *NCDJ* 1924, 63.
21. See, for example, *NCDJ* 1924, 83.
22. *NCDJ* 1929, 96.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *NCDJ* 1928, 61–62.
25. *Ibid.*, 75–76.
26. *NCDJ* 1929, 100–101.
27. *NCDJ* 1933, 69.
28. *NCDJ* 1923, 89.
29. *Ibid.*, 91.
30. *NCDJ* 1924, 108.
31. *NCDJ* 1927, 83.
32. *Ibid.*, 85–86.
33. *NCDJ* 1930, 196.
34. *Ibid.*, 195.
35. *NCDJ* 1931, 27.
36. *Ibid.*, 75–76.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, 28.
39. *NCDJ* 1932, 90–93.
40. *NCDJ* 1934, 87.
41. *Ibid.*, 60–61.
42. *NCDJ* 1936, 90–92.
43. *Ibid.*, 43–44.
44. *NCDJ* 1924, 169.
45. *Ibid.*, 170.
46. *NCDJ* 1929, 95.
47. Nash, *A Goodly Heritage*, 36–42. See also Bishop Cheshire's address to the 1931 Convention, *NCDJ* 1931, 93–94.
48. Nash, *A Goodly Heritage*, 42.
49. *NCDJ* 1931, 58–59.
50. *NCDJ* 1935, 79.
51. See, for example, Bishop Penick's address to the 1934 Convention, *NCDJ* 1934, 83–84.
52. *NCDJ* 1930, 73–78; 1935, 37–38; 1936, 49–51.
53. *NCDJ* 1935, 80–81.
54. *NCDJ* 1936, 39–41.
55. *Ibid.*, 74–76.
56. *NCDJ* 1937, 28–32. The Raleigh office of the same bank became treasurer in 1940.
57. *NCDJ* 1939, 126–28; see also p. 34 for the report of the Convention's special committee to consider the report of the trustees.
58. *NCDJ* 1941, 35.

59. *NCDJ* 1939, 35.

60. *NCDJ* 1937, 21.

61. During the early years of this period, the churches in black communities were members of the Colored Convocation. After convocations were abolished, most references to work with these churches used the term “Negro,” although the designation “Colored” still appeared in the financial records.

62. Darst to Cheshire, 14 January 1925, Cheshire Papers, Chapel Hill.

63. *Ibid.* Bishop Cheshire’s response is in draft on the back of this letter.

64. *NCDJ* 1927, 114–15.

65. *NCDJ* 1928, 62, 75–76.

66. *Ibid.*, 76.

67. *Ibid.*, 49.

68. *NCDJ* 1929, 100–101.

69. *Ibid.*, 68.

70. *Ibid.*, 59.

71. See the address of Bishop Penick, *NCDJ* 1935, 82–83.

72. *Ibid.*, 83–84.

73. Minutes, Meeting of Southern Bishops, Atlanta, Ga., 3 February 1938, and Report of Findings Committee appointed to summarize that meeting, Penick Papers, Raleigh. Bishop Penick was one of three bishops on the Findings Committee.

74. Minutes, Joint Commission on Negro Work, 22 April 1940, Penick Papers, Raleigh. Bishop Middleton S. Barnwell of the Diocese of Georgia appeared before the Joint Commission to seek its approval of the optional Racial Missionary Episcopate. Bishop Penick could not attend this meeting, but Bishop Barnwell reported that the Dioceses of North Carolina and Upper South Carolina had voted against the proposal. The Joint Commission concluded that it would be “inexpedient” to approve the southern bishops’ proposal.

75. *NCDJ* 1923, 94–96.

76. *NCDJ* 1924, 87–89.

77. Pugh, *History of the Young People’s Service League*, 9.

78. *Ibid.*, 20; see also *NCDJ* 1939, 134–36.

79. Pugh, *History of the Young People’s Service League*, 12–13; *NCDJ* 1931, 38.

80. *NCDJ* 1932, 89–90.

81. *Ibid.*, 89.

82. *NCDJ* 1934, 70.

83. *NCDJ* 1939, 150.

84. *NCDJ* 1928, 24.

85. *NCDJ* 1929, 25–26.

86. *NCDJ* 1937, 80.

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*, 80–81.

90. *NCDJ* 1938, 53–55.

91. *Ibid.*, 54–55.

92. *Ibid.*, 55.

93. *NCDJ* 1942, 125–26.

94. *NCDJ* 1927, 90–91.

95. *NCDJ* 1930, 61–62.

96. *Ibid.*

97. *Ibid.*, 83.

98. *Ibid.*, 84.

99. *NCDJ* 1938, 38.

100. *NCDJ* 1935, 84.

101. *NCDJ* 1938, 52.

102. *NCDJ* 1939, 141.

103. See, for example, Bishop Cheshire's comments in his 1924 reflections on his episcopate, *NCDJ* 1924, 171–73. Almost every year during his last decade, he returned to the need to support St. Mary's.

104. *NCDJ* 1931, 61–62; Stoops, *The Heritage*, 213.

105. *NCDJ* 1937, 65–66.

106. *NCDJ* 1925, 91–93.

107. *NCDJ* 1937, 33.

108. *NCDJ* 1941, 126; Lockman, *A Century's Child*, 55–57, gives a total of \$221,000.

109. *NCDJ* 1924, 177.

110. *NCDJ* 1925, 93–94.

111. *NCDJ* 1941, 47–48.

112. *Ibid.*

113. *Ibid.*, 29–30.

114. *NCDJ* 1940, 47.

115. *Ibid.*

116. *NCDJ* 1924, 174–75.

117. Halliburton, *History of St. Augustine's College*, 48–64.

118. Minutes, Joint Commission on Negro Work, 22 April 1940, Penick Papers, Raleigh.

119. *NCDJ* 1936, 70.

120. *NCDJ* 1939, 28–29.

121. *NCDJ* 1941, 141.

122. *NCDJ* 1924, 56; 1926, 65.

123. *NCDJ* 1930, 116–17.

124. Ibid., 117.
125. Ibid., 35.
126. Ibid., 65-66.
127. Ibid., 66.
128. Ibid., 66-67.
129. *NCDJ* 1923, 96.
130. Ibid.
131. *NCDJ* 1927, 90.
132. Ibid., 83-84.
133. *NCDJ* 1931, 99.
134. Ibid., 99-100.
135. Ibid., 100.
136. *NCDJ* 1941, 112.
137. Ibid., 29-30, 45-46.

CHAPTER XI

1. Statistical appendices, *NCDJ* 1941 and 1959.
2. *NCDJ* 1942, 28.
3. *NCDJ* 1943, 128.
4. *The North Carolina Churchman*, April 1942, 1.
5. *NCDJ* 1944, 124.
6. *The North Carolina Churchman*, September 1942, 3.
7. *NCDJ* 1943, 129.
8. Ibid., 125.
9. *NCDJ* 1944, 43.
10. Ibid., 26.
11. *The North Carolina Churchman*, October 1942, 1.
12. *The North Carolina Churchman*, March 1943, 1, and September 1943, 14; *NCDJ* 1944, 24.
13. *NCDJ* 1943, 39.
14. *The North Carolina Churchman*, November 1942, 5, and November 1943, 6.
15. *NCDJ* 1959, 129.
16. *NCDJ* 1945, 41ff.
17. *NCDJ* 1947, 37.
18. Ibid., 44ff.
19. Ibid., 43.
20. *NCDJ* 1948, 126ff.
21. *NCDJ* 1941, 132ff.
22. Ibid., 31.
23. *NCDJ* 1947, 114.

24. Ibid., 45ff.
25. Ibid., 28.
26. *NCDJ* 1948, 35ff.
27. *The North Carolina Churchman*, December 1947, 5.
28. Ibid., 4.
29. *The North Carolina Churchman*, February 1948, 5.
30. *NCDJ* 1948, 51ff.
31. Quoted in a letter to the author from the Honorable Francis O. Clarkson.
32. The author is indebted to Judge Clarkson for allowing access to his file of correspondence from which Grimes's letter (the content of which is not given in the *Diocesan Journal*) and the other information in this paragraph have been obtained.
33. *The North Carolina Churchman*, December 1948, 13ff.
34. *NCDJ* 1949, 30.
35. Ibid., 33.
36. Ibid., 34.
37. *NCDJ* 1950, 47.
38. Ibid., 35.
39. The report of this Special Convention is printed as Appendix D to the *Journal of the 1951 Convention*, beginning on p. 155.
40. *The North Carolina Churchman*, October 1950, 6.
41. *NCDJ* 1947, 114.
42. *NCDJ* 1948, 55, 30, 32.
43. *NCDJ* 1946, 30f.
44. *NCDJ* 1951, 95.
45. Ibid., 52.
46. *NCDJ* 1952, 95f.
47. *NCDJ* 1953, 97ff.
48. *The North Carolina Churchman*, March 1950, 1, and May 1950, 3; *NCDJ* 1951, 58.
49. *The North Carolina Churchman*, June 1950, 3; *NCDJ* 1951, 82.
50. *The North Carolina Churchman*, September 1950, 2; March 1952, 1.
51. *The North Carolina Churchman*, February 1957, 6; *NCDJ* 1959, 41.
52. *NCDJ* 1953, 59.
53. Ibid., 32.
54. Ibid., 42.
55. Ibid., 43.
56. *NCDJ* 1954, 53f.; see also *The North Carolina Churchman*, February 1954, 1.
57. Ibid., 39, 172f.
58. *The North Carolina Churchman*, June 1955, 1.

59. *The North Carolina Churchman*, April 1955, 13.
60. *NCDJ* 1955, 40.
61. *NCDJ* 1959, 175f.
62. *NCDJ* 1956, 47.
63. *NCDJ* 1957, 55.
64. *NCDJ* 1959, 134.
65. *NCDJ* 1951, 40.
66. *NCDJ* 1952, 154.
67. *Ibid.*, 42.
68. *NCDJ* 1956, 34.
69. *NCDJ* 1957, 201f.
70. *NCDJ* 1958, 181ff.
71. *Ibid.*, 47f.
72. *NCDJ* 1959, 129ff., 70, 44.
73. *Ibid.*, 48.
74. *NCDJ* 1949, 47, 32.
75. *NCDJ* 1950, 44.
76. *NCDJ* 1955, 44.
77. *NCDJ* 1956, 62f.
78. *Ibid.*, 42.
79. *NCDJ* 1957, 71.
80. *Ibid.*, 159ff.
81. *Ibid.*, 56f.
82. *NCDJ* 1959, 163ff.
83. *Ibid.*, 158f.
84. *Ibid.*, 51.
85. *Ibid.*, 52.
86. This summary of the floor debate has been provided from the memory of the author, a clerical delegate to the 1959 Convention.
87. *NCDJ* 1957, 157ff., 181ff.
88. *NCDJ* 1952, 117.
89. *NCDJ* 1942, 114.
90. *NCDJ* 1944, 110, 25.
91. *NCDJ* 1948, 53.
92. *Ibid.*, 28.
93. *The North Carolina Churchman*, March 1949, 8.
94. *NCDJ* 1953, 55ff.
95. *Ibid.*, 30ff.
96. *The North Carolina Churchman*, June 1953, 14.
97. *The North Carolina Churchman*, November 1954, 7.
98. *The North Carolina Churchman*, May 1955, 7.
99. *The North Carolina Churchman*, November 1954, 10; *NCDJ* 1955, 87.
100. *The North Carolina Churchman*, November 1954, 11.

101. *NCDJ* 1955, 125.
102. *NCDJ* 1956, 45f.
103. *NCDJ* 1955, 136.
104. *NCDJ* 1956, 159ff.
105. *Ibid.*, 63ff.
106. *NCDJ* 1958, 192ff.
107. *Ibid.*, 160.
108. Letter to the author from Mrs. U. T. Holmes, Jr., 1955 president of the Diocesan Woman's Auxiliary.
109. *The North Carolina Churchman*, May 1945, 1.
110. *NCDJ* 1948, 154f.
111. *NCDJ* 1950, 148f.
112. *The North Carolina Churchman*, September 1950, 13.
113. *The North Carolina Churchman*, May 1951, 10.
114. *NCDJ* 1951, 108f.
115. *NCDJ* 1952, 94.
116. *Ibid.*, 141ff.
117. *NCDJ* 1953, 148f.
118. *Ibid.*, 37.
119. *NCDJ* 1954, 161f.
120. *Ibid.*, 40.
121. *NCDJ* 1955, 141f.
122. *Ibid.*, 140f.
123. *Ibid.*, 136ff.
124. *Ibid.*, 33, 36, 37.
125. *The North Carolina Churchman*, September 1955, 5, 15.
126. *NCDJ* 1956, 161.
127. *NCDJ* 1957, 49.
128. *NCDJ* 1959, 127.
129. *The North Carolina Churchman*, June 1957, 6.
130. *NCDJ* 1958, 35ff.
131. *Ibid.*, 43.
132. *The North Carolina Churchman*, March 1959, 3.
133. *The North Carolina Churchman*, June 1959, 2.

CHAPTER XII

1. *NCDJ* 1866, 19, 21; 1867, 2, 24–25, 35; 1868, 19, 55–58.
2. *NCDJ* 1868, 34.
3. *NCDJ* 1873, 28–29.
4. *Ibid.*, 40–46.
5. *NCDJ* 1883, 77.
6. *NCDJ* 1874, 63.

7. *NCDJ* 1875, 65–66; 1876, 68–69; 1877, 64–76; September 1877, 18–25.

8. *NCDJ* 1882, 36.

9. *Ibid.*, 49ff, 54–56, 58–59.

10. *NCDJ* 1883, 13–14, 21, 74–79.

11. *Ibid.*, 25–29, 31–32.

12. *NCDJ* 1884, 53; Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 186.

13. *ECDJ* 1933, 107 (Major B. R. Huske, “Historic Address at the 50th Anniversary of the Diocese of East Carolina”); *NCDJ* 1884, 67; Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 186; John Washington Graham, *St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Edenton, N.C.*, 20.

14. *NCDJ* 1884, 61; *ECDJ* 1905, app. A, 21 ([The Reverend T. M. M. George], “Sermon Commemorative of the Late Alfred Augustin Watson, D.D., Bishop of East Carolina”); Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 186.

15. *ECDJ* 1905, opposite p. 25, app. A, 19, 21 (George, “Sermon”); Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 169; *Centennial Celebration of the Church of the Advent*, 6–7; *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas*, 2:398.

16. See the quotation from his address in *ECDJ* 1934, 29.

17. *ECDJ* 1933, 107 (Huske, “Historic Address,” citing *ECDJ* 1883); Harding, *St. Peter’s Parish*, 13.

18. *ECDJ* 1885, 23–27, 31, 35, 97–126.

19. For the chancellor’s office, see *ECDJ* 1889 (26), 1890 (25); for the historiographer’s office, see 1893 (30–32), 1894 (28–29), 1895 (36–37), 1896 (43), 1897 (38); for the registrar’s office, see 1898; for the revival and abolishment of the historiographer’s office see 1925 (50), 1926 (72), 1927 (45); for the second revival of the historiographer’s office, see 1955 (65).

20. *ECDJ* 1885, 52–53.

21. *ECDJ* 1891, 50, and 1893, 50; *The Mission Herald* 64, no. 1 (September 1959), cover.

22. *ECDJ* 1885, 22, 32–33, 81.

23. *ECDJ* 1887, 22–23; 1889, 25–26.

24. *ECDJ* 1885, 33, 81; 1887, 23; 1891, 29.

25. *ECDJ* 1889, 35; 1890, 40–41.

26. *ECDJ* 1894, 31, 44; 1895, 30; 1898, 33–35, app. A, 12–13.

27. *ECDJ* 1885, 77–79; 1893, app. A, 1, 35–37, 39; 1902, app. A, 22–23, 26–28; 1903, app. A, 18–20.

28. *ECDJ* 1887, 68; 1933, 109 (Huske, “Historic Address”).

29. Episcopal Churchwomen, Diocese of East Carolina, *Manual 1961–1962*, 17. The Woman’s Auxiliary Annual Reports to the Diocesan Council (Convention) begin with that of 1898; see *ECDJ* 1898, 59.

30. *ECDJ* 1894, 33. See *ECDJ* 1910, 60, for a copy of Forbes’s will and codicil.

31. *ECDJ* 1891, app. A, 5; 1895, 49, 51, app. A, 27.
32. *ECDJ* 1890 (28, 38, app. A, 14, 19), 1891 (51), 1892 (33, app. A, 18), 1893 (app. A, 24, 33), 1894 (app. A, 24), 1902 (app. A, 18); Harding, *St. Peter's Parish*, 27–28; *History of St. Paul's Parish, Beaufort*, 3–9.
33. *ECDJ* 1898, app. A, 31–32.
34. *ECDJ* 1903, 40, 53–54.
35. *ECDJ* 1905, app. A, 7 (Bishop Strange's address), 23, 27 (George, "Sermon"); Bishop Watson's addresses in *ECDJ* 1885–1903, *passim*.
36. *ECDJ* 1903, app. A, 24–26.
37. *ECDJ* 1905, app. A, 27 (George, "Sermon"); 1933, 112 (Huske, "Historic Address").
38. *ECDJ* 1905, 38–40.
39. *Ibid.*, app. A, 26–27 (George, "Sermon"); 1933, 108–9 (Huske, "Historic Address").
40. *ECDJ* 1887, 67.
41. *ECDJ* 1885, 83.
42. *ECDJ* 1895, app. A, 28; 1905, 46.
43. See Tables of Statistical Abstracts, *ECDJ* 1885, 1905. See also 1905, 68.
44. *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas*, 2:399; *ECDJ* 1890 (app. A, 10), 1891 (app. A, 22), 1893 (app. A, 15–18).
45. *ECDJ* 1915 (insert between pp. 18 and 19, 38), 1933, 113 (Huske, "Historic Address"); Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 193.
46. *ECDJ* 1905, app. A, 11–16.
47. *Ibid.*, 59–60; 1906, 63, 87–89; 1907, 32, 39–40, 53; 1909, 27–28, 41–42.
48. *ECDJ* 1906, 69, 81–82.
49. *ECDJ* 1907, 55–57, 74–80.
50. *Ibid.*, 57–58; see also 1892, 27, 43; 1905, 38, 50, app. A, 14–15.
51. *ECDJ* 1910, 30.
52. *ECDJ* 1909, 77.
53. *ECDJ* 1907, 68; 1909, 60, 78–79.
54. *ECDJ* 1909, 44–53, 60–62, 75, app. C; 1906, 89.
55. *ECDJ* 1913, 51, 54, 65–71.
56. *Ibid.*, 40; 1914, 38.
57. See *ECDJ* 1905, 4; 1907, 65; see also his addresses in subsequent *Journals*.
58. *ECDJ* 1914, 25–30.
59. *Ibid.*, 21; Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 193.
60. *ECDJ* 1933, 113–14 (Huske, "Historic Address").
61. *ECDJ* 1909, 75; 1910, 79ff.
62. *ECDJ* 1906, 83–84. See 1909, 31, for advice from the Standing

Committee regarding his practice of permitting outsiders to preach in Episcopal churches.

63. See Tables of Statistical Abstracts, *ECDJ* 1905, 1915. See also Statistics of the Diocese, 1905, 68; 1915, 117.

64. *ECDJ* 1915, 41, 62.

65. *ECDJ* Special Council, October 1914, and Annual Council, 1915, 11-16; 1933, 114-15 (Huske, "Historic Address"); *The Southern Churchman* 114, no. 37 (11 September 1948), 15; Henderson, *North Carolina*, 3 (Biography):269-70; Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 216-17.

66. *ECDJ* 1915, 62.

67. *Ibid.*, 27-28.

68. *Ibid.*, app.

69. *Ibid.*, 49, 65; 1916, 39-40, 49-50.

70. *ECDJ* 1919, 50; Duncan, *Pictorial History*, xxii.

71. *ECDJ* 1917, 53; 1918, 71.

72. *Ibid.*, 61-64.

73. *ECDJ* 1918, 55-56, 65.

74. *ECDJ* 1917, 32.

75. *ECDJ* 1918, 66-70; 1919, 54; 1920, 69-72.

76. *ECDJ* 1919, 38, 40, 54.

77. *ECDJ* 1920, 46-47; 1921, 73.

78. *ECDJ* 1920, 63; see also references in the bishop's addresses in 1923 (86) and 1935 (53) to Milton's "splendid campaign"; Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 16.

79. *ECDJ* 1920, 51-54.

80. *ECDJ* 1924, 74-78.

81. *ECDJ* 1920, 34-36; 1922, 66; 1923, 54-55; 1924, 50.

82. *ECDJ* 1925, 51.

83. *Ibid.*, 73-84.

84. *Ibid.*, 65.

85. *Ibid.*, 66-67; 1926, 85-86. In 1941, a Department of Youth was established within the Department of Religious Education. *ECDJ* 1941, 34-38.

86. *ECDJ* 1928, 105-6.

87. *ECDJ* 1930, 39-46.

88. *Ibid.*, 57, 68, 71-72.

89. See *ECDJ* 1930, 70-71; 1931, 55-61; 1932, 41-47; 1933, 47-50; and even as late as 1937, 57.

90. *ECDJ* 1933, 95-122 (Huske, "Historic Address"), 34, 37.

91. *ECDJ* 1921, 45, 49, 61; 1922, 66-67; 1933, 26, 33; 1937, 27-28.

92. *ECDJ* 1935, 26.

93. *Ibid.*, 51-58.

94. *ECDJ* 1940, 56-57.

95. *ECDJ* 1930, 69; 1931, 45; 1938, 46-48, 67. For its progress and problems, see the hospital's annual reports to the Convention thereafter; *The (Greenville, N.C.) Reflector*, 27 August 1964, 5.
96. *ECDJ* 1947, 50-51.
97. *ECDJ* 1930, 58, 69.
98. *ECDJ* 1931, 45-47; Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 214.
99. *ECDJ* 1938, 46-48; 1939, 51-53.
100. *ECDJ* 1940, 39-42; 1941, 45.
101. *ECDJ* 1942, 48.
102. *ECDJ* 1943, 52-54.
103. *ECDJ* 1944, 44-45.
104. *ECDJ* 1945, 44-45.
105. *ECDJ* 1944, 62-63.
106. *ECDJ* 1924, 73, and 1925, 62, 81; *History of St. Paul's Parish, Beaufort*, 3-9.
107. *ECDJ* 1926, 170.
108. *ECDJ* 1928, 151, 133.
109. *ECDJ* 1929, 115.
110. *ECDJ* 1940, 60; 1941, 61-64; 1942, 27-33, 57, 61-63; 1943, 34-39; 1944, 37-38; 1945, 99. East Carolina clergymen serving as chaplains included Lt. Col. Worth Wicker, Lt. Col. Wallace I. Wolverton, Lt. Col. Oscar E. Holder, Lt. Comdr. B. F. Huske, Maj. Wm. H. R. Jackson, Maj. John W. Hardy, Capt. Edward C. McConnell, Capt. Wm. Tate Young, Capt. John S. Grainger, and Lt. John S. Armfield.
111. *Ibid.*, 36.
112. *ECDJ* 1945, 27, 32-33, 61-63.
113. *Ibid.*, 32, 40.
114. *ECDJ* 1921, 79.
115. *ECDJ* 1937, 64.
116. *ECDJ* 1930, 57, 73; 1933, 114-15 (Huske, "Historic Address").
117. See Tables of Statistical Abstracts, *ECDJ* 1915, 1945. See also *Diocesan Statistics or Summary*, 1915, 117; 1945, 63-66.
118. Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 217.
119. *ECDJ* 1927, 56; 1930, 57.
120. *ECDJ* 1924, 52-53.
121. *ECDJ* 1926, 54, 87.
122. *ECDJ* 1927, 57.
123. *Ibid.*, 104, 107, 109-11.
124. *ECDJ* 1928, 96, 106-8.
125. *The Southern Churchman* 114, no. 37 (11 September 1948), 15.
126. *ECDJ* 1945, 40, and 1946, 68, 79; *Who's Who in America*, 32 (1962-63):3466.
127. *ECDJ* 1946, 74, 158.

128. *ECDJ* 1947, 34.
129. *Ibid.*, 50-53.
130. *ECDJ* 1948, 67-69.
131. *ECDJ* 1949, 23.
132. *ECDJ* 1950, 19.
133. *Ibid.*, 69-70.
134. *ECDJ* 1951, 74.
135. *ECDJ* 1952, 77-78; 1953, 73-74.
136. *ECDJ* 1955, 60.
137. *ECDJ* 1954, 62; 1956, 61.
138. *ECDJ* 1957, 76-77.
139. *ECDJ* 1959, 69-70.
140. See reports of the Woman's Auxiliary and of the diocesan chairman of the Army and Navy Commission in *ECDJ* 1946, 116, 162-64.
141. *ECDJ* 1948, 52.
142. *Ibid.*, 20; 1949, 22, 52-70.
143. *ECDJ* 1949, 30.
144. *ECDJ* 1950, 39, 74; Henderson, *North Carolina*, 3 (Biography): 270.
145. *ECDJ* 1948, 109-10; 1949, 38, 113; 1950, 25-26.
146. *ECDJ* 1950, 26-27, 33, 78.
147. *Ibid.*, 35, 38.
148. See *ECDJ* 1952, 30; 1953, 25; 1954, 27.
149. *ECDJ* 1953, 20; 1955, 29.
150. *Ibid.*, 71. Kinston eventually became the headquarters.
151. *ECDJ* 1954, 23; *The Mission Herald* 76, no. 1 (October 1961), 2.
152. *ECDJ* 1954, 24.
153. *ECDJ* 1955, 64-68.
154. *ECDJ* 1954, 23.
155. *ECDJ* 1929, 25; 1930, 72, 121, 129; 1931, 113; 1932, 29, 85, 95; 1954, 29.
156. *ECDJ* 1929, 68.
157. *ECDJ* 1898, 29, 38; 1900, 8 and app. A, 26; 1901, 28-29, 34-40; 1903, 43.
158. *ECDJ* 1912, 35-36; 1913, 30, 60-61.
159. *ECDJ* 1917, 7, 32, 61.
160. *ECDJ* 1919, 53.
161. *ECDJ* 1921, 48.
162. *ECDJ* 1929, 148.
163. *ECDJ* 1944, 31; 1945, 97.
164. *ECDJ* 1949, 111.
165. *Ibid.*; 1950, 72, 24.
166. *ECDJ* 1952, 32; 1953, 75; 1955, 63; 1956, 53.

167. *ECDJ* 1917, 115; Duncan, *Pictorial History*, 87.
168. *ECDJ* 1898, 49; 1905, 50.
169. *ECDJ* 1921, 123.
170. *ECDJ* 1924, 126; 1925, 59, 80–81.
171. *ECDJ* 1925, 81, 130; 1926, 139.
172. *ECDJ* 1926, 11, 45, 137–51; 1927, 63, 72; 1928, 44–45, 56, 73–74; 1930, 131; 1931, 115.
173. *ECDJ* 1935, 42; 1936, 46; 1941, 22; 1942, 33; 1944, 31.
174. *ECDJ* 1931, 115; 1939, 98; 1944, 96; 1945, 99; 1947, 60; 1959, 73.
175. *ECDJ* 1950, 72; 1954, 23, 71; 1959, 74.
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185. *ECDJ* 1957, 34.
186. *ECDJ* 1959, 32.
187. *Ibid.*, 9, 34; for statistics, see also 1954, 29, and 1957, 33.
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189. *ECDJ* 1955, 32; 1956, 32–34.
190. *ECDJ* 1946, 75; 1948, 53; 1949, 39; 1950, 40.
191. *ECDJ* 1951, 37.
192. *ECDJ* 1954, 27.
193. *Ibid.*, 28, 30–31.
194. *ECDJ* 1957, 34; 1959, 32.
195. *Who's Who in America*, 32 (1962–63):3466.

CHAPTER XIII

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6. Cheshire, *Milnor Jones*, 16.
7. *Ibid.*, 17.

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9. *Ibid.*, 56.
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33. *Ibid.*
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49. Sill, *Sketches*, 97.
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55. Sill, *Sketches*, 186.
56. Sparks, “History of Patterson School,” 7.
57. *Ibid.*, 9.
58. *Ibid.*, title page.
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140. *Ibid.*, 28, 40–41, 48–49, 230, 236–37, 263.
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146. Reports of General Missionary, Willcox Papers, Black Mountain.
147. *MDAJ* 1898, 19.
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183. *WNCDJ* 1932, 27.
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185. *WNCDJ* 1925, 34.
186. Ibid., 18.
187. *WNCDJ* 1930, 53.
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198. Walters, “Dauntless Pioneer.”
199. *WNCDJ* 1937, 28.
200. Walters, “Dauntless Pioneer.”
201. *WNCDJ* 1925, 51.
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218. *WNCDJ*, Special Convention, 3 August 1933, 5–6.
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220. *Ibid.*, 9.
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225. *The Wilmington Star*, 19 October 1933.
226. *WNCDJ* 1934, 25.
227. *WNCDJ* 1935, 34.
228. *WNCDJ* 1934, 32.
229. *Ibid.*
230. *Ibid.*, 33.
231. *Ibid.*
232. *Ibid.*
233. *Ibid.*, 34.
234. *Ibid.*, 47.
235. *Ibid.*, 46.
236. *Ibid.*, 52.
237. *WNCDJ* 1935, 45.
238. *Ibid.*, 21.
239. *Ibid.*, 47.
240. *Ibid.*
241. *Ibid.*
242. *Ibid.*, 21.
243. *Ibid.*, 32.
244. *Ibid.*
245. *Ibid.*
246. *Ibid.*, 35.
247. *Ibid.*
248. *WNCDJ* 1939, 30. In 1984–85 the manager of the “In the Oaks” conference center, where the bishop’s offices are also located, asked the diocesan librarian and archivist to look over some old books found in a basement room when some pipes had burst. Some of these books had Bishop Atkinson’s name in them; others were marked in script, “Diocesan Library.” Despite mishandling, neglect, and mold due to dampness, these books were found to have value and were finally dealt with.

- 249. *WNCDJ* 1935, 35.
- 250. *Ibid.*, 31.
- 251. *Ibid.*, 50–51.
- 252. *Ibid.*, 65.
- 253. *Ibid.*, 69.
- 254. *Ibid.*, 70.
- 255. *Ibid.*, 46.
- 256. *WNCDJ* 1936, 27.
- 257. *Ibid.*, 28.
- 258. *Ibid.*, 30.
- 259. *Ibid.*, 43.
- 260. *Ibid.*, 52.
- 261. *WNCDJ* 1937, 31.
- 262. *Ibid.*, 32.
- 263. *Ibid.*, 55.
- 264. *Ibid.*, 68–69.
- 265. *WNCDJ* 1939, 25.
- 266. *Ibid.*
- 267. *Ibid.*, 69.
- 268. *Ibid.*, 40.
- 269. *Ibid.*
- 270. *WNCDJ* 1940, 47.
- 271. *Ibid.*, 32.
- 272. *Ibid.*, 33.
- 273. *Ibid.*
- 274. *Ibid.*, 58.
- 275. *WNCDJ* 1941, 19.
- 276. *Ibid.*, 29.
- 277. *Ibid.*, 28.
- 278. *Ibid.*
- 279. *Ibid.*, 71–72.
- 280. *WNCDJ* 1942, 27.
- 281. *Ibid.*, 43.
- 282. *Ibid.*, 45.
- 283. *Ibid.*, 59.
- 284. *WNCDJ* 1943, 24.
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- 287. *Ibid.*, 42.
- 288. *WNCDJ* 1944, 28.
- 289. *Ibid.*, 37.
- 290. *Ibid.*, 39.
- 291. *WNCDJ* 1945, 24.
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- 293. *WNCDJ* 1946, 17.
- 294. *Ibid.*, 31–32.
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- 297. Duncan, *Pictorial History*, xxv–xxvi.
- 298. Gribbin Papers, Black Mountain.
- 299. *Ibid.*

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